GUIDE TO THE SG4 ARAUCANIANS FILE

[The SG4 Araucanians file is concerned with a number of tribes speaking languages of the Araucanian stock, but concentrates on the Maphche, who live in Central Chile. Except for the Pehuenche of the Andean highlands, all of the tribes subsist primarily by agriculture, with fishing and shellfishing having been important on the coast and gathered piñon seeds and other wild products having been staples in the interior. While the file has considerable time depth, the earliest data coming from the sixteenth century, the principal sources are concerned with the Araucanians of the twentieth century who generally live on reservations established by the Chilean government.

There are twelve sources in the Araucanians file, all of which are in English. The principal sources are: 1: Titiev, which is a general study of acculturation; 10: Hilger, which is a study of childhood and child-rearing practices; 11: Faron, which is a study of Mapuche social structure; and 12: Faron, which is a study of Mapuche religion and morals. 5: Cooper is a good introductory article which supplements the major sources, particularly in regard to diversity among the various tribal divisions. 4: Latcham is an account of Araucanian culture in the nineteenth century which, although poorly organized, contains many useful details of Araucanian life. The other sources are shorter articles which contain data supplementary to the above.

This is a generally well-rounded file, especially strong in the areas of acculturation, social structure, religion and acculturation, and well-suited for cross-cultural research. However, the problem of time-depth should be kept in mind, although much of the data pertains to the twentieth-century Araucanians. In addition, the problem of subcultural variation among the various tribal components should be considered. Special marking decisions for the file include the following: residential kin groups - 618; ñillatun - 793; machi (female shamans) - 756; kalku (human witches or sorcerers) - 754; ñillatun (religious ceremonial complex involving ancestor worship) - 769/796; and kamani (officials at the ñillatun ceremony who keep order) - 796/625. The file was processed between 1957 and 1970.]

1: Títiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131 tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

161 There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

101 There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.

[3] Brand, 1941a, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[4] This is the group with which my report is concerned.

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Thus, to speak in terms of the hundred years of the Araucanian wars, the five hundred years of the Araucanian history, as we know it, have been marked by a period of [illegible] that battle has ceased. It will be recalled in the succeeding chapter that I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1883, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1927, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began.

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cüga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[5] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture,

[4] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 458–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 199–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–94.

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 711.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

Over the years since 1909, when the Chilean scholar Francisco Morales Pino first gave to body numerous examples of Mapuche singing, have been reprinted and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals.[3] Skill in oratory and associated arts was once a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

[422, 537]

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101]

[1]For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2]Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Dorothy D. Brown, An Brief History of Araucanian Studies in Chile [illegible]

[3]Tomás Guevara, Folklore Araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1540, when some of Diego de Almagro's people advanced into central Chile. [illegible] 175 178

[illegible] 114 175 648

[illegible] 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Río-Río—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Río-Río. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-[illegible] [illegible] 175 648

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 200,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at meetings in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian; [illegible] 162 [illegible] 175 [illegible] Indian [illegible] dead [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] with the Araucanians south of the Maule as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 18th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 200,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

101 161 175 [131] These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century and mixture with [illegible] [illegible] Chile from [illegible] [illegible] Indians [illegible] [illegible] the Valley of Chile were given at encomienda to a few of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num[illegible]

[illegible], in the latter part of the 16th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

here, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

[illegible]

The state Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and Río Bío Bío only a few miles north and adjacent to the cities of [illegible] and Chillán. [illegible] Mapuche living in Chile's central valley, Araucania, and [illegible] be found as far to the north as Mendoza, Neuquén and Río Negro, extending into the Andes as far as Temuco, Lonquimay, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are now in Impuhuinca, followed by the closely allied Cuncho (Kunchu). These two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

Missions

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1536, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucania, and the Valdivia-Lake area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chilean, Italian, and Spanish. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been turned over to the Salesians. The Jesuits [illegible] has been [illegible] [illegible] 1601 [illegible] Araucania [illegible] 1641 to 1661 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and Arabia, 1616-1661, the [illegible] and the Indians living around in the Americas.

(1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

NOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

pondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

ndians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of aces of which we have any record. During more than ffered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto ericas, that within their territories colonies could only nmediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. ble of these were time after time razed to the ground, and red, by these hardy barbarians.

I have treated of the principal physical characters of pose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of

described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, e some very important accounts, and of late years two appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by nd the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by

he result of personal observation during a three years' tory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in ngol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the sen modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the f the Conquest.

cano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change rincipal factors have tended to modify considerably his st was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary duction of spirituous liquors.

o foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark e race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the

ht the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of metal working. This period also sees him first begin to life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or

Anthrop. Inst., xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-180.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Arau-*
[101] *canians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average
133 altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the
132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipi-
tation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral
137 type, with acacias and laurels typical.

[132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

104 [1] Since certain *Araucanian* subtribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: ch, as Spanish ch; hu before a, e, and i, as English w; gu before e and i, as k; c, as k; ll and ñ, the ly and ny sounds respectively, as in Spanish; ng, as ng in English ring; ü, close to inbridged French u.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904-10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 *cedrus chilensis*). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

[132] The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

060 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking
197 peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher inter-
● 101 cordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S.,
174 whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverria, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly non-linguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Peguenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Peguenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Peguenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pehuenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pehuenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 2: 431–38). 197 101

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pehuenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pehuenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pehuenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapi (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 2: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143). 174

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions. 174

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[3] At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bío-Bío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bío-Bío River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Provinces of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

[10] The tribal appellative "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "La Araucana" of 1569-89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, reg, rau, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanians* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auca* (syn.: *Aukx*, *Guca*, *Aucano*, *Aucanian*), "rebel," from *Quechua* auka, "enemy, rebel," and *Promaucaes* (syn.: *Promaucaes*, *Promaucas*, *Promaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Paromaucs*, *Promaucaes*), "wild enemy," from *Quechua* puruna, puruna, "uncultivated field, wild," + auka, were names given by the *Inca* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipó River to the Bío-Bío River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Auca* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

[10] [3] Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical, linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:
- *Picunche.*
- *Mapuche.*
- *Huilliche* (and *Cuncó*).

Andean Highlands:
- *Pehuenche.*

East of the Andes:
- Argentine *Araucanians.*

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanian* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing. 101 131

The *Pincuche* (syn.: *Pinenche*), "North People," from *Araucanian* pinn, pikun, pikum, "north," + che, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the *Pinn* maps, "north country," the territory of the *Pincuche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bío-Bío to as far south as the Toltén (Havestadt, 1883, 2:660–61), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanian*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucumán and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Pincuche* in the middle and late 19th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Collipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:551).

Latcham (1928 a, p. 126) subdivides the *Pincuche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipó River, (b) the Maipó to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promaucaes*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapuache*: Félix Jose, 1918, p. 24; 1916, 1:131), "People of the Land," from *Araucanian* mapu, "land," + che, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bío-Bío River to the Tolten River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huilliche*, *Guilliche*, *Ghilliche*, *Ghuylliche*, *Villiche*, *Ziliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* willi, "south," + che, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Tolten, the Quepe, or the Calle Calle Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli* maps has been located at various points between the Itata and the Tolten River. (Cf. supra under "*Picunche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Cuncos* and Chilean *Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Guinnea's of 1557–58, the canoe-using Indians (*Chono*)

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101 131 between Corcovado Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "*Huillis*," while Falkner used *Pichi* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the *Araucanians* from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–32). (On use of "*Huilliche*" for Argentine *Araucanians*, cf. infra.)

The *Ouaco* (syn.: *Juaco;* in forms such as *Guiachi*, *Ouaches*, and *Ouachi* (pl.) and *Kuacho*, as used by Molina, who followed Italian orthography, or as derived from him, ch = *k;* etymology uncertain) occupied the western third of half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 206), the Departments of Carelmapu and Osorno.

The *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Cauculue* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "*Chono*" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotan Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929–30, 64:21: , to denote groups, previously called *Puelche*, of the Cordillera. The term *Moluche* (syn.: *Muluche*, *Ngulueche*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* gull, gulhue, "west," + che (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1904–10, 2:509) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Perú" (or Coquimbo) south and including the non-*Araucanian Chono*, *Poya*, and *Cauculue* to the Strait of Magellan. *Moluche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Auca*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Pehuenche* (*Peguenche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* pehuén, peguen, pewen, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the Araucaria, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 20′ to 40° 20′ S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the Araucaria range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Pehuenche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of the Cordillera between 34° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 262–65) and others. (Cf. infra under Culture of the *Pehuenche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Ercilla (1910, p. xix) and Olaverria (1852, p. 15) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puelche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Pehuenche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

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Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-*Araucanian* "*Serranos*" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "*Puelche*"). Since the middle of the 19th century, the name *Pehuenche* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine *Araucanians* with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 97; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 36; Cox, 1863, pp. 164–165; Tonnera, 1863, p. 2.)

Many of these *Araucanian*-speaking "*Pehuenche*" of the Argentine Pampa may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 16th- to 17th-century piñon-eating *Pehuenche* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine *Araucanians* or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Moluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30); *Vilimoluche* (Sánchez Labrador, *Ibid.*); *Picunche* (Falkner, *Ibid.*; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Huilliche*, *Pichi Huilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p.99: *Araucanian*, pichi—"small"); *Pehuenche*, *Pehuenche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836; Cox, 1863, p. 164); *Picun-pehuenche* and *Huilli-pehuenche* (Cox, *Ibid.*); *Manzanenos*, *Hombres del Manzanar* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Milanesio, 1898, p. 38: Span., manzano—"apple tree"); *Serranches* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30), *Ranquelche*, *Ranquelches* (Mansilla, 1877), *Ranquelines* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:227: "People of the Reeds," from *Araucanian*, ranqi, ranqüi (r—s, dialectic shift)—"reed" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Pappalum* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelches* (*Araucanian*, puel, "east," + che) —*Serranos* (Camaño, 1782, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114–115); *Mapuche* (Moreno, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbará, 1930); *Patagon* (Molina, 1878 b, p. 492; 1901, p. 265); *Araucanos des Pampas* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:228). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "*Puelche*" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 60) considered the following to have been *Araucanian*-speaking: *Taluhet*, *Leuucche*; the following in part *Araucanian*-speaking: *Diuihet*, *Cullihet*, *Chulilauhtiuu*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine *Araucanians* called *Moluche* (*Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, and *Huilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96–98), and *Moluche*, *Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, *Vilimoluche* and *Serranches* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 30–31) appears to have been massed around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

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•101 south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 42° S., a little south of Lake
131 Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Puelcuche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 262) had done earlier, and the *Guilliche* south of them. Poeppig's *Puelcuche* were around Antuco (1835-36, 1:261). Mansilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,8; 2:273) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chileno and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Puelcuche* in the middle 19th century are descendants of the early 16th-century *Puelcuche* of Pietas, or of the middle 17th-century *Puelcuche* of Rosales and of the "Pruomo criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Mansilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Ranquelche*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Pincuche* located by Falkner from about lat. 36° to 37° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Pincuche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 19th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Moguche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Moguche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical allusions on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Puelcuche* raids or incursions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Moguche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

161 Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Río-Río and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Río-Río Rivers was at a very

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Río-Río River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a clash both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1535 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Pehuenche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable diversity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Itapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1938 a, pp. 136, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 132; Lenigan, 1939 a, p. 190).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapocho" (Mapochin, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Aliolis, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy maces, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marino de Lovera, 1955, pp. 46-47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1938 a, pp. 135, 136, 139).

On *Pehuenche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Pehuenche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1938 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Marino de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Azara y Juanal, Carvallo i Goyneche, De la Cruz, and Pozzuoli, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30' and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine Araucanians, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa húmeda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended uncertainty and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open conflicts with the Indians who ruled the plains.

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 19th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its northern neighbors the Puelche (Gualeo) and the Patagones, and its northern neighbors, the Guaycurú. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the *Araucanians* of Chile, whose language they also spoke (page 1, No. 19). The *Araucanians* are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America.

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people moved almost 600 miles (1,000 km.) from their origi-

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Argentinian Araucanians

167 nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling origin-
197 nally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were
197 three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples,
144 who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine,"+che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*,
144 did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
144 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

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lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 101
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial 144
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians.* This elemental process of *Auraconisation* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [133]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

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Argentinian Araucanians

In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Pehuenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea. 167

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places. 101 622

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Pehuenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S. 181

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampista* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine 184

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CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

101 131 175

THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] Those differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

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101 interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians
131 between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today
175 comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

175 The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

669 But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such appre-
[266] hension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted
[266] until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

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[114] 5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo sucedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON[1]
University of Illinois

121 128 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

● 101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 131 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These [197] cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

114 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language.

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapuche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians.

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field.

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Coñaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Coñaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Frauenhäusl (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenufuanco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ifiaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün
144 che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as
142 pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[2] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[2] Schaeuble (1939, pp. 63-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow." 101

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche." 128

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence. 22

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true." 197

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some 842

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [197] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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101 in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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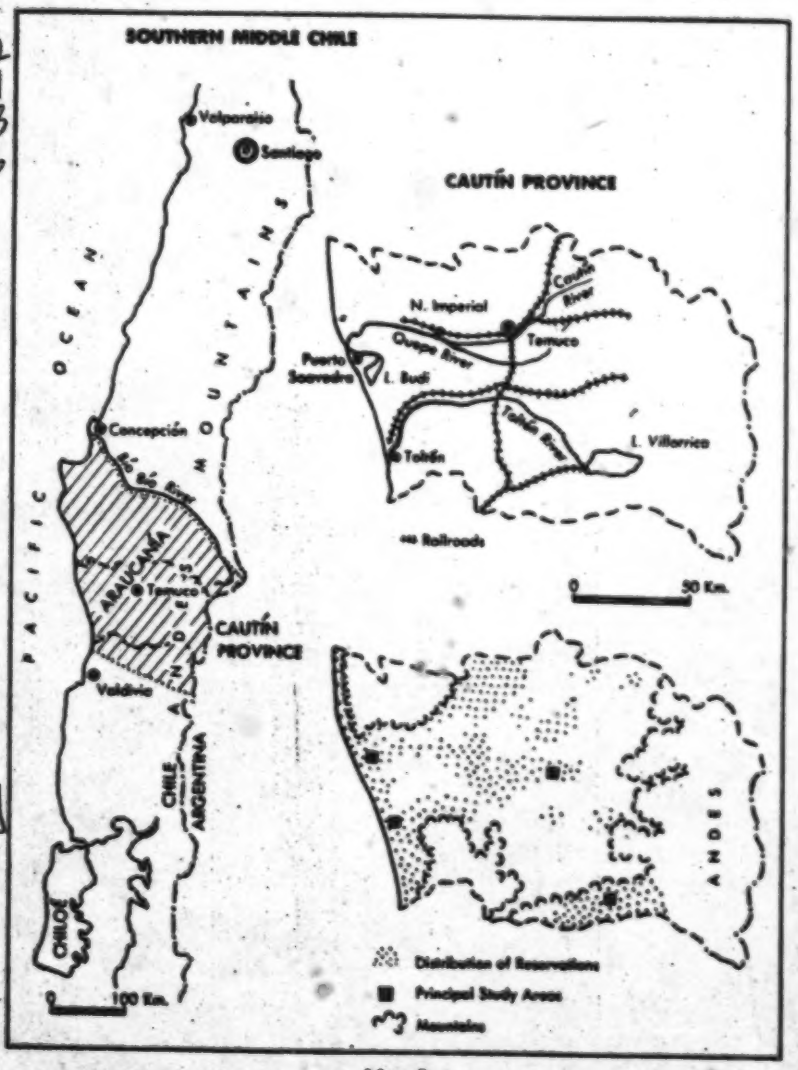

[114]

MAP I

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
●101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[782] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
638 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Aillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[P.V]

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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I also wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible my fieldwork among the Mapuche for twelve months during 1952–54. 122 114 101

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following for permission to use previously published materials: the University of Illinois Press for the map of southern central Chile and Diagram II; *American Anthropologist* for "On Ancestor Propitiation Among the Mapuche of Central Chile," and "Symbolic Values and the Integration of Society Among the Mapuche of Chile"; *Ethnology* for "Death and Fertility Rites of the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of Central Chile"; and *Journal of American Folklore* for "The Magic Mountain and other Origin Myths of the Mapuche Indians of Central Chile." 127

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in preconversion times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (ademuwe), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

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I have already indicated the general sense of the concept winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to unrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers winka. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

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Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (pikun: north), to the south, Huilliche (huilli: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (lafken: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-conquistan Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
619 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
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DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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794 wife-receivers (*rillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) interreservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promontory, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

[613]

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are sites political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which multilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has ritual unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Arauanians 5 of 5

with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Puuk,' whence I believe the name Pukwaidas has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fe, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chonna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzanosos, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilize these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilized in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very palatable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the berries of the algarrobo. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Aten arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his tolde, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which augured badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Chile SG1

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in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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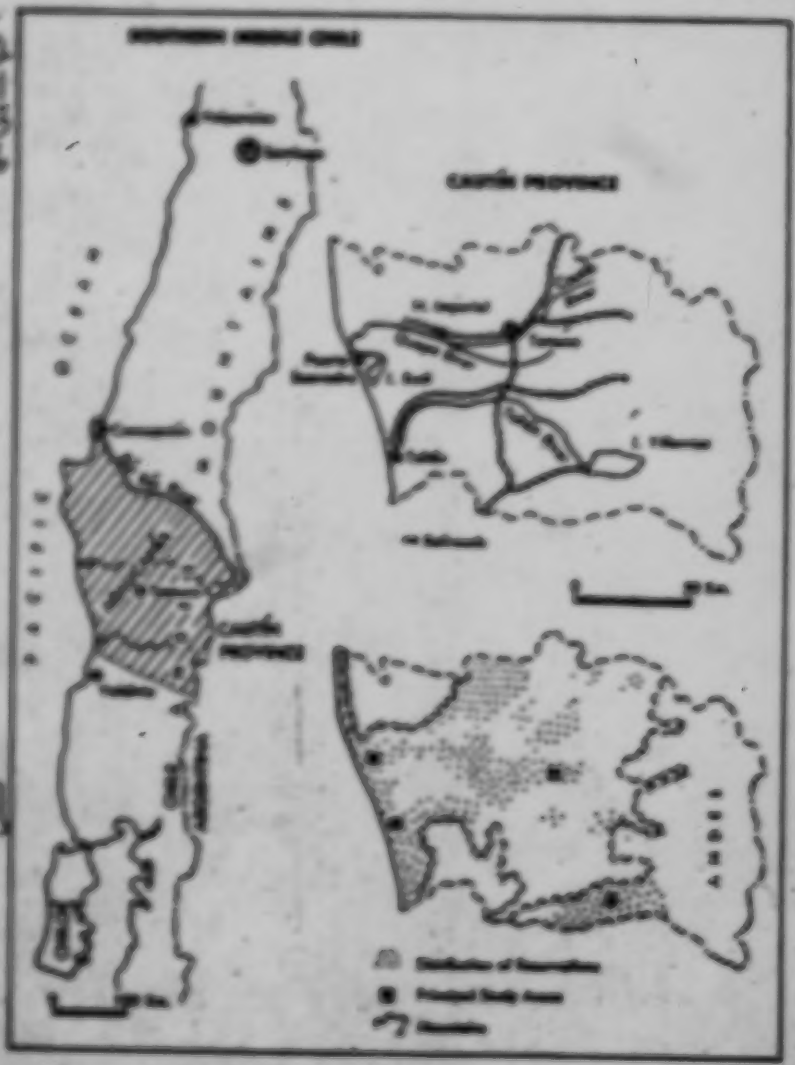

Map 1

[14]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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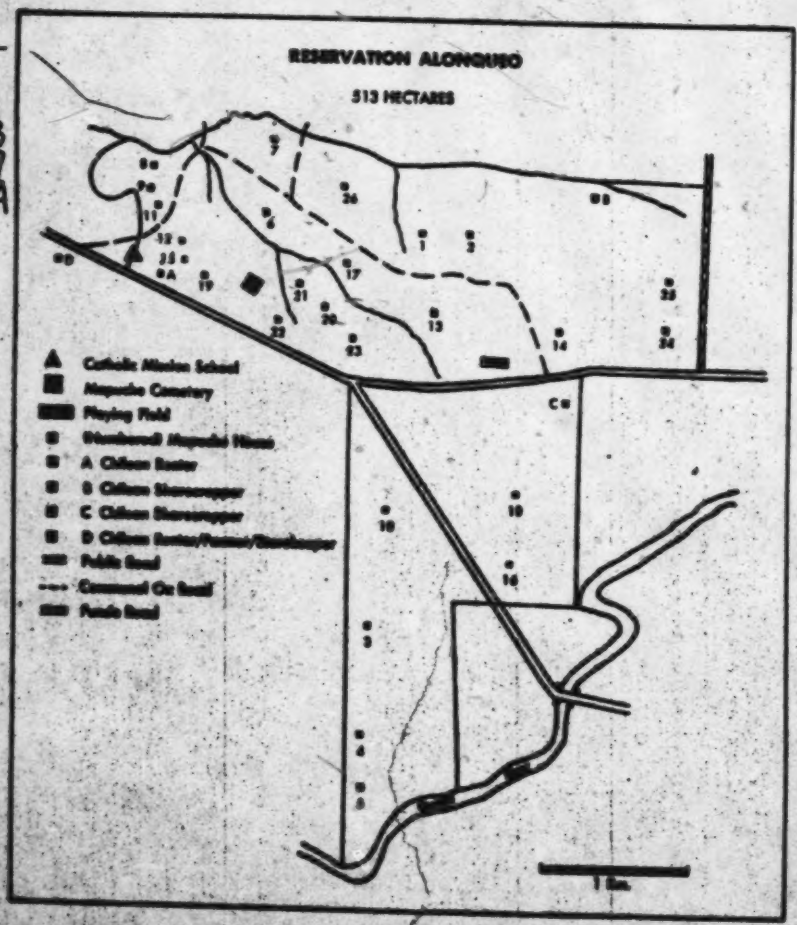

MAP II

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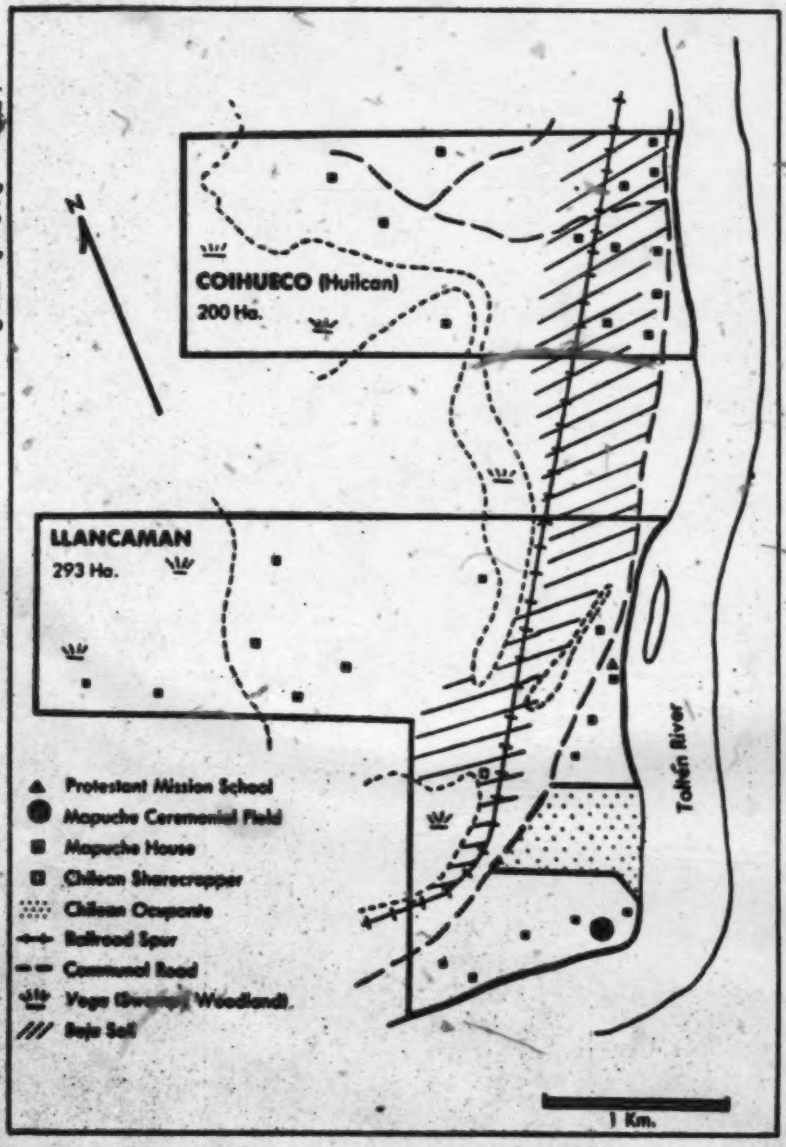

MAP III

[p. 36]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

SOUTHERN CENTRAL CHILE
Cautín Province

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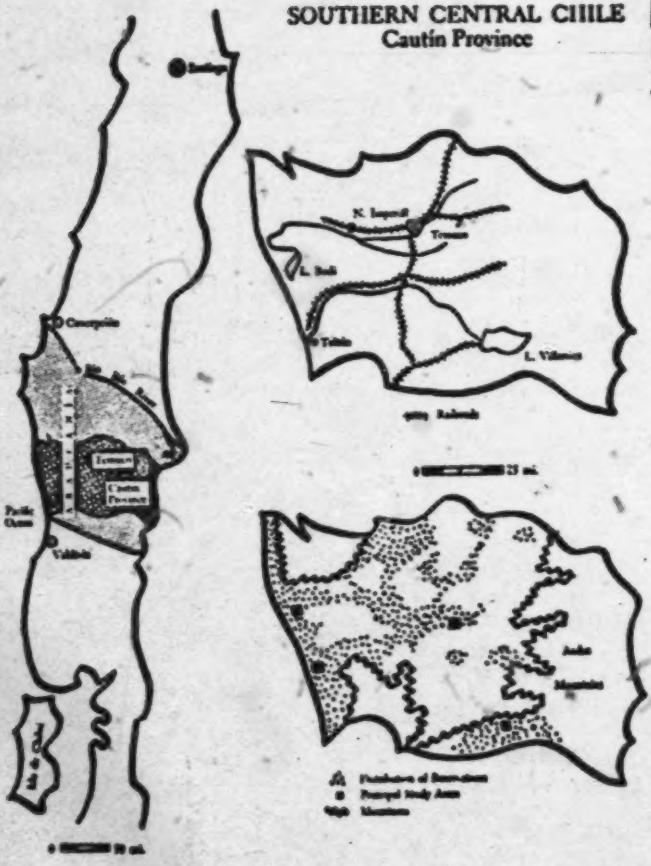

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[994] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[987] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
114 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of
61 kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
794 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Aillatun* fer-
638 tility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undiffer-
619 entiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
582

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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619
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794 wife-receivers (*ñillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional
name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

121 The first objective, therefore, was to obtain information on kinship and sociopolitical structure, and because Cautinche gave promise of yielding reliable and concrete data, intensive field work was initiated at that small reservation of seventeen households, about each of whose inhabitants it was possible to obtain precise sociologic information. Comparative and supplementary studies were then made at Carrarriñe and Renaco.

Another factor that strongly influenced the direction of the investigation was the knowledge that the Araucanians were currently in a state of cultural transition, having only recently been pacified and settled on fixed reserves. This situation provided an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of cultural change, a topic with which I have become increasingly concerned in recent years. It likewise helps to explain why the neighborhood of Cholchol was so readily selected as a center of operations. All studies of cultural dynamics require a sort of base line in time and space from which variations can be determined, and it happens that Richard E. Latcham, one of the most diligent students of the Araucanians, had done much of his field work about half a century ago in the vicinity of Cholchol.[7]

In brief, this report is concerned with the recent and contemporary culture of the Araucanians who live just north of the Cautín River in south central Chile and has four major objectives: to report new information acquired in the field, particularly with respect to kinship and sociopolitical organization; to fit these aspects of Mapuche life into the total picture of their current culture; to augment existing data and to suggest fresh interpretations on the basis of first-hand observations; and to project the present situation against the tribe's former customs, with a view to gaining an insight into the dynamics of culture change.

● 104 Since many native and Spanish terms are included in the text, mainly for purposes of exact identification, it is necessary

[7] Latcham, 1924, p. 250. For a sketch of Latcham's life, and a complete bibliography of his works, see Lothrop, 1945.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

to explain the system of transcription. Spanish words are given in their standard form, but Mapuche terms are rendered according to the method employed by Fray Félix José de Augusta,[8] with the following exceptions: inverted *e* will be represented by *u*, hooked *n* will be written as *ñ*, and elongated *s* will be given as *s*. The plurals of all Mapuche words will be made by the addition of *s*.

Before closing this introduction I wish to call attention to the great need for additional studies of Araucanian culture. Opportunities still exist for investigations both north and south of the Cautín River. In addition to whatever contributions may be made by the publication of this monograph, it is hoped that it will stimulate other anthropologists to exploit the rich potentialities for field research that yet remain among the Araucanians of Chile.

[8] Augusta, 1916.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Arau-*
[101] *canians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average
133 altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the
132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral
137 type, with acacias and laurels typical.

[132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus oblique* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

104 [1] Since certain *Araucanian* colorful names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *hu* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, as English *w*; *gu* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ng*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to latinized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904–10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

● 104 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language.

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapuche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians.

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field.

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Coñaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Coñaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Fraenzhiesl (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenufanco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

APPENDIX A. PHONETIC KEY TO THE ARAUCANIAN LANGUAGE

The equivalents listed below will indicate rough approximations to the Araucanian sounds. They are based on transcriptions made by Félix José de Augusta for his Diccionario (vol. 1, p. xiv, 1916) and his Lecturas Araucanas (2d ed., pp. v and vi, 1934), and on observations made by the writer while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile during the field work of the present study. 104

a as in car
ch as in church
d a sound between d in day and th in thing
e like a in may
f like v in evening
i as in inner
ʃ like j in French je
k as in kitten
l as in lay
ll as in million
m as in man
n as in not
ŋ like ng in German Stange
ñ as in cañon
o as in cañon
p as in pan
r as in Spanish pero
s as in sack
t as in tongue
tr like ch said with force
u like oo in cool
w like oo in foot
y as in yet
l', n', and t' pronounced with tip of tongue between teeth nearly closed (Félix José used a dot in place of an apostrophe)
ü pronounced like the German u but with much force and from the throat as if gargling without water
ö pronounced in the same manner as ü but with less force

104

chacarerñ--includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops
división--the division of reservation land into individual titles after the voting by reservation inhabitants to give up reservation status
fundo--large land holdings
kureyewen--the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen
lakutun--the ceremonial naming ceremony
lofche--extended family groups living in adjacent houses
longo--a kinship elder
machi--shaman
mediero--a sharecropping system which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage
mingaco--communal labor
ñillanthungung--marriage discussions between the two families involved
ñillatufe--ritual priests
parcela--small land holdings
radicación--original registration, establishment of reservations
radicado, a--male or female registered at the time the reservation was established
vuelta mano--work done on a reciprocal basis
weupin--orators who represent the patrilineage of a deceased individual

admapu -- customary law
am -- the soul
antipailamko -- "hawks of the sun," a term used to symbolize all ancestral spirits
awn -- the funeral ceremony
eltun -- cemetery
huampu -- coffin
kallu -- sorcerer-witches
kalkutun -- the ceremony performed to detect witches
kamaff -- officials at the Nillatun ceremony
kapuka -- the god and goddess of abundance
koochotun -- a formal and public demonstration of special friendship, involving the sacrifice of a lamb; a loose-binding blood pact
kutikawin -- the funeral wake
lakutun -- the naming rite
l'ayen -- a term used to refer to a corpse while it is indoors
llani -- the secondary altar in the Nillatun ceremony
llupe -- the ritual fire
lofche -- an extended family group
lonko -- lineage head and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages)

machi -- shaman (female)
machitun -- an elaborate curing ceremony
mafutun -- a ceremony connected with the distribution of bride price
mainhemapu -- grave (infrequently used term)
mingaco -- a cooperative labor venture
mishka -- the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizing that the individuals so related are
 incapable of desiring to harm one another
mulletun -- see hurlawin
Nenemlen -- the Supreme Being for most Mapuche
Nilamale -- the ritual point
Nillatun -- the great agricultural fertility ceremony
pillan -- the spirit helpers of the shaman
pillanlun -- see machitun
pyrun -- a type of dance
ramada -- cubicles made of boughs which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests at the
 Nillatun celebration (Spanish term)
relle -- the witch's cave
rewe -- a step-notched carved pole outside the shaman's house which the *machi* climbs during certain
 ceremonies
sekiff -- placing of gifts in a coffin

thungulmachin -- an aide to the shaman who relates to her those things that she has spoken of while possessed by a spirit
trafkin -- the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons indicating that the individuals involved intend no harm to one another
ülmen -- wealthy men
wekufe -- evil spirits
weza -- evil
weupin -- formal orations, as at a funeral
winka -- outsider

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

above the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After 323
two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cántaro is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cántaro is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire.

The two cántaros shown on the bench in plate 45, *1*, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cántaros in Alepúe area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Panguipulli and Alepúe areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as traiki; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as wishün. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) traiki as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it 325
appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chileans. It is said that these Chileans traded them in when Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of these Chileans robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepúe man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver trimmings of his horse's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepúe area today a Chilean makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This stickpin was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother uses." A 12-year-old schoolgirl wore earrings made by him, "like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me."

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer 105
and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepúe, Panguipulli, Coñaripe, and Boroa in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile.

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

105 Mapuche. Culturally they were and are an agricultural people; today they also raise cattle and sheep. Linguistically they are, along with the Argentine Araucanians, an independent family, their language being known as Araucanian.

Prenatal factors.—Of a childless couple, the woman is believed to be the sterile person. By means of medicinal preparations, it is said, either sterility or fertility can be produced. According to Cooper's sources impotency can be brought upon an unfaithful paramour by an unmarried mother as revenge. The number of children in the families interviewed varied from 3 to 11.

Prenatal period.—The period of gestation is reckoned by the moon; only the approximate time of delivery is known. Most informants had not thought about the time that the fetus becomes human; all agreed that it is human at birth.

Abortifacients—some being common knowledge, others being known only to specialists—had been used by an occasional woman, married or unmarried. Spontaneous abortions also occurred.

Boys were, and are, preferred to girls. Girls, however, are in no way made to feel unwanted. Drinking a specific medicinal preparation known to few is said to bring about the conception of a boy. There is no preference regarding the first-born.

It is believed that an expectant mother, because of certain physical reactions, can predict the sex of her child, and that other persons can do so because of the presence or absence of certain facial changes in the expectant mother. A father who dreams of a falcon can expect a son. There is no belief in reincarnation.

Informants in Cofaripe and Panguipulli areas had no beliefs in prenatal food taboos. In one section of Alepúe area such beliefs exist for an expectant mother; in another section of the same area, all children and all men and women of child-bearing age are prohibited from eating jaiba, a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock. Twins could be expected if either the man or the woman ate the double yolk of an egg.

An expectant mother must not be frightened lest she abort or give premature birth; she must observe certain conduct taboos lest it affect her unborn child or its delivery.

Childbirth, and care of mother and newborn baby.—Informants insisted that a child is always born in the ruka which is its home—according to Cooper's sources it is born in a specially built one. Persons present at a delivery are the woman's husband and their children, her mother, a midwife or two, occasionally other relatives of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

105

woman, and her friends. Machi (shaman) are not present, unless the woman or baby becomes sick.

Formerly midwifery was practiced by women only, unless the family was too poor to pay the fee asked for, in which case the husband of the woman delivered the child. There is no set fee for delivery; generally none is asked for. Today, in Alepúe area, several middle-aged men can be called upon to deliver a woman.

For several days preceding delivery, the woman drinks a specific herbal decoction. No remedy to alleviate labor pains was known to my informants; Cooper mentions one as being used in recent times.

A woman kneels in giving birth, bracing herself by gripping two upright poles or clutching a rope suspended from rafters. The midwife assists delivery by pressure on the woman's abdomen. In a difficult delivery, a midwife, an expert in such cases, is called upon. If she fails to deliver the baby, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth and the machi is hired to perform a machitun. Stillbirths occur. Parents give thanks to God, once the child is born, and ask Him to help the child to live and grow to maturity. Following delivery the mother drinks an herbal decoction.

The baby's birth is not announced or celebrated. Nor is the mother or baby fumigated. Usually the family and those who assisted at the birth partake of a substantial meal of lamb or mutton following a birth.

The navel cord is cut by an assisting woman, who also attends to the navel. Formerly the cord was always saved, and usually is today; disposition of it differed in different areas. If being gagged does not cause the woman to expel the placenta, she is made to vomit. Secundines, including placenta, were always buried in the ruka formerly; occasionally, in more recent times, they are buried outside the ruka. No informant knew of a child born with a caul.

To prevent blindness, a child's eyes are treated with the sap of a specific plant. The closing of the fontanels is believed to be related to physical and mental development. To keep winds from blowing through fontanels, the baby's head was formerly covered with soft moss; today, a cap is used.

To make certain that the child's face will be round—a trait considered beautiful and true Araucanian—the mother massages and shapes the baby's head and face. A low hairline on the forehead, an Araucanian trait, is not desired; hairs are pulled out to heighten it.

Following delivery the mother rests quietly for about two hours after which she walks to the family bathing place—lake, river, or ocean—and there wades directly into deep water. Occasionally, the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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105 old custom of dipping the baby into cold water immediately after birth is adhered to, one of the attending women doing so.

A mother bathes her child frequently during infancy and childhood; some do so daily. Generally it is bathed in the family bathing place or in cold water in the ruka. An occasional mother bathes it in lukewarm water or in a decoction.

Postnatal interests.—Formerly a child's ears were pierced immediately after birth; more recently, only those of a girl are pierced—often not until she is 2 or 3 months old. Only one piercing was, and is, made in each ear. Anyone may do the piercing. Formerly, and occasionally today, relatives are invited to a plentiful meal on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with design. Nose and lips were not pierced.

Chafing was prevented by frequent bathing. Pieces of chamall (homewoven cloth) served as diapers; today, occasionally, pieces of cotton cloth are used. A child that walks wears its diaper in skirtlike fashion. The method of training in toilet habits was not ascertained.

Traditionally the cradle is made by the man before the birth of his first child and is used by all subsequent children. When no more children are expected, it is given away. A cradle is never borrowed or lent.

Two types of cradles are probably traditional: one with a band of wood attached to a backrest, and the other, a bandless one with backrest attached to two poles or boards. The bandless type is not known in Alepúe area. The cradle is made unceremonially; no part is ornamented and no toys are attached to it. Hammocks are not used.

A child is tied to its cradle until it is able to walk. Until then it is generally transported in its cradle. A child able to walk is transported short distances in its mother's arms or astride, in front of her, on horseback.

Both nonsense-syllabled and burden-syllabled lullabies are sung to babies.

The appearance of the first tooth is recognized as proper physical development; an occasional family today makes an event of its appearance, but it is not traditional to do so. To soothe teething jaws they are washed with a decoction; no hard substance is given upon which to bite to hurry teething. If the deciduous teeth are slow in falling out, an herbal preparation is applied to the child's gums. When the deciduous teeth come out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka (Coñaripe area) or thrown into a bush of chupón (Alepúe area), places where dogs cannot get at them.

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The child is expected to creep when a year old; at 2 years it is expected to walk. The child's first step, first walk, first laugh, and first words are noted as progress in its development, but are not celebrated as an event. Until proper toilet habits have been learned, both boys and girls are dressed in skirtlike diapers and chamall; after that, in clothes patterned after those of adults. 105

Nursing, weaning.—While the mother is bathing, following delivery, one of the attending women who knows how, relieves the baby of the phlegm in its throat. Upon the mother's return from her bath, she nurses the baby, and does so thereafter whenever it cries. If the mother has no milk flow, she drinks a mixture of extract of a root and flowing water, and also washes her breasts with it. To increase the milk flow, she eats large quantities of available foods, drinking with them cold and warm water alternately. Today, an occasional mother supplements an insufficient supply of her own milk by feeding the baby commercially condensed milk mixed with water.

A baby that cries for reasons other than hunger is thought to be sick and remedial measures are resorted to; occasionally a machi is asked to perform over it. A child is always nursed until it is a year old; seldom when older than two.

A child is weaned by being given solid foods gradually and then eventually being separated from its mother for several days. An occasional child sucks its finger.

Atypical conditions.—Twins were known to have been born to Araucanians, but no other multiple births were known to have occurred. Treatment of twins differed in different areas—from loving them and treating them like other children, to killing one of them.

Incest is a disgrace. It was not known to have occurred between siblings, or between mother and son, but other rare instances were spoken of.

An unmarried pregnant woman loses the esteem of others, and her family feels disgraced. Her parents, formerly, tried to force a marriage with her paramour; when unsuccessful in this, the woman was generally sent from her home and usually delivered her child without assistance. Occasionally an abortion is attempted; in some instances, it is known, the child was killed at birth. In general, however, the child is cared for in the home of its mother where it is well treated and not blamed or stigmatized. Not infrequently the mother takes it with her when she marries.

A child very rarely was, or is today, born deformed. Formerly, a child so born or one born mentally deficient was killed. Sick children are given small or diluted dosages of herbal decoctions. These failing

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105 to cure, a machi is asked to perform over the child. No Araucanian was known to have been born blind, or to be color blind; deafness is very rare. Left-handed children and adults were met; so were stutterers.

No Araucanian child is ever without a home: a deserted or orphaned child is adopted; in instances, also, one from a normal home is adopted.

Servants were not institutional; second and third wives probably rendered all services needed. Neither was slavery institutional, unless persons held as hostages and not redeemed could be looked upon as such.

Names.—According to informants, the child was given its personal name by its father, usually on the day of its birth (especially if a boy); occasionally, not until it was a year old; rarely, not until it was 2 years of age. According to Cooper's sources, the naming feast followed the days of the mother's seclusion after delivery, usually after 8 days, or sooner.

Either the father selected the name and gave it without ceremony, or someone outside the family selected it, and either this person or the father gave it at a naming ceremony. The name was generally that of a relative. In instances these customs still prevail. Occasionally a boy's name is changed.

The origin of names is not clear. In all probability names did not originate in dreams—unless those of the machi did—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. It appears that each machi was given a new name. No informant had heard of a naming or kinship system known as the kuga or kumpém.

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine ones; no prefixes or suffixes are added to indicate gender. Araucanians had no surnames until Whites introduced them for important permanent records. The father's personal name then became the child's surname.

A nickname may be attached to an individual. Elders often call a girl by a diminutive of her name as an expression of affection.

The family.—Members of all families, especially those of a cacique, were, and are today, expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. All families, today, that live according to accepted social standards and whose economic situation is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect, and are respected by others. No one in any area was spoken of as owning excessive amounts of land, oxen, cattle, or sheep—the measure of wealth. A family's need is the criterion of its possessions;

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excessive amounts over needs may arouse jealousy, and jealousy may cause disaster through black art. It appears that each person has a right to own land in the area in which his father lived; attempts to acquire land in other areas are usually futile. 105

The wearing of a hat by male members of the family, and shoes by all members, gives a family status—it indicates to others that the family has acquired means beyond the immediate necessities of life. A family in which one parent is non-Araucanian is not held in high esteem; neither is a family in which there is continuous quarreling, or in which there is a thief.

The man dominates the family. On the whole, men seemed considerate of their wives and were helpful when needed. The impression given in the literature that women were slaves to their husbands was not substantiated by my observations. Occasionally, however, a man did beat his wife to the extent that she committed suicide. In many things the man confers with his wife, but it is he, as the father of the family, who makes the decisions, and they are final.

Members of a family have an appreciative interest in each other. Affection is mutual between parents and children, and is lifelong, generally. An occasional father is cruel, even brutal, to his children. Having a favorite child is not institutional. There are no brother-sister taboos today. Although one very old informant related that brothers and sisters in the early days spoke little to each other, it is doubtful that there was a taboo.

Children's behavior.—A very small child is bathed by its mother when the mother takes her own bath which is usually daily in all seasons, generally just before sundown. Older children take their own baths. All bathing is done in running water or in lakes. Girls of a family bathed at one time; their brothers at another time. Bathers scatter along the shore, some distance apart. No soap or substitute is used.

The hair is washed when bathing and is occasionally shampooed with suds made from bark. Winds do the drying. If a luster is desired, the hair is rinsed in human urine. Formerly, a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut Chilean fashion. Formerly, a girl's hair was never cut; not infrequently, today, it is. A girl's hair hangs loose or is twisted or braided. It is held from the face by means of a band. Rarely are children infested with lice.

Girls today wear earrings; boys seldom do. Many boys and girls wear one or several rings; none wears a necklace. Both beauty and personal appearance are taken note of.

Chums are not institutional, but an occasional boy or girl has one.

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105 Children of an age group usually play together when small; when older, the sexes play apart. Friendships exist within each group.

Leadership among children is not pronounced. Oratorical ability is taken into consideration when the choice of a leader must be made. Oratory gives distinction to elders, also. Joviality and fun is part of the child's life. A child's sight and powers of observation are keen.

Araucanians have no puberty rites, but cognizance of puberty is taken, for after it a boy is called "young man"; a girl, "young woman." In instances a mother or older sister instructs a girl regarding first menses and motherhood; it is not institutional to do so. There is no taboo regarding menstruating women.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. However, their presence at birth or when a machi performs over nude persons is not in accord with standards of modesty of all cultures. Children are taught courtesy in a positive way. They are also taught to give and to share, and are trained to obey an order without hesitation.

Pride in being an Araucanian is inherent in a child, and a child is hurt if reflections are cast upon its status. An occasional child shows jealousy, but one who does stands out prominently. Boasting and tale bearing are practically nonexistent. In general, the schoolchildren I saw had given little thought to their future.

Teasing is one of the chief amusements of children. Not infrequently it leads to quarreling, with an exchange of angry words, accompanied by hitting back and forth. Temper tantrums on the part of small children are ignored; older children seldom display temper.

An occasional child steals. Parents feel disgraced if it does so, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, but without imprecating the thief. Stealing food to satisfy hunger is quite evidently not theft. Not all fathers teach their sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a young son if he becomes intoxicated.

Adult behavior.—As noted above, many adults bathe in flowing water daily in all seasons. No soap or substitute is used except for the hair, for which suds of soap or bark are used. Today most men have a haircut like the Chileans; an occasional man, especially an old cacique, wears it cut ear-lobe length, or he wears it, as formerly, in long braids. A woman's hair is never cut. She parts it, usually over the crown, and then either braids or twists each part. Two plants are used by women as hair tonics.

A man is proud of his mustache. The beard, usually sparse in growth, is depilated. Heavy beards and whiskers are shaved.

In the early days caciques wore a distinct style of earring; other

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men, with rare exceptions, wore none. Women wore them, and also neck pieces and bracelets. Formerly men also probably wore bracelets. Nose rings were never worn. Brown is accepted as the Araucanian skin color. Body or face painting was not institutional. A nose like the bill of the bandurria (bird) is a matter of pride; a mother will massage her child's nose to shape it thus. Both men and women have an interest in their personal appearance. 105

Special friendships between two men, a man and a woman, or between two families exist, and find expression in a ceremonial. Courtesy is an outstanding virtue of the Araucanians. In some forms and on specific occasions it must follow conventions. Hospitality among Araucanians themselves and toward strangers is most gracious. Willingness to help can be relied upon, especially in a neighborhood group.

An expression of appreciation of an individual's intelligence is the finest compliment that can be paid the person. Differences in intelligence, however, are recognized. Patience is a virtue of all Araucanians, especially of women. Standards of modesty exist. In general, young women live chaste lives; married women even more so. In general, too, men show respect for women.

Prolonged feuds between families seldom occur, though sporadic quarrels arise. Within the family the father is known to give vent to anger toward his wife and children; he demands obedience from both. Quarreling occurs between persons and families, but not often.

Prolonged quarreling between husband and wife is of rare occurrence, for usually the wife gives in. An occasional one who does not may then be beaten by her husband to the extent that she will hang herself. Outside the family revenge is taken by harming fields or persons through witchcraft. Insulting, vile, and imprecating expressions are used by angry persons. Both suicide and murder occurred, but seldom. Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

According to Chilean policemen, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. Offenses that occasionally warrant arrests are theft and injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during intoxication. Drinking to excess is done only when in a group. Women rarely drink to excess.

Teaching the child.—Today, as formerly, teachers of the child are its parents and brothers and sisters, with parents as chief instructors; grandparents, only then when they fill the place of parents. Both parents train a small child. As it grows older the mother trains the girl in woman's work, the father, the boy in a man's responsibilities. Both parents share character training.

In general, the small child has great freedom; seldom is it punished. Children learn by direct instruction, by imitating elders in work or

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105 play, or by actual participation, and by listening in and being non-participant observers. Demonstrations and diagrams are used to clarify instructions. Once old enough to comprehend, the child is taught with intent. Having to repeat information is resented; children are ordered to concentrate upon a thing to be learned.

A child is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Small children are corrected with "hstch"; older ones are spoken to in subdued, sometimes stern, words. A child that has reached the age of reason is taught to conform to accepted standards of behavior, and is obliged to do so, by coercion if necessary. Rarely is a child threatened with punishment by supernatural powers, frightened, ridiculed, ignored, mocked, nagged, coaxed, bribed, or compared with other children, in order to force it to conform. Parents are aware that children vary in response to training. No explanation was given for a difficult child.

At present, children have opportunities to attend either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of education. Attendance is compulsory, and all children attend for at least several years. Parents are more interested in having their sons than their daughters attend school, for sons must be prepared to deal with Chileans.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one parent is non-Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from area to area. Many children learn at home to read and write Araucanian. Teaching in school is done in Spanish.

Oratory, the ability to carry on formal conversation, and facility in speaking well at any time, are held in esteem. Formerly, every boy was given training in all three; today many are still so trained. Sons of caciques were given special training in oratory and memorizing.

The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. Schoolboys were able to count from 1 to 1,000 in their language. Beginners in school use fingers of both hands when counting, and continue on toes, if the number exceeds ten. No method of keeping count was known to informants of the present study. Cooper's informants reported the use of the knotted cord.

The time of day is reckoned by the position of the sun, or the location of sunrays; shadows are not taken into account in telling time. On cloudy or rainy days, hunger indicates the approximate time of day. At night, time is calculated either before or after the moon at zenith. Days are not grouped into weeks. The moon regulates a span of time equivalent to months, but it is doubtful that the months

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had names in the early days. Seasons are noted as they occur. Depending on the informant, there were formerly two, four, five, or seven seasons. Equinoxes, too, are noted. Formerly, years were accounted for by being associated with an important or unusual event. 105

Weather is favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time. Each area studied had its own way of forecasting the weather, which was affected by ocean currents, ocean winds, mountains, and the seasons. Wind is thought to cause lightning. Thunder is God's way of letting the people know that He has been offended. It appears that little significance was attached to stars, constellations, and an eclipse of the moon; an eclipse of the sun formerly omened something undesirable, and does so today. The four cardinal directions are usually indicated by surrounding places (in the Cordillera; at the coast) or locations (near the river; in the valley), rather than by Araucanian words for them.

The pointed end of a cow's horn, a seashell, and a whistle are used in signaling today. (Smoke signaling was recorded by one of Cooper's sources.)

Linear measurements are made by eye, hand, and arm; the Chilean meter, vara, and dawa are also used. Material for clothing is measured by being fitted to the wearer. Quantity measurements are the traditional ones of pinches, handfuls, the head end of an ox horn, to which has been added the Chilean almud. Distance traveled is measured by time consumed in riding there on horseback.

Diversions.—Visiting, outside the family, is done primarily among relatives. Usual topics of conversation are work, and events and news of the day. Araucanians are good conversationalists.

Activities of small children are often enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting. Fables are told when children are listening in; other interesting stories are told at any time. When conversation lags, men (never women) play a game of chance with coins. In recent years smoking has become a recreational habit for young people and adults. Children do not smoke.

Musical instruments at present are a whistle, a wind instrument, and two types of bugle; none of these was used, traditionally, for recreational purposes. According to Cooper's sources, a hardwood drum, a drum made of a tree trunk, a flute, and a panpipe should be added to the above. I heard the guitar and harmonica played as accompaniment to songs and social dances. Social dancing is not traditional; the singing of folk songs and ballads is.

Competitive and other games were played by children, young people,

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and adults. These included tag, tossing a handkerchief, spinning tops, "play of the rooster," marbles, quoits, hockey, and football.

Toys, including dolls, were not part of the Araucanian child's play life; sticks and stones, chicks and kittens were. Imitative play, such as riding horses, playing house, or visiting, and playing getting drunk, are favorite pastimes of small children. Older boys play with marbles, balls, and tops. Older girls mold marbles, miniature pottery, and wheels for spindles.

In general, children like animals and treat them kindly. Chicks and kittens may be pets; lambs seldom are; dogs, never—not even of older boys; older boys favor horses. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits, never. Children identify wild birds and tell of animals that talk to each other.

According to Cooper's sources Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers. Today every boy and girl learns to ride horseback. Boys shoot with slingshots.

Health.—Maintaining the good will of others so that sickness will not be brought upon one by them, and chasing the spirits of ill health from the area by means of a shamanistic performance are the only preventives of ill health known. All ill health is believed to be inflicted by poisoning or by persons who are believed to have power to do so through black art.

Midwives, professed herbalists, and machi (shamans, both men and women) possess knowledge of medicinal herbs, roots, and barks. Such knowledge originates in dreams; it can be shared with others or be bought by them. Household remedies are known to lay persons. Curatives are decoctions, poultices, heat, vapor baths, inhalations, and bloodletting. Curatives not used are bloodmopping, sweating in a sweat lodge, and tattooing. Personal sacrifice and change of scene are not resorted to as restorative measures. Sick children are treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions are weaker.

A machi is called upon to perform when home curatives have failed. In rare instances a machi performs over a sick child. The performance is at night.

A machi studies to be a professional one of his own volition, or because parents choose the profession as a life's work for a child, or because of a compulsive dream. Shamanistic procedures are learned during an apprenticeship with a professional shaman, but a candidate can learn new skills independently from some invisible source and also enhance them by exchange with other shamans. Shamanistic powers are renewed annually when the explosions are in bloom.

Psychosis is rare. It is believed to be brought about by the will of

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another through evil spirits, as a retaliation. Children of low mentality, too, are rare. 105

Marriage.—Until recent years polygyny was the customary form of marriage, with two wives as the prevailing number. A man could, however, marry as many women as he was able to pay the bride price for. Today polygynous marriages are looked at askance, but there were several such marriages in each area.

Simultaneous wives sometimes lived in one ruka; each wife then had her own fireplace, or occasionally all wives used the same one. More often, probably, each wife lived in a separate ruka. Wives, in some instances, took turns cooking for all the families of a husband; in other instances, each wife cooked for her own children only. The first wife a man married gave orders to his other wives and had priority rights in other matters. Although, in general, simultaneous wives lived peacefully, exceedingly trying situations, with consequent suicide by one of the wives, occurred.

Polyandry was never part of the Araucanian culture. In all probability there was no wife lending, despite Cooper's sources. The idea of daughter lending was repellent. Promiscuity occurred, and occurs today, but is rare. Homosexuality among young men was reported as a common thing.

Cross-cousin marriage is institutional, with preference for marriage between a woman's children and those of her brother. Prohibited marriages are those between parallel cousins, between children of one wife (in case of simultaneous wives) and those of another wife, between a man and one of his father's widows, between a man and his paternal or maternal grandmother, and between a woman and her paternal or maternal grandfather. Both sororate and levirate were institutional, but not obligatory.

Persons were of marriageable age when they had reached the twenties; most men were married before they reached the thirties. In general, the man was a few years older than the first woman he married. This is still the case today. Succeeding wives were usually much younger than the man.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman; a man is ready for marriage when he knows how to support a family and has the wherewithal to do so. There is a proper procedure in the choice of a mate and an accepted traditional marriage ceremonial with payment of the bride price. Kidnapping and eloping, too, are traditional, but they are not considered proper ways to marry. Today, the accepted traditional way is seldom followed. If a young man is unable to pay the bride price, or is unwilling to do so, and finds his

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105 father in agreement with him, an elopement follows. Occasionally a woman was, and is today, forced into marriage entirely against her will. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will nearly always go to the home of the man who is the father of her child. She may or may not be accepted there. Today a civil marriage is performed preceding a religious one in accordance with Chilean law. Many today marry without a ceremony of any kind. Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively.

Formal divorce is not a custom; separation by agreement is, but it is rare; desertions occur more often. In either case children are taken care of. Infidelity on the wife's part was rare, but a husband was justified in whipping or dismissing a wife who had been or was suspected of having been unfaithful. Such a woman's face was not disfigured, but in Pangipulli area the husband was known to have cut the hair off one side of an unfaithful wife's head.

According to Catharipe informants mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos are institutional; so are father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos, but to a lesser degree. Alepín and Pangipulli area informants insisted that neither ever existed. Joking relationships were probably not conventional.

Religion and supernatural powers.—The Supreme Being, the only deity, is spoken of as the creator of the world, or master of the land, or ruler of the earth, and as the ruler of the world, or lord of all creation, or master or ruler of men. According to Cooper's sources, the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him.

The appearance or essence of the Supreme Being had not been given much thought. He had with Him in His abode a woman, and these two had sons and daughters. The location of the abode was not known. The Supreme Being was prayed to either directly, or through the woman or the deceased leaders of the tribal religious ceremonial, or the deceased machi.

Private prayer, often accompanied by small sacrificial offerings, was not uncommon. Belief in a guardian spirit is not part of the Araucanian culture. Belief in personal power of supernatural origin, however, is. The belief in evil guest spirits is pre-Christian. The belief in a place of punishment or wrongdoing is of recent origin.

The tribal religious ceremonial—a celebration with sacrificial offerings and prayers lasting several days—was formerly held several times each year; more recently, only once a year, or when the need

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indicates it. It is held for the welfare of all the people, especially those attending the ceremonial. 105

Black art is practiced by witches, both men and women, upon persons or property, in revenge. Witches are hired and exercise their art through an object as a medium. Being a witch is not a profession, such as being a machi is, but occasionally a machi is a witch, also.

Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but it does not seem to have been resorted to often. Both good and bad omens were believed in, but neither seems to have had any great significance.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Nocturnal calls of certain animals foretell death. Death is unfailingly caused by poisoning, except in cases of accident, violence, or suicide. In Cobquipe area, having oneself photographed is also believed to be a cause of death.

Relatives of a dying person are summoned and remain until after the burial. The dying person is generally dressed in his best clothes. There are no facial or skin decorations. Formerly, personal silver ornaments were buried with the person. According to Cooper's sources the rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period and region, and also according to the rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Only a few of the customs recorded by him exist today.

Women and children in Pangipulli and Cobquipe areas, but not in Alapile area, attend burials. Burials of related families have always been in the same cemetery. Formerly each grave had a wooden marker; today, nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

The abode of the dead was believed to be in the volcanoes. The journey there begins immediately after death, but an occasional spirit haunts the rooms it inhabited in life, and also the area about it, and does annoying things. Only vague ideas regarding life after death exist.

Formerly, there were no exterior signs of mourning; today, customs of Chileans are often followed.

Tribal government.—Formerly, the cacique was the head of the local unit of government, that is, an area occupied generally by related families. He was assisted by men of his choice. Laws were made by the male population, acting as a body, but the cacique was responsible for their interpretation and enforcement. At the cacique's death his eldest son inherited his place, unless the people did not recognize this son as an able man, in which case another son was designated; or if no son was considered capable, a man from another family was selected. When the men assembled to select a cacique, women had the right to express an opinion.

Although a cacique had no emblem of power, he was really dis-

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105 Gugulahdin in a gathering by a stone suspended from his neck, and by a distinct earring which he wore.

Although the present-day government is influenced, and sometimes controlled, by Chilean provincial and national governments, Chilean authorities recognize the relationship of the cacique to his people, and consider him at least a liaison between themselves and his people. A cacique, today as formerly, presides at meetings of his people, presents their requests to Chilean Government officials, and sets the date for the performance of the tribal religious ceremonial. Formerly, it appears, a cacique could take land from one who had more than he needed and give it to someone who stood in need of it. Formerly, too, offenders were punished by their cacique. If an offense involved persons subject to more than one cacique, joint action was taken by the caciques concerned. At present the Chilean Government enforces law and order.

Today, an Araucanian man who possesses an identification card, which the Chilean Government issues to any man eligible to vote who requests one, has the privilege of voting at all Chilean elections; a woman holding such a card may vote at local elections, a right of all eligible Chilean women. Araucanian men vote; no one knew of an Araucanian woman who had done so. Taxes are levied by the Chilean Government on land owned by Araucanians.

Land, subsistence, and trade.—Araucanians were, and are, land-owners—they are an agricultural and grazing people. There are no villages. Usually, related families live within an area limited by natural boundaries. Within this area land claimed by individuals or families is marked off by fences or natural boundaries. Unclaimed and wooded lands are owned in common. Wooded land is cleared by burning.

Formerly, each cacique had a record of owners of land in his area; today ownership is recorded with the Chilean Government, and every owner is expected to hold a Government-issued deed to lands he claims. Araucanians today are also subject to Chilean inheritance laws regarding land. Araucanians fear that recent Chilean legislation regarding their land is jeopardizing their ownership of it.

No Araucanian claims exclusive rights to areas where araucarias grow, or to banks of rivers from which fishing is done, shores of the Pacific where seaweeds are gathered, or areas on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and dry-docked.

Until recent years seeds of wild grass, now nearly extinct, were harvested as food, but wheat was also cultivated. According to Guichard, agricultural implements formerly used were the wooden bar

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or pick, the wooden spade or shovel, and perforated stones for smoothing lumps of earth; today a wooden or metal plow drawn by oxen is the chief implement. Cultivated lands today, as formerly, lie in burnt-over areas or natural glades. Fields are not fertilized but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two seasons. Seeding is done by hand. Both fields and gardens, many believe, should be planted when the moon is waning. Parents are a part both at planting and at harvest time.

Grain is cut with a sickle, unless a small amount is needed before harvest time, in which case ears are plucked by hand, as formerly. Usually harvesting is done by all the family. Formerly threshing was done by persons trampling on ears of grain to the rhythm of songs, or by horses trampling on the ears in an enclosure; both methods are used today. In Collaripe, in 1947, threshing was done by a steam-propelled engine owned by Chileans. Threshing done, an abundant meal is served with an oversupply of chicha.

Each family plants a good-sized potato patch and a garden of vegetables; many gardens have plants used in seasoning. Fruit trees are often found near gardens, and so are flowers.

In the early days, according to Cooper's sources, domesticated animals were the dog, llama, guanaco, and maybe the guinea pig; neither llama nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were owned; and after the middle of the century, the horse. Today domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, geese, dogs, and cats. Some animals are owned by children.

Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded to show ownership. These animals are not placed under shelter, but sheep are put into corrals to protect them against pumas. Grazing lands are selected along a water's edge, and are fenced in, as are wheat fields and gardens. Medicinal remedies for sick animals are known.

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources, played a minor role in Araucanian economy; they are practically nonexistent today. The bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-bolled bolas were used as weapons in the early days; snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and nets were also used. The puma was hunted with dogs. Old informants described the setting of snares and deadfalls and the making of traps.

According to Cooper's sources, fish were taken with nets, poisons, and baskets baited and put under water, lines, line and hook, spears, clubs, and weirs; small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned.

Fish and shellfish were, and still are, an important Araucanian

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dietary element. Today Alepín and Boros men fish in the Pacific; Pangipulli and Collaripe men, in Andean streams. Women along the Pacific collect shellfish.

Formerly the llama served as a pack animal; today the horse is used. Light loads are often carried by persons on or under the arms, and in baskets or netted bags on the back or head, or by hand. Heavy loads are hauled in carts or dragged by oxen. Oxcarts are made of wood; an occasional one has wagon wheels.

Short distances, today, are traveled on foot over well-trodden paths; longer distances are covered on horseback. All horseback riders sit astride in saddles constructed for riding up and down steep grades.

The traditional water crafts—the plank boat, dugout, and balsa—were in use during the present study. Generally, however, rivers are forded on foot, horseback, or oxcart. Occasionally one or several logs serve as a footbridge over a creek or narrow stream. Bridges built by Chileans are also used.

In general, only men travel to Chilean trading centers; women and girls seldom go there. Often a son accompanies his father.

In all areas today, articles are bartered and borrowed, as in times past. Araucanians had no currency formerly; today Chilean money is used to purchase necessities not produced. Such money is obtained by selling to Chileans such things as domesticated animals, seafoods, woven products, felled trees, wheat (when the harvest has been abundant), or by working as hired help. Money is borrowed by mortgaging land, oxen, or cattle.

Food, shelter, clothing.—Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, baked, smoked, and dried. Cooking is done today, as formerly, over a fire in a shallow pit in the ruka or, weather permitting, outdoors. Firewood that gives off a minimum of smoke is favored. Cooking kettles are hung from a raft, which is either suspended over the fireplace from rafters or is supported there on poles planted in the ground. Implements used in the preparation and consumption of food are traditional ones of wood, stone, earth, animal parts, and plant fibers, and commercially obtained ones of enamel, porcelain, zinc, iron, and copper.

Wild plants, today as formerly, form a substantial part of the Araucanian diet. Wild honey is often collected and used to sweeten foods.

Wheat, a basic food, is prepared in traditional dishes; so are potatoes, another important food. Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, chicken, and, occasionally, wild birds and pumas are roasted or are cooked with vegetables or wild plants to make thick soups or stews. Three favorite dishes of sheep or lamb are spinal hog; coagulated blood, well sea-

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soned and fried or cooked with vegetables; and stomach and entrails, either fresh or smoked. Since fresh meat is available when desired, meat is not stored; an oversupply is dried over the fire and eaten soon afterward. Fish are baked or smoked. Favored dishes are prepared from shellfish and sea algae. Butter and eggs are not relished; milk is made into cheese in a manner learned from non-Araucanians. 105

Drinking water is brought from springs—rukas are built where there is an uncontaminated, clear, cool spring. At the end of a meal yerba maté is drunk, unless chicha is at hand; in the early days mudai was the beverage.

Formerly, two meals were eaten each day, a custom which still prevails. All the family eats together, seated around the fireplace either on folded sheep pelts or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. A woman serves her husband first, then the children, then herself.

The ruka, the home of the Araucanian, is generally smaller today than formerly, for the prevailing monogamous marriages no longer require ruka to house a man's several families. An occasional family today has two ruka, one for sleeping and storage and one for cooking and working. Three types of ruka were observed during the present study: one completely of thatch, one with roof of thatch and sides of planks, and one with sides of planks and roof of logs. Ruka today, in general, are rectangular in ground plan, and gable-roofed or lean-to in shape; formerly, according to Cooper's sources, they were oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan.

Ruka have no chimney or windows; each has one entrance—some have several. More than one entrance permits the one facing unfavorable winds to be closed. Men assist each other in building the ruka. At the completion of one, a plentiful meal is served, and usually there is excessive drinking of chicha. A ruka belongs to the family, but is spoken of as belonging to the father.

The interior of a ruka is unfinished. It is lighted and heated by the fireplace which is usually a little to the front of the middle of the ruka. In this location the heat does not reach potatoes and wheat stored in the rear. Sleeping is done in corners and along walls, on pelts on the ground, unless the family has a second ruka used for sleeping. Occasionally a family has low platform beds. Coverings are homespun and homewoven blankets. A rolled-up poncho or a piece of wood serves as a pillow.

Storage space is within the ruka, in the rear of it, and on lofts, shelves, and tables. Containers used are boxes, bins, dug-out tree trunks, baskets, netted bags, gourds, animal paunches and udders,

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105 pottery, wooden containers, and modern ones. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, hill caves were used for storage also. The ruka are orderly and clean; and so are adjoining yards. Brooms of grass or vines were being used.

The traditional clothing for men and boys was a sleeveless sweater, a piece of cloth secured at the waist and drawn between the legs to form pants, and a poncho. Women and girls wore a piece of cloth fastened on one or both shoulders and tied about the waist with a belt, and a shawl.

Today, with few exceptions, men, both old and young, wear pants, shirt, often a coat, and a poncho; married women more often wear the traditional clothing with a long-sleeved waist added; younger women, the dress worn by Chileans. At work, men are usually barefoot; shoes are worn by those who can afford them at fiestas, church services, and when among Chileans in trading places. Women are usually barefoot. Hats are worn by most men and many boys. Women wear silver accessories on special occasions.

A schoolboy today generally wears knee-length pants, shirt, and poncho; a schoolgirl, a dress of calico made in the Chilean style, and a shawl. Rarely do boys or girls wear shoes.

Clothes are washed in running water by being slapped with a wooden implement on flat rocks or boards. Drying is done on bushes and fences near the ruka.

Domestic handicrafts.—Both men and women shear sheep. Several days before shearing, women pour a decoction on each sheep while men work the wool with the hands. Wool is stored by being hung on fences. Preparatory to using it, boiling water is poured over it, after which it is worked with the hands in swift running water, and vigorously swished back and forth in it to free it of dirt and little sticks. No soap or substitute is used.

All women and girls and many boys spin wool into yarn; men rarely do so. The spindle is a single piece of wood with a slight groove near the upper end, and a whorl near the lower end. The spinner is seated with the lower end of the spindle on the ground and the upper end held loosely in the right hand. The wool is wound around the left arm and twisted into the desired thickness between index finger and thumb of right hand, and the spindle is rotated to spin the yarn. Two strands of yarn are twirled when it is to be used in weaving ponchos.

Yarn, not wool, is dyed. Dyes are obtained from native plants and from earth, and are bought at Chilean stores. Certain bright colors can be produced by boiling the yarn in a decoction of certain plants previous to dyeing, but most are obtained by the use of commercial dyes.

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Native dyes are generally set by boiling the yarn in a mixture containing human urine; commercial dyes, in a solution of alum and water. Women do the dyeing. Today dyeing is done in kettles used for cooking; formerly it was done in ollas. 105

Weaving is done on rectangular looms by women and older girls. Articles woven are ponchos, cloth for women's clothes, belts, headbands, blankets, throws, and saddle covers. Designs used have no significance; they are generally conventional ones, often merely stripes.

Traditional basketry products in use during the present study were the wilal (a carrying bag), the külko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieving, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray). These were made of plant fibers. Wilal are netted by adults and children; women specialists weave külko and twine chaiwe; men coil llepü.

Women make pottery by the coil method, without decorations. The traditional olla (potlike container) and the cántaro (juglike container) are made today from brown and black clay with finely ground pumice used as adhesive. Since the olla is used as a cooking vessel, it is fired to a greater degree than is the cántaro which is used to carry and store water. Silversmithing, it appears, is a lost art.

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Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Huapi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of maqui or michai; guanaco color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

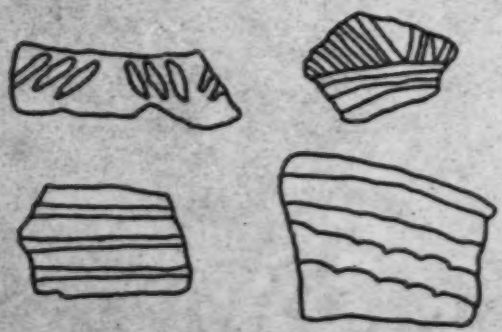

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FIG. 20.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Collón Có.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Collón Có in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 20). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family. 105

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105 *Prenatal factors.*—No cause of sterility was known; nor was a way of producing fertility known. There was no knowledge regarding contraceptive devices. Children were considered a blessing. In families of informants there were from 6 to 15 children. An occasional family had as many as 20 children.

Prenatal period.—Pregnancy was counted by moons; at the third moon the fetus was considered to be a person; at the ninth moon birth was expected. In all probability, sex preference was not institutional. There was no way of producing sex, but sex was predicted during pregnancy. There was no belief in reincarnation. The father of an unborn child is not hampered by either food or conduct taboos or prescriptions; his pregnant wife is.

Childbirth.—The home, that is the toldo, was the proper place for the birth of the child. In summer, on rare occasions, delivery took place in a shelter erected near the toldo. The unmarried mother delivered her child usually in an unfrequented place. There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother always assisted with the birth. In dire necessity, a man performed the services of midwifery in the delivery of his own child. The woman's husband and her father, and occasionally her children, were present at the delivery. The unmarried mother was alone except for a woman friend.

In general, women took no decoctions to facilitate birth, for deliveries were usually easy. In cases of prolonged labor, the woman was given a nauseating preparation or was encouraged to produce abdominal contraction by blowing. The woman kneels during delivery, clutching an upright pole or pulling a rope. Births today are recorded in conformity with Argentine law.

Both premature and stillbirths occurred, but both were very rare. A dead fetus was removed by the assisting woman. The navel is given no treatment. Formerly the navel cord was dried and either stored or given in powdered form to the child when sick; today, it is buried inside the house near the wall. If there is difficulty in ejecting the placenta, the woman either is given a specific decoction or is made to gag. The placenta is buried near the wall of the house, either inside or outside; in several instances in recent years it was discarded as refuse.

If a child was born with a caul—a rare occurrence—it was expected to grow up to be intelligent. The caul was dried and either stored in the house, or buried within or near it.

Mother's milk is used to sterilize the baby's eyes, generally; occasionally, today, aniline dye is used. Fontanels should close before the

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child begins to walk. Skull formation was not practiced, but face molding was. 105

Occasionally today, as formerly, the mother takes the child, following delivery, and bathes herself and it in the waters of a stream (it is believed that the child will benefit physically by the bath), but more often the baby is bathed in lukewarm water by the woman who assists at delivery.

Postnatal interests.—Noses were not pierced. Every child had its ears pierced, formerly, when it was given its name. Relatives were invited as guests on this occasion. There was no conventional ear piercer. Occasionally (for the benefit of the child, so it was believed) either grandmother, and sometimes others, at the ear-piercing feast pierced the skin on the back of her own hand, a performance known as katawe. Today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced.

To prevent or cure chafing the sap of specific plants was applied to the baby; grease was not used; today, commercial talcum powder is used. Diapers were either homewoven cloth, woven especially for the purpose or cut from worn-down material, or softened skin of guanaco or lamb untanned and closely clipped. A child able to speak is expected to tell its toilet needs.

The baby's first clothing was a wrap of guanaco or lamb skin if the diaper was cloth; or cloth, if the diaper was guanaco or lamb skin. A woven band was used in swaddling.

Generally the cradle was made by the father for the first child and kept in the family for subsequent children. The baby spent most of its waking hours swaddled and lashed to it, with the cradle in erect position resting against some object; at night, it slept with its mother out of its cradle. It was transported by its mother on horseback, in its cradleboard, with the cradle either resting in front of the mother or being tied securely to her back. A mother traveling on foot carried her baby in her arms. An older child was often transported on the back of an adult. A hammock for a small child was suspended indoors or outdoors. Both burdened- and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies.

Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. Inflamed gums were washed with a decoction—today young mothers use vinegar. If a teething child ran a temperature, its gums were rubbed with unwashed wool of black sheep; young mothers today use commercial alum. No significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth. Both deciduous and second teeth were buried in the table when they came out.

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105 The baby's first smile is noticed, but has no significance. Usually a child was not permitted to creep; when it reached the creeping stage, it was taught to stand. A mother uses several methods to teach it to walk. A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to give it freedom of movement. Neither creeping nor walking is celebrated as an event.

Nothing is done to bring about early speech development. The mother teaches the child to speak, beginning with words.

Nursing and weaning.—A mother nurses the child until it is about 2 years old, unless an unusual situation arises. The mother sustained her milk flow by eating much nourishing food; she ate no beef, however, because it was believed to make a nursing mother sick. No decoction was given to increase milk flow. A child was nursed on an indicated or demand schedule, but never when there was a snake about the place. A child old enough to hold something in its hands is given a piece of meat from which to suck the essence. It is given soups about this time also. As soon as it can swallow heavier foods, the mother masticates meat for it. When it has teeth, it is expected to eat foods eaten by adults.

A child is weaned either gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk or abruptly by placing it with relatives or neighbors for several days, and, upon its return to its mother, discouraging nursing by treating the nipples with a plant repellent. Fur repellent was not used. The postnursing milk must be poured into a brook, since this will give the mother the capacity to nurse other children that may yet be born to her.

Atypical conditions.—Twins, but no other multiple births, were known to have occurred; twins have been born in recent times. They may be both of the same sex, or one of each. There was no way of predicting them. According to most informants twins were not wanted, but never were they killed. Twins had no special way of talking.

No information on incest was collected. Illegitimacy was formerly a rare thing. The family of a girl who had an illegitimate child lost status in the community, and the cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the parents of the girl insisted. A child born to an unmarried girl was known as a "natural" child. It was reared in its mother's home, if born there (which rarely happened), or by its grandparents or other sympathetic adults.

Rarely was a child born deformed. Infanticide was not practiced. A child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, and is given either medicinal preparations used for children or diluted doses of those

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taken by adults. A ceremonial known as machitun was formerly performed over critically ill persons, including children. A sympathetic adult may perform the katawe on himself, if a child is injured. No person was known to be color blind or to stutter; left-handed men and women existed. 105

There was no formal adoption of children, but an orphan or a child from a broken home was reared by relatives. An adult who spoke of small children, especially of babies, could expect one to be brought to him to be reared. Captives were taken and reared by both Araucanians and Argentines in time of war.

Names.—A name, usually that of a deceased relative, was given the child on the occasion of the piercing of its ears. The name was selected by either or both parents. If the father did not announce the child's name to those present, one of the grandmothers did so. No prayers were said, nor was there a ceremony. The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants; some names lent themselves to translation, others did not. Feminine names differed from masculine ones. A woman's given name was generally not used when speaking of her. Until recent years there were no surnames. Adults, both men and women, but not children, were given nicknames.

The family.—A family had status in the community if it conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence. The man dominated the family, but his wife or wives, in case of multiple wives, and the children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. Peace usually reigned in the family if there was no resistance to the man's authority. In the event of a disagreement, the wife usually gave in.

Parents love their children, provide for them, teach and train them, and assist their sons in the choice of a mate. Children respect their parents and provide for them when necessary. Among themselves, children, in general, are agreeable.

Children's behavior.—A girl's hair is not cut; a boy's is. Children have keen sight and hearing. They are courteous to each other and to strangers, and most respectful to older persons, having been taught to be so by parents. They are also taught to be helpful; not to be boastful or jealous; not to quarrel—persistent quarreters are punished, usually whipped. Tale bearers are listened to, but ignored if the matter is of no importance. Obedience is demanded by parents of all children, formerly even after they became adults and married. If a child persists in disobeying after having been whipped, its blood is let, the belief being that its blood is bad.

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105 Children rarely lie; they were and are taught not to. If a child steals, it is made to return the stolen thing. A boy's personality was predicted from his conduct while he was under the influence of an intoxicating beverage. With the express permission of the father, men in their twenties drank to intoxication. Chums were not institutional; lifelong friendships occasionally existed. No sex instructions were given, but in rare instances a girl was told the purpose of menstruation. At first menses, but not at any subsequent ones, the girl was isolated in a corner of the toldo. There was no puberty rite for boys. Two institutional performances were, however, sometimes transacted when a boy's voice had changed, namely a personality prediction test and one known as katan kawifi—one similar to the katawe.

Adult behavior.—A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, and facial hair are not desired; both are removed. Bathing is done daily by many; hair is washed whenever a bath is taken. Formerly, personal adornments of both men and women were silver bracelets, earrings, necklaces, rings, and studding on belts. Women also used silver stickpins and hair ornaments; men often decorated with silver their saddles, stirrups, bridles, and the handles of long knives.

Modesty in women was highly esteemed; it was taught to girls. Courtesy, helpfulness, and hospitality were also taught and were met with everywhere during the present study, especially where old persons dominated the situation. Pride, especially pride in one's intelligence, is one of the predominating characteristics. Feeblemindedness is exceedingly rare. Anger is seldom displayed, but once aroused it is vociferous. There was very little quarreling, probably because of early training.

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death by poisoning as revenge was more frequent. Death as a penalty was institutional. Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. Suicides occur occasionally, usually due to sadness. A woman commits suicide by hanging herself; a man, by cutting his throat or stabbing his abdomen and, in more recent years, by using a revolver.

The word of an adult can generally be relied upon. Seldom was anything stolen in the early days; in cases of theft the cacique ordered that the stolen article be returned. Today, there is seldom anything stolen from an Araucanian; but sheep are occasionally stolen from non-Araucanians. Drinking to intoxication, formerly, was a communal affair; today individuals drink to excess whenever sufficient chicha or wine can be obtained.

Teaching the child.—Parents were the primary instructors of the child. Methods used were those of direct verbal instruction, observa-

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tion and participation, and sharing responsibilities. Today children attend local rural or village state schools. 105

In general, small children grew up without much interference by adults. Customarily a child was not rewarded for work well done; usually the adult interested the child in what it was expected to do. Compulsions consisted in talking to the child in a serious manner, scolding it, and, if necessary, switching it.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one of the parents is non-Araucanian. School-age children and all adults, except very old persons, speak Spanish, also. Informants told of methods used by their Spanish conquerors to teach them the Spanish language. Dialectic differences were pointed out; so were words incorporated from the Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani languages. There was no written language in the early days. Pictographs found on rocks in the areas are ascribed to unknown peoples. Oratory, a highly esteemed ability, was formally taught.

Children count on fingers, and on toes if a greater number than 10 is being counted. Numerals range from 1 to 1,000; there is no zero.

Time of day is told rather accurately by the lengthening of shadows; on sunless days time is merely guessed. The divisions of the day are based on the position of the sun, and are so named. Days were not named, nor were they grouped into weeks. When necessary, days were counted, as each one passed, by tying a knot in a cord or thong. One's age was associated with events of general interest. Seasons had names.

Weather forecasts were possible for only particular local areas because of land contours and altitudes, except for such general forecasts as that a very red moon indicated hot weather; black clouds, rain.

An eclipse of the moon or sun predicted disaster. The morning and the evening stars and several constellations were identified by names.

Signaling was done by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and by the sounds of the trutruka at all times.

Linear measurements were parts of a finger, hand stretches, arm stretches, and distances between hands. Lengths were often noted by knots made in a strand of yarn, which served as a measuring tape. Measurements on the ground were stepped off. Today, a meter is also used for linear measurements. Clothes were fitted to the person for whom they were intended.

Quantity measurements were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls.

Diversions.—Visiting was, and still is, a popular pastime. Generally

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105 conversation during visiting is about current topics of interest, but legends and stories are also told. Children are always listeners-in; sometimes legends are told for their benefit. During visits older men usually smoked a mixture of plant substances in pottery pipes. Today a cigarette is usually passed from person to person.

Formalized conversation was carried on when a woman's immediate family paid its first visit to her after her marriage; at the time of her marriage she moved to her husband's toldo.

Musical instruments were a drum, a wind instrument, two types of whistles, a tune pipe, rattles, and an instrument made of the lower jaw of a horse. There were no traditional recreational dances; today, modern dances of the Argentines are participated in.

A game of chance was played by men, and by boys among themselves. A competitive game, known as chueca, is still played by opposing teams from different areas.

Small children played with sticks, stones, or insects, and when a little older, with tops and other things that they themselves could make or find about the place. Dolls were not part of a girl's play life. Domesticated animals were not pets, but a young orphaned guanaco or rhea was raised and became one. Today, an occasional child has a kitten or cat, a dog, or a chicken as a pet.

All children learned to swim; today, mostly boys do so. Formerly, all children rode horseback, and many do today.

Health.—Certain measures taken when children were young, it was believed, would insure good health and result in long life. If ill health occurred in either children or adults it was ascribed to sorcery. It was believed that sorcerers had either put poison into one's food or had inflicted harm in a mysterious way from a distance. Antidotes known to others or to the sorcerer had to be applied in the early stages of sickness if a cure was to be effected. Often it was jealousy that prompted use of sorcery to cause sickness. Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. If it occurred, it, too, was blamed on sorcery. The inflicting sorcerer knew the antidote.

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists, and also by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers or only sorcerers. Machi and herbalists were of both sexes. The machi exercised their curative powers during a performance known as machitun.

Herbalists, as specialists, are practically nonexistent today; but plants and other things used as household remedies are known to many, even to children. The human anatomy is not well known.

Marriage.—Formerly, a cacique had three or more wives; commoners not infrequently had two. Simultaneous wives were seldom

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sisters. Each wife with her children lived either in a section of one large toldo, or in a separate toldo, or in one of several attached toldos. 105

Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. Preferential marriages were those between persons of the same jurisdiction. All other marriages were tolerated, but not favored. Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate. In the early days men were usually in their thirties when they married; women, past 25; men sometimes married a last time when about 80 years of age.

Traditionally, the proper way to arrange a marriage was for the man to tell his parents of his wish to marry a certain girl and for his parents then to speak to the girl's parents about it—the girl's wishes were seldom consulted. The girl's parents talked it over, but it was her father that gave consent and set the bride price. In more recent times, the man himself has obtained the consent of the girl's parents. Today, often the man asks the girl directly, and then together they ask the consent of the girl's parents. Child bethrothal occurred, but whether or not it was institutional was not ascertained. Elopement was never considered proper form.

Objects used as love charms were not known, but sorcery was exercised to obtain love. In recent years, young girls have sought to learn the kind of husband that might be theirs through the interpretation of ink or soot blotches. The families of both sides participated in the marriage ceremonial.

Desertions were, and still are, very rare. In cases of infidelity, formerly, the paramour of an unfaithful wife, especially of a cacique's wife, was usually killed.

A formalized welcome was given the relatives of a woman on their first visit to her after her marriage, as already stated. Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional, but not so father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos. No evidence was found that joking relationships were institutional.

Religion.—The belief in God as creator and the belief in God as one interested in the welfare of the people both exist. God is addressed as "father of all" during the tribal ceremonial, the pillatun. There are no minor deities. A woman said to be with God is not a deity, informants insisted; nor are stones resembling figurines, to which something akin to veneration is shown. Private prayers were said to avert harm and to obtain favors. During thunderstorms they were, and are, accompanied with a small offering of anything edible. In one place, a special dance was performed to avert floods. No informants claimed personal supernatural powers, or knew of anyone who did so except sorcerers.

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105 The tribal religious ceremonial is a 2-day public community prayer, accompanied by sacrifice, offered as a petition for the welfare of all the people and as a thanksgiving for blessings received. The cacique is the officiating officer. Generally the ceremonial is held following seeding time and at harvest time. Prayers are directed to God as the father of all and to the woman in heaven as the mother of all. Sacred dances are performed to the rhythm of a drum.

Sorcerers were of both sexes. They are sometimes hired by jealous persons to perform their black art. There is a belief in hobgoblins and visions.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Death is omened. Sorcery is believed to be its cause, unless it is known that violence, accident, or secret poisoning has caused it. Relatives attend a death, and remain until after the burial. Burials may have been in caves; it is known that they have been in cemeteries for generations past. Bodies found in excavated graves are in supine position. All early burials face the rising sun. Personal belongings, including a man's horse, were buried with the individual, but food was not brought to the place of burial after interment. Grave markers—figurines cut out of wood—can still be seen in several cemeteries. There is a belief in life after death.

There were no exterior signs of mourning, but bereaved families often moved to another locality and remained there for some time.

Government.—The government was under the control of the cacique. His jurisdiction comprised a lofche, that is, 20 to 60 families who recognized him as their cacique, and who, when spoken of, were designated by his name. In the exercise of his powers he could rely on the assistance of two men and on the advice of all men of his lofche who had considerable ownership, whenever he called them together. No evidence of clans or gens was found.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a specific area of land. Within the area each family owned land, but it was within the cacique's power to redistribute the land. However, he had no power over the animals owned or grazed upon the land. Other important duties of the cacique were to set the time for the tribal religious ceremonial and to lead its performance, to lead his men in time of war, to enforce law and maintain order, and to punish violators.

Upon the death of a cacique his eldest son inherited the position, unless he was not considered fit, in which case, or in case the cacique had no sons, the men of the lofche elected a qualified man. Formerly, no woman was a cacique; today, one woman is so recognized. The cacique had an emblem when exercising his authority; he could be distinguished at all times by a distinctive earring worn by him. Arau-

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cuanas today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizens; hence, the powers of the cacique are very weak and are greatly limited. 105

Land, subsistence, and trade.—To a degree, it is correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed. Grazing grounds, however, were owned in common. There is no security in land tenure, today; and grazing lands are leased. Wealth in the early days consisted of sheep and cattle, and more recently these and horses. Today, ownership of 4-footed animals is restricted by the Argentine Government.

Wheat and corn have always been cultivated. Plowing was, and is, done with a wooden plow drawn by oxen; seed is scattered by hand. Every family today has a vegetable garden; many have fruit trees. Horticulture probably began with the introduction of apple trees; groves of wild apple trees can be seen in many parts.

Domesticated animals, since post-Columbian days, have been cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and in more recent days, turkeys and geese, also. Animals were not branded formerly; every owner knew his own.

Old informants recalled the days when trade extended as far as Buenos Aires in the east and Valdivia in the west; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north. Most frequently trade was by barter. Cattle sold in Chile, however, were paid for in silver. Although Argentine currency is used today, trade is still often by barter.

Transporting both persons and baggage by horses already existed when old informants were children. Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. The introduction of the carreta was vividly recalled by old informants. Snowshoes were used when snow was deep; ojotas, when the snow was less deep. Lakes and streams were crossed in dugouts, formerly; today, flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamers are used. Land, today, is traversed on foot, on horse, and in carretas.

Chief among wild animals hunted were the guanaco, puma, rhea, wild boar, Patagonian hare, huemul, Patagonian deer, and the armadillo. Wildfowl, too, were hunted. Hunting was done with traps, snares, sticks, bolas, lots, partidas, lances, and spears; bows and arrows were not known to have been used. Dogs were used to chase the huemul to exhaustion. Hunting is practically nonexistent today.

Fish were speared by men and were also trapped in containers by

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105 men and women in close formation. A bivalve shellfish was collected by women and children.

Food, shelter, clothing—In the early days, the meat of wild animals was the chief food; it has been replaced by mutton, lamb, beef, and pork. A variety of dishes is prepared from meats. As formerly, fish today are eaten fresh and dried. Eggs of rhea, waterfowl, and chickens are also eaten. Whole grain and grain ground to flour are prepared in various ways. Vegetables consist of wild roots and plants, and of cultivated ones, chief among them the potato. Fermented potatoes were a favorite dish. Other foods eaten were the araucaria nut and wild apples.

Among implements used in the preparation and serving of food, in the early days—all of which are still used to some extent today—were ollas, cistarns, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates, bowls, cups, knives, pichelas (apple scoopers), spoons, hops (pottery for toasting wheat), baskets, and winnowing trays. To these were added in recent years factory-made implements and improvised ones.

In the early days, cooking was done in a shallow-pit fireplace, and is so done in the open today; today, second-hand cooking stoves are in general use. Most desirable firewoods were fire and cherry; these gave off much heat and little smoke. Fire was formerly started both by rubbing or by striking two objects, accompanied by the singing of an appropriate song.

Several meals were eaten every day, hunger indicating the time for each. Women cooked the meals. All persons present squatted in circular fashion around the olla or wooden dish containing the food, and each served himself.

An unmaintained spring supplied drinking water. One beverage was alcohol made of fermented wild or cultivated grain or araucaria nuts; and another, a refreshing decoction made from leaves and blossoms of pino and bark of maqui. Pillan, an alcoholic drink, was made from berries of maiwig (unidentified), parrilla, and mitfel, and from wild apples. Today, yerba maté, an imported non-Araucanian herb, is the favorite drink.

The early dwelling was the toldo, a collapsible, transferable tent of hides. Informants called it ruka (the Araucanian word for dwelling) or toldo ruka (meaning ruka of hides). As occasional family lived under a rock shelter, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed one or more walls. During the season of favorable weather, families sometimes lived in the shade of large trees.

The building of a toldo was a community affair in which both men and women participated. At its completion, a plentiful meal, including

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mudbed, was spread. Tables were either shaped like an inverted V or were a-walled, not unlike a lean-to in shape. Both consisted of a framework covered with tanned hides of guanaco, horse, or cattle. Women tanned the hides. Women, too, sometimes painted the inside of the table with white or red earth mixed with grease of deer. Today, in general, dwellings are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses. They may consist of a framework of poles overlaid with thatch or straw or overlapping boards or shingles, or they may be of logs or slats of wood with bark; or they may be made of the body ends of cellular crates, with the spaces in between filled with adobe or covered with pieces of tin.

House furnishings are very meager. Sleeping is usually done on blankets or pelts on the floor; the floor, in general, is the ground. Food is stored in the home dwelling; other things, in an attached or separate shed.

In the early days, clothing was woven of guanaco wool. The man's traditional clothing consisted of a chiripa (pants) and a poncho. In general men were barefoot; sandals were worn by some. A woman's complete outfit consisted of a kupan (dress), an ahuill (shawl) secured with a tupu (stickpin), a headband, silver neck and breast ornaments, and earrings. Women were barefoot. Boys' and girls' clothing followed the pattern of adults. Today, everyone wears factory-made clothes like those worn by Argentines.

Clothing was, and is, washed in streams or creeks; crushed leaves of chamy are used as a detergent.

Domestic Handicrafts—Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and into household and saddle equipment. Today, sheep's wool is used for any weaving done. The traditional spindle is still in use, and spinning is done by women in the traditional way, either while sitting down, standing, or walking. Girls old enough to leave are taught to spin.

Women do the weaving, also, and teach their daughters as soon as they are old enough to learn to do so. The loom is a rectangular framework of poles, and the weaving is done upward.

Articles woven today for family use or for sale are ponchos, bed blankets, saddle blankets and saddle bags, throws, and rugs. Occasionally designs are woven into articles; in general, designs have no meaning.

Guanaco wool was not dyed, but was bleached white when it was desired for borders on shawls; white clay was used in bleaching it. Sheep's wool is dyed after being spun into yarn by being boiled either in a decoction which contains the dye substance of herbs and roots,

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105 or in one made with commercial aniline dyes. Plant dyes are set by boiling the article in human urine; commercial dyes, except purple, by boiling them in a solution of alum; purple, by boiling in a sulfate solution.

Baskets were woven by both men and women; winnowing trays were coiled by men. Baskets were used in carrying, in sieving, and occasionally for threshing wheat with the feet.

Women modeled pottery by the old method from either lumps or coils of clay. Generally, yellowish-red or white clay was used, mixed with sap of maqui and used as adhesives. Today, pottery is seldom made for household use. Ollas and cisterns, pipes, cups, plates, and whistles are occasionally made for use at the gilletun. There were no standard sizes or shapes for pottery, and in general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. If a glaze was desired, the surface was smoothed with sap of maqui after firing. Polishing and the application of painted or incised decorative designs, if used, were done before firing. Designs were meaningless dots and lines. Paints were made of earth cooked with specific plants, except black which consisted of earth alone.

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Interpretative Summary

The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pastoral land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift

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from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of co-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hospital and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean ethnocentricism, Mapuche society not only appears as a manifested structure but as a sloppy paper organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Goetzen (1898), McBride (1908), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can manage of traditional Mapuche society. They delight in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it should be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual has to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings should be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the chamal and chiripá, but most of them believe that the Chilean-based costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kelpum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ckal* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

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persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciones*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1938, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1938:319; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to obliteration of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

[1] Cautín in 1917 and Cautín in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:89, 72).

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105

A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[598] [622] [793] [592] [613]

[175] [2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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177 this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche so-
182 ciety is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and
121 then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have
105 worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end
177 cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the con-
[182] text of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to division and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

•105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
170 are virtually sealed off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
[648] economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[433] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[241] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*eawn, filletun, machitun, kalkatun* (see below)—bind together

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Puelche SI10
Araucanians SG4

stone pestles and mortars are found, near Indian burying places, dissimilar to those of the Tehuelches. As to the probable use of these mortars by people to whom grain was unknown, I am inclined to conjecture that they were used to pound the aljarroba pods into a paste, such as at the present day forms an article of food amongst the Pampas. These Indians are expert in the use of the sling, with which they used formerly to chase the eamy, partridge, and other small game abounding in the Rio Negro. The numbers of the Pampa tribe south of the Rio Negro are gradually diminishing, principally by the agency of smallpox. At the time of my visit their whole population was perhaps under six hundred.

P 105

The third distinct tribe are called, by the Tehuelches, Chenna or Araucanos; some of them are also known as Moluche; they are also called Manzaneros from the station of Las Manzanos or the apple-trees, the headquarters of their chief cheoque. These are an offshoot of the warlike Araucanian race, who ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards have waged war against the invading race with varying success but have never been conquered. They are a decidedly superior race in intelligence, knowledge, and character. They are at once recognisable by their finer features and fresh complexions; they cut their hair short, and are, as a rule, well dressed, in ponchos woven from home-made yarn by their women. The general appearance of the first party we met with, while still too far off for the colour of their eyes to be discernible, struck me as so peculiarly European that I remarked to the Tehuelche next me in the ranks, "Perhaps these are my countrymen?" He answered, "They are very white, but very much devil; perhaps they'll fight us." These Indians are far less migratory in their habits, and greatly dislike travelling, more especially the women, who invariably remain behind when the men go on hunting excursions, or pay visits to the settlements, either for peaceful trade, or, as frequently happens, for the purpose of plunder. Their ceremonies are much the same as those of the other Indians; they possess some knowledge of precious stones, to which they attach value as having particular virtues. Some class of these Indians north of the Rio Limay or Rio Negro occupy stationary dwellings made of skins, but much larger, and exhibiting greater regard for comfort than the toldos of the Tehuelches. They also possess large flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses. In the country apples and piñones abound, which they gather every autumn. Of the apples they make cider, and also prepare an intoxicating drink from some other plant; I think the algarroba.

A 105

Like the Pampas, they are armed with long light lances, which they use with great dexterity. The chiefs maintain strict disci-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 105 pline, and I have seen their assembled forces, each squadron with a captain or leader at its head, manœuvre like disciplined troops. Their language appeared to me to be much softer in sound than that of the Tehuelches, and resembles in some measure the Pampa tongue. The Moluche women are remarkable for their modesty and good looks, one of their chief charms being their beautiful black hair, which is of great length and fine texture, and of which they are justly proud. This race alone resisted the aggressive power of the Peruvian Incas, and a conjecture that some of the fugitives of that Royal race took refuge amongst them, was suggested to my mind by the light complexion of some of their families, and by the occurrence of the name "Manço" as that of a man who was killed during my sojourn in their country, and who, I was told, was the descendant of a great chief. Altogether these Araucanians are a far higher and more cultivated race than the Pampas or Tehuelches. Their numbers in Patagonia proper, viz., south of the Rio Limay, may be estimated at three hundred men, women, and children, which at a rough estimate would give the numbers of the Indians of Patagonia as amounting to about two thousand five hundred.

DISCUSSION.

000 Mr. D'ALMEIDA begged to observe, on the races of Patagonia, that he saw a similarity in some of their customs with those of the Chinese and the eastern races. Painting or daubing the body with the dyes or flour extracted from the leaves or roots of farinaceous plants, was a common practice with the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan seas. They burnt their hair for similar reasons to those assigned by the Patagonians. The offering of the bull's-head was also common among some of the Javanese. Mr. d'Almeida witnessed one of these ceremonies. They call it the "festa Boomie", an offering to earth. As to burning the goods and chattels of the deceased, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians practised this ceremony. Fenimore Cooper described a similar ceremony, he thought, in his "Last of the Mohicans", and it is a subject of a poem by Longfellow. The Chinese, like the Patagonians, also believed in the existence of a good spirit, though they bowed down and burnt candles to the bad spirits, because the latter required more praying to than the former. He made these observations merely to show the similarity of customs prevalent amongst nations and races, though wide apart from each other.

T 142 Lieut. MUSTERS said that the method of ascertaining an average height of the Patagonians, and also the difference of stature between the northern and southern tribes, was obtained by the author of the paper taking the average of eighteen able-bodied men, in whose company he travelled. Of these, ten were of the northern tribe and eight of the southern, the latter exceeding the others in a 000 small measure in average height. The obsidian and flint articles

1: Titiev, Mischa. Araucanian Culture in Transition. Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, No. 15. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951.

Pp. xii, 164; frontispiece; 16 end plates

Yale: Nk37 M52e 15

[Written by a University of Michigan anthropologist, this monograph is the basic source on the Araucanians. The author gives descriptions of the history, life cycle, witchcraft and shamanism, and ceremonial life of the people. Of particular interest is the section on kinship and socio-political structure, which is where the author placed his emphasis in field-work. There are also sections on the reservation communities and culture change. --Analyst]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

2: Titiev, Mischa. Social Singing among the Mapuche. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 2. Ann Arbor, 1949.

Pp. iv, 17.

HRAF copy.

[Titiev, an anthropologist, here gives an analysis of the content of a number of Araucanian songs, in terms of their function in Araucanian life. The texts are given in Araucanian and English translation. --Analyst]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

3: Brand, Donald D. A Brief History of Araucanian Studies. New Mexico Anthropologist, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 19-35. Albuquerque: Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 1941.

Yale: C51 495 2-5

[Dr. Brabd, head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, wrote this as one of a series of studies on the New World. In it he lists the available sources on Araucanian culture, and comments on the value of the respective sources. The article also contains some material on the history of Araucanian culture. Although Brand worked in Chile in 1941, the article is based on library work and contains no original observations on the Araucanians.--Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Anthropologist-4
Processed in 1957

4: Latcham, Richard E. Ethnology of the Araucanos. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XXXIX, pp. 334-370. London, 1909.
2 plates

Yale: Nk10 + R81 39

[This account of the Araucanians by a foreign resident gives detailed descriptions of various customs, beliefs, economic details, etc. as they existed among the group in the last century. The organization is a bit uneven, but much useful information is contained in the source. Latcham was a civil engineer who went to Chile in 1888 and spent the rest of his life there. He wrote many papers on the Araucanians. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1888-1893
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Foreign resident-5
Processed in 1957

S: Cooper, John M. The Araucanians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 143, Vol. 2, pp. 687-760. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

4 plates.

HRAF copy

[This article, taken from The Handbook of South American Indians, is the basic synthetic source on the Araucanians The article covers the tribal divisions, history, religion, social organization, economic life, and life cycle of the group. A goodly amount of space is devoted to diversity among the tribal subdivisions, and cultural borrowing. For the bibliography see Vol. 2 of the Handbook of South American Indians, since the material was not processed for the files. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1957

6: Canals Frau, Salvador. Expansion of the Araucanians in Argentina. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 143, Vol. 2, pp. 761-766. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

HRAF copy

/This article, by an ethnologist, is taken from the Handbook of South American Indians. It describes the historical spread of Araucanian culture into Argentina.--Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1957

7: Padden, Richard Charles. Cultural Change and Military Resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550-1730. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 13, pp. 103-121. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, 1957.

Copy belonging to Timothy J. O'Leary

[This is a brief study of Araucanian culture change during the first two centuries of Spanish contact. The changes discussed occurred in military patterns, socio-political organization, religious belief, and method of subsistence. The causes of these changes are seen to lie in the adjustment of aboriginal culture patterns to the military necessity of keeping the Spaniards out of Araucanian territory. Bibliographic references and estimations occur in footnotes to each page. Padden is a graduate student in Latin American history at the University of California (Berkeley). -- Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1957

8: Faron, Louis C. Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 435-456. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1956.

Nk10 Am37 II. 58

[This article, by an anthropologist at the University of Illinois, deals with the problem of historical changes in kinship terminology and descent among the Araucanians. The author uses material gathered in the field, as well as summarizing the older sources to give a picture of the changes that have occurred and the reasons for them--Analyst]

Field date: 1953
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1957

9: Hallowell, A. Irving. Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship System. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 45, pp. 489-491. Menasha: George Banta Publishing Company, 1943.

HRAF copy

[This brief article, written in 1929, gives an account of Araucanian kin terminology, using data from a single informant, the latter probably being one of Titiev's informants also (see 1: Titiev, this file). From these data, Hallowell believes the system was of the Omaha type, the first reporting of this type for South America. Titiev later confirmed this identification (1: Titiev, this file). Hallowell is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1957

10: Hilger, M. Inez. Araucanian Child Life and its Cultural Background. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 133. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1957.

Pp. xx, 439; 80 plates; 10 text figures, bibliography; index.

Yale: A52 60 133

[The author of this work is a professional ethnologist and a member of the Order of St. Benedict. The book is divided into two portions, one dealing with the Chilean Araucanians, the other with the Argentine Araucanians. While the main purpose of the work is to describe childhood and child-rearing practices among the Araucanians, such information is set in a full ethnographic description of both Chilean and Argentine groups. Besides data on the life cycle, information is included on material culture, subsistance activities, religion, kinship, political organization, entertainment and art, and history. In addition to using a large amount of first-hand information, and unusually thorough coverage of the literature was made in writing the work. --Analyst]

Field date: 1946-1952 Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Analyst: James R. Leary Processed in 1958

11: Faron, Louis C. Mapuche Social Structure: Institutional Reintegration in a Patrilineal Society of Central Chile. Foreword by Julian H. Steward. Illinois Studies in Anthropology, No. 1. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1961.

Pp. xvi, 247; tables; 3 maps; 4 diagrams; preface; 2 appendixes; bibliography; index.

Library of Congress: F3126.F3.

[This source is a study of the structure of Mapuche society with emphasis on structural continuity and change set in a context of ecological adjustment. Contrary to Titiev, the author does not see Mapuche society as "breaking down" but as a functioning entity. Major structural changes occurred as a result of adaptation to reservation life (after 1884) and minor adjustments continue. The formation of localized, corporate patrilineages was one result. This group forms the core of the residential kin group (see category 618). Other developments were a matrilateral marriage system and multi-reservational ritual congregations.]

Field date: 1952-1954 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Joan Steffens Processed in 1963-1965

10: Faron, Louis C. Hawks of the sun: Mapuche morality and its ritual attributes. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.

Pp. xii, 181: frontispiece: 1 map: 5 diagrams: 3 tables: appendix: bibliography: index.

Tales CF5130 F97. DAC card No.: 64-12489.

In this source the author examines certain Mapuche expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible to what degree and extent these beliefs and practices form an integral part of their cultural and social system. Drawing upon both historical evidence and data from observations of ceremonies and descriptions of religious ideas and values in Araucanian reservation communities, Faron attempts to illustrate how their system of ethics and morality, cosmology and cosmogony, deity complex, rituals and ceremonials all operate as interdependent elements of a functioning socio-religious complex that stabilizes and integrates Araucanian social structure. To fully expand upon and illustrate the concepts of Mapuche moral system mentioned above, the author has divided the source into seven chapters, the first of which deals basically with the social structure of the Mapuche, and the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital and unilineal arrangements in the society. The information in this chapter essentially duplicates that of the author's earlier work on Mapuch social structure (see 11: Faron, this file). In chapter two, the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner

which lends significant order to the supernatural ambience. Here, too, may be found data on incidence of, and individual reactions to, various supernatural forces. Chapter three is a well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual, which the author feels is essential for an understanding of the moral order, for, he says ... "without this cultural dress, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure." Chapter four attempts to integrate all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters, with special emphasis on the social grouping operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, their composition and expressed relationships, and other related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*wetí*) and the agricultural fertility rite (*Nillatun*) are also analyzed in this chapter in terms of their structure and function in the society, as well as the status and role of the shaman and priest. Chapter five examines the concepts of sorcery and shamanism, and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. This chapter concludes with a consideration of shamanism and sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of Mapuche society. The type of inquiry expressed in chapter five is carried out one step further in chapter six for it attempts to examine the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. The main purpose of this chapter, however, seems to be to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships and to point out significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of the social structure. Chapter seven, the final chapter,

Dr. Perez

Discusses the concepts of continuity and change in a critical, although quite selective analysis of the influence of Western history on the Mayaville. In conclusion the author presents the point of view that the conversion process has not been able to destroy traditional religion and morality, and in fact that the Amerindian religious morality has kept intact societal and cultural equilibrium in a conversion process which has brought about change in many of the traditional institutions. Through various adaptive modifications and accommodations made to the conversion context, the Mayaville have been able to withstand total acculturation or cultural loss. Thus, old religious and moral values and new social items function together to counteract any adversical changes in the culture and society./

Field dates: 1950-1954
Analysts: Gilbert Wiser, co-lead
John Beverly, shadow

Evaluation: Ethnologic-4.5
Reviewed in 1969-1970

GUIDE TO THE SG4 ARAUCANIANS FILE

[1: Titiev (Araucanian Culture in Transition) is the basic source for this file. Based on field-work, it gives a good overall picture of Araucanian culture, with special emphasis on sociopolitical structure. 5: Cooper is a synthetic article that supplements 1: Titiev, particularly in regard to diversity among the various tribal subdivisions. 4: Latcham is an account of the group in the nineteenth century, and although poorly organized it contains many useful details of Araucanian life. The other sources (2: Titiev, 3: Brand, 6: Canals Frau, 7: Padden, 8: Faron, and 9: Hallowell) are shorter articles which contribute information not contained in the above-mentioned works. Although not exhaustive of the literature, this is a generally well-rounded file.]

Processed in 1958

Erize, Esteban. Diccionario Comentado Mapuche- Español: Araucano, Pehuenche, Pampa, Picunche, Ranculche, Huilliche. Buenos Aires: Cuadernos del Sur, 1960.

Pp. 550; critical bibliography.

Harvard College: 1272.158F.

[The author's intention is to bring together from various sources all that is known of the Mapuche language. He considers that, for proper understanding, the words should be considered in their fullest social context. Not only is the Spanish equivalent of each Mapuche word given, but also references to past literary works in which the word has occurred, together with its meaning and known connotations in the society. There are some brief notes on the most important writers about the Mapuche, and an extensive bibliography, with an appraisal of the contents of each major work. This is the best Araucanian dictionary available and should be processed if funds become available for translating it.]

Faron, Louis C. Matrilateral Marriage among the Mapuche (Araucanians) of Central Chile. Sociologus, Neue Folge, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 54-66. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1962.

Yale: Nm10 So19 12-14.

[This article has not been processed because it duplicates part of the author's Mapuche Social Structure (11: Faron, this file).]

118, 148

Chiriguano SP19
Chorotí SK8
Mataco SK7
Tehuelche SK5
Cacaja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guaraní SM4
Timbira SQ8
Araucanians SQ4
?Kan SC15
Canari SD4
Jívaro SD9
Aymara SP5
Ona SK4
Yahgan SK9

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: Hill et al., 5818 Warno, Category 118, pp. 107-114./

I: Thiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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1940b The Status of Anthropology in Chile. *Ibid.*, No. 3: 55–71.
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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

● 113 1911 Folklore araucano. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes.
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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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Mapuche-Huilliche

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3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Europe

114
175
797

The 286 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading historian of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were compiled by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucania should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

*113

*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1925. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e.g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1516-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 28 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos*, 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverría*, etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1704-1809]

Alonso de GONGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1536-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NUÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz . . . y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chilán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1658.]

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1. Actas de la Sociedad Científica de Chile—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG Araucanians SG4

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*Jos. STÖCKLEIN: *Der Neue Welt-Bott, mit allerhand nachrichten dere Missionarien Soc. Jesu.* 6 vols., Augsburg, Grätz and Wein, 1726-1756.

*P. Juan Ignacio MOLINA, S. J.: *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale, e civile del regno del Chile* (also *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chile*, Bologna, 1787-1809) wrote the bulk of his work in exile in Italy. It was the best Chilean history up to that date, and was translated into several languages, e.g., *J. Ignatius Molina's Natural History of Chile.* 2 vols., Middletown, Conn., 1808.]

*P. Miguel de OLIVARES, S. J.: *Breve Compendio de Jesús de Chile*, Santiago, 1874; and *Historia Militar, Civil y Sagrada . . . del Reino de Chile*, Santiago, 1864 and 1902. [This Chilean Jesuit (Chillán 1713-1768 at Italy) provides the clearest picture of the Araucanians during the Colonial period.]

Felipe GOMEZ DE VIDAURRE: *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1889. [Born Penco ca. 1740; wrote ca. 1789; died Concepcion 1818.]

*P. Giuseppe SALLUSTI: *Storia delle missioni apostoliche dello stato del Chile.* 4 vols., Roma, 1857.

Miguel Luis AMUNATEGUI ALDUNATE: *Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile*, Santiago, 1861. [Foremost great modern historian of Chile; a pupil of Andrés Bello; born Santiago, 1828; died 1888.]

Orélie Antoine Charles de TOUNENS: *Orélie-Antoine 1er, Roi d'Araucanie et de Patagonie . . . et son capitulation au Chili.* Paris, 1863. [de Tounens was a French adventurer (1820-1878) who set himself up as King of Araucania 1861-2. He was captured by Chilean officials, tried, judged insane, and exiled to France. He returned briefly to Araucania during the wars in 1869; then went back to France where he was officially recognized as King of Araucania, and for some years (1871-1878) published a "Araucanian" journal.]

Luis de la CUADRA: *Conquista i civilización de Arauco.* Santiago, 1871.

P. Crescente ERRAZURIZ VALDEVIEZO: *Los orígenes de la iglesia Chilena 1540-1605.* Santiago, 1873. [Dominican; Archbishop of Santiago, 1919-1931; born Santiago, 1839; died 1931.]

*Diego BARROS ARANA: *Los antiguos habitantes de Chile*, Santiago, 1874; and *Historia jeneral de Chile*, 16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, new ed. 1908. [Barros Arana was greatest historian of the colonial period (see first 7 vols.) and period until 1833. Tomo 1, pt. 1 is devoted to *Los indijenas*. Born Santiago, 1830; twice rector of the university; died 1907.]

*José Toribio MEDINA ZAVALA: *Los aborijenes de Chile.* Santiago, 1882. [Greatest Latin-American bibliographer, biographer, and numismatist; born Santiago, 1852, died 1930.]

Memorie inedite delle missioni del P. F. M. M. Capuccini nel Chile. Roma, 1896.

*Horacio LARA: *Crónica de la Araucanía.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1889. [Born 1840; died ?]

*Ramon BRISEÑO: *Repertorio de Antigüedades Chilenas.* Santiago, 1889. [1814-?]

*Francisco Adolfo FONCK: *Viajes de Fray Francisco Menéndez.* 2 vols., Valparaiso, 1896-1900. [Christened Franz Adolf, 1830-? Concerning a Franciscan missionary of the late 18th century.]

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•113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the liceo of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*F. Luis MANCILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coo-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1923.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre los Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1599-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indijenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile seit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians—in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1863

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analyzed. There follows a list of the better known dictionaries, grammars, texts, and miscellaneous treatises, with the more important works indicated by an asterisk:

P. Luis de VALDIVIA, S. J.: *Arte y Gramática general de la Lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1606. [Born Granada 1560; to Chile 1593; great defender of the Indians; died 1642.]

*P. Andrés FEBRES, S. J.: *Arte de la Lengua General del Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1765. [Spain 1734-1790 Genova; Juan M. Larraín published the above in parts in Buenos Aires, 1882, 1884.]

Father Thomas FALKNER, S. J.: *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Hereford, 1774. [1707-1784. Lived in Patagonia ca. 1765-67; contains Moluche vocabulary; editions in Buenos Aires 1835 & 1911, Chicago 1935.]

*P. Bernhard HAVESTADT, S. J.: *Chilidúgu, sive Res Chilenses.* Münster i. Westphalia, 1777. [1708-1781. Written in Spanish 1752-65; facsimile edition of Julius Platzmann, 1883, Leipzig, in 2 vols., *Chilidúgu, sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis.*]

*Fray Antonio HERNANDEZ I CALZADA, O. F. M.: *Diccionario Chileno Hispano, Compuesto por el r. p. misionero Andrés Febrés . . . Enriquecido de voces i mejorado por el r. p. m. fr. Hernández.* Santiago, 1846. [1776-1847.]

R. R. SCHULLER [Editor]: *Confesionario por Preguntas y Pláticas Doctrinales en castellano y araucano según el manuscrito inédito del misionero franciscano Fray Antonio Hernández Calzada* [1842]. Santiago, 1907. [This is *Biblioteca de lingüística americana*, t. 1.]

Dr. Ludwig DARAPSKY: "La lengua araucana." *Revista de artes y letras*, t. XII, pp. 153-185, Santiago, 1888. [1857-?]

Aníbal ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES: *La lengua araucana.* Santiago, 1889. [1864- ?]

Heinrich Robert Rudolf LENZ [commonly Rodolfo Lenz]: *Araucanische Märchen.* Valparaíso, 1892. [Germany 1863; to Chile ca. 1890; founder of scientific philology in Chile, and "Father" of modern *Araucanistas*; died 1938.]

D. BARROS ARANA and R. Lenz: "La Lingüística Americana, su historia i su estado actual," AUC, t. LXXXIV, pp. 905-1029, 1893.

Bartolomé MITRE: *Lenguas Americanas. Estudio Bibliográfico-Lingüístico de las obras del Padre Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak.* La Plata, 1894. [The scholar-president of Argentina; 1821-1906.]

*Rodolfo LENZ: "Estudios araucanos," in scattered volumes of the AUC, 1895-97.

I. Viaje al país de los Manzaneros contado en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp. 289-334.

II. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp.843-873.

III. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto picuncho. t. XCI, pp. 195-241.

IV. Trozos menores en Picuncho i Huilliche. t. XCIII, pp. 427-438.

V. Diálogos en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIII, pp. 507-555.

VI. Cuentos Araucanos . . . en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIV, scattered.

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VII. Gramática Araucana. t. XCIV, pp. [illegible]-718, 841-[illegible].

VIII. Cuentos en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVII, pp. [illegible]-312, 491-504.

Apéndice á los estudios araucanos VI, VII, VIII. t. XCVII, pp. [illegible]-[illegible].

Apéndice á los estudios araucanos VI, VII, VIII. t. XCVIII, pp. 177-198.

IX. Cuentos en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. 187-207.

X. Cuentos araucanos en mapuche y pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. [illegible]-[illegible].

XI. Trozos descriptivos y documentos para el estudio del folklore araucano . . . en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. 499-528.

XII. Introducción; Convertito el estudio III; Diálogos en dialectos mapuche de Chadahuel. t. XCVIII, pp. 729-777.

[All of this material was combined in *Estudios Araucanos. Materiales para el estudio de la lengua, la literatura i costumbres de los indios mapuche o araucanos*, published in t. CXVII of the AUC, 633 pp.

Rodolfo LENZ: "De la literatura araucana," *Revista del Sur*, t. I, núm. 7, pp. 386-416. Chillán, 1897.

Rodolfo de LA GRASSERIE: *Langue Auca (ou langue indigène du Chili)*. Paris, 1898. [1830- ?; a judge and philologist of Rennes, France. An imperfect "armchair" job.]

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Gramática Araucana*. Valdivia, 1903. [The leading living student of the Araucanian language, Convento Capuchino, Valdivia.]

Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "La Raza y la Lengua Veliche." ASSC, t. XIV, pp. 1-38, 1904.

*Rudolf R. SCHULLER: "El vocabulario araucano de 1642-1643 con notas críticas y algunas adiciones a las bibliografías de la lengua mapuche." AUC, t. 119-121, 1906-1907. [1873- . This is the vocabulary of Elias Herckmans, a captain under the Dutch freebooter Hendrick Brouwer, who in 1642 attempted to conquer the Chiloé-Valdivia area. It was first published in 1647, and therefore is the second document (after Valdivia) to be printed. The main value of this work lies in the extraordinarily complete critical bibliography compiled by Schuller.]

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Lecturas araucanas*. Valdivia, 1910; 2nd ed., 1934. [Texts in Spanish and Araucanian for instructional purposes.]

Manuel Segundo MANQUILEF GONZALEZ: "Comentarios del pueblo araucano," in t. 127 of AUC, 1911. [By an Araucanian associated with Guevara; 1887- . Contains texts; published as part of t. II of the *Revista de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno*.]

*Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "Estudios de la lengua Veliche," *Trabajos del IV Congreso Científico*, t. XI, pp. 143-230. Santiago, 1911.

*Francisco Javier CAVADA CONTRERAS: "Chiloé y los chilotes: estudios de folklore y lingüística." ECHG, t. VII-XIV; printed separately as t. V, *Revista de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno*, 443 pp., Santiago, 1914. [1864- .]

Félix F. OUTES: "Un texto y un vocabulario en dialecto pehuenche de

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fines del siglo XVIII." *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, t. III, 1914. [Buenos Aires, 1876-1880.] 113

"Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Diccionario araucano-español y español-araucano*. 2 vols., Santiago, 1916.

Pablo GROEBER: "Toponimia araucana." *Anales de la Sociedad de Estudios "Guss,"* t. II, Buenos Aires, 1926.

"Fray Ernesto Wilhelm de MOESBACH, O. M. Cap.: *Vida y Costumbres de los indígenas araucanos en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*. Santiago, 1930. [In Chile since 1892. Texts in Spanish and Araucanian constituting the detailed biography of Pascual Coña, ca. 1867-1897.]

ETHNOGRAPHY

Although a great amount of ethnographic material exists in print 114
concerning the Araucanians, there is yet to be written a definitive ethnography. No trained anthropologist has ever lived for any length of time among these Indians. Consequently, most works containing ethnographic material are primarily histories, travelogues, accounts of the various religions, texts compiled for linguistic purposes, and sentimental brief observations on various elements of Araucanian culture. The most comprehensive treatment is to be found in the writings of R. E. Latcham, R. E. Rosales, and T. Guevara. However, *Vida y Costumbres*, by Moesbach, gives—in the form of a detailed biography of Pascual Coña (1867-1897)—a very good picture of Araucanian life.

Greatest attention has been given to the collecting of folkloric material—myths, legends, tales, and songs, and items illustrating the religious concepts of the Araucanians. This undoubtedly grew out of the fact that priests have done the major share of primary collecting and recording. Among the leading contributors in this field (both primary and secondary) have been: F. J. de Augusta, G. Beck, J. Benigar, A. Cañas Pinochet, F. J. Cavada, R. J. Claude Joseph, S. Englert, E. Gordo-Rapp, T. Guevara, M. Guzinde, R. E. Latcham, E. Lehmann-Nitsche, R. Lenz, M. Mansilla, E. W. Moesbach, A. Oyarzún, E. Rivadeneira, and C. & J. Serrailla. Chief producers of bi-lingual texts have been Augusta, Lenz, Mansilla, and Moesbach.

Music, dances, and games usually have received only incidental treatment. E. Pereira Salas (who is working on a history of music in Chile), C. Isamitt, J. Urrutia Blondel, and W. Gloss are among the leaders in this field. K. G. Izikowitz, E. M. Hornbostel (†), C. Levin, and F. C. Lange are library and museum workers who have contributed from foreign lands.

In the great field of economics there have been many papers but most of the contributions are rather scanty. Latcham is an honorable exception. Among those treating on ethno-biology and agriculture are R. E. Latcham, K. Reiche, E. W. Moesbach, A. Cañas Pinochet, R. A. Philippi, M. Guzinde, W. Knoche, A. Oyarzún, O. Rosenzynski, and F. A. Funck. The discussion of arts and crafts has centered upon textiles, ceramics, and metalwork. Latcham has made the most complete treatment of pottery. Writers on textiles include A. Oyarzún, R. E.

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Latham, R. G. Latham (A. H. Tweed) to 1884, and Lathrop in 1909 and 1950 collected texts for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; G. Lomas, R. E. Claude Joseph and E. D. Millán, R. E. Claude Joseph and A. Franklin Lomas have written specifically on ethnoarch.

There follows a list of works, other than those already mentioned under history and language, which contain ethnographic material. The list is arranged chronologically for the period 1824-1891, and alphabetically by authors 1892-1961. It contains the more significant works and a selection of others to represent varied content and authorship. The more important works are marked with an asterisk.

1824-1891

Peter SCHMIDTMEYER: *Travels into Chile, over the Andes.* London, 1824.

William Bennet STEVENSON: *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America.* 3 vols., London, 1825. [1797-?]

John MIERS: *Travels in Chile and La Plata.* 2 vols., London, 1826. [1789-1879.]

Edward Friedrich POEPPIG: *Reise in Chile, Peru, und auf dem Amazonenstrome während der Jahre 1827-1832.* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1835-36. [1798-1868; Botanist, in Chile 1827-29.]

Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'Homme Américain.* 2 vols., Paris, 1839. [This is Vol. 4, pt. 1, of the great French (1802-1857) naturalist's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale,* 9 vols., Paris, 1835-1847.]

Captain Allen Francis GARDINER, R.N.: *A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chile.* London, 1841. [1794-1851.]

*Ignacio DOMEYKO: *Araucania i sus habitantes.* Santiago, 1845. [Lithuanian geologist, 1802-1889, who was one of the great rectors of the University of Chile.]

Fray Victorino PALAVICINO, O.F.M.: *Observaciones . . . sobre la Civilización de los Araucanos.* Concepción, 1854.

*Edmund Reuel SMITH: *The Araucanians or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chile.* New York, 1855. [Smith was a member of the United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to Chile, 1849-52. The work was translated by Latcham and published in Santiago, 1915.]

*Pedro RUIZ ALDEA: "Ojeada sobre la provincia de Arauco," *El Ferrocarril* for 1856, Santiago [One of the two leading Chilean newspapers of that date]. This was republished as *Los Araucanos y sus costumbres,* Los Angeles, 1862, Concepción 1868, and Santiago, 1902. 1829-1879.]

*Fray Victorino PALAVICINO, O.F.M.: *Memoria sobre la Araucanía por un misionero del colegio de Chillán.* Santiago, 1860.

Pablo TREUTLER: *La Provincia de Valdivia i los Araucanos.* Santiago, 1861. [Paul Treutler, 1822-1887.]

Guillermo Eloi COX: *Viaje en las regiones septentrionales de la Patagonia, 1862-1863.* Santiago, 1863.

Carlos GARCIA HUIDOBRO: *Viaje a las provincias meridionales de Chile i su descripción.* Santiago, 1863.

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ANONYMOUS: *The Araucanian Territory, its inhabitants, natural productions, etc.* Valparaiso, 1879.

ANUARIO ESTADISTICO, 1868-1869: *La Araucania y los araucanos.* Santiago, 1870.

*Lucio Victorio MANSILLA: *Una excursión a los Indios Ranqueles.* 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1870. [Argentinian colonel; 1831-1913. Most recent edition Buenos Aires, 1940.]

Carlos JULIET: "Informe del ayudante de la comisión exploradora de Chiloé y Llanquihue," *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile*, t. 1, pp. 265-335, 1875.

Carl Eduard MARTIN: "Ueber die Eingeborenen von Chiloé," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, IX, pp. 161-181, 317-330, 1877. [Dr. Martin, 1828-1907, was a physician in Llanquihue province for 30 years.]

Manuel SEÑORET: "Exploración del Rio Bueno y Lago Ranco," *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile*, t. IV, pp. 25-62, 1878.

Orélie A. C. de TOUNENS: *La Araucanie.* Bordeaux, 1878.

Pierre Henri Richard de LUCY-FOSSARIEU: *Ethnographie de l'Amérique Antarctique, Patagons, Araucaniens, Fuégiens.* Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie no. 4, Paris, 1884. [1859-?]

1892-1949

Fray Jerónimo de AMBERGA, O. M. Cap.: "Estado intelectual moral y económico del araucano," RCHG, t. VIII, pp. 5-37, 1913.

Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *¿Cómo se llaman los araucanos?* Valdivia, 1907.

Juan BENIGAR: "El concepto del tiempo entre los Araucanos," *Boletin de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana*, t. I, Buenos Aires, 1924. [Zagreb 1883; to Argentina 1906.]

———: "El concepto de la causalidad entre los Araucanos," *Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana*, t. IV, Buenos Aires, 1927.

Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "La religión de los pueblos primitivos; el culto de la piedra en Chile," ASSC, t. XII, pp. 177-250, 1902.

Frère Hippolyte Janvier CLAUDE JOSEPH: "La platería araucana." AUC, 1er trimestre 1928. [Friar and entomologist.]

———: "Los tejidos araucanos," *Revista Universitaria* de la Universidad Católica de Chile, año 13, pp. 978-1034, 1929.

———: "La vivienda araucana," AUC, 1931.

P. Sebastian ENGLERT: "Lengua y literatura araucanas," *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación*, Universidad de Chile, t. 1, num. 2/3, 1936.

———: "Un aspecto psicológico de la raza araucana," *Anthropos*, vol. 33, 1938.

Pedro Lautaro FERRER: *Historia general de la medicina en Chile desde el descubrimiento y conquista de Chile en 1535 hasta nuestros días.* Talca, 1904. [1869-1937.]

C. A. FINSTERBUSCH: "Las dalcas de Chiloé y los Chilotes," RCHG, t. LXXV, pp. 412-433, 1934.

Francisco Adolfo FONCK: "Formas especiales de los utensilios caseros de los aborígenes," RCHG, t. II, pp. 181-188, 1912.

Manuel GAJARDO SANHUEZA: *Estudio sobre la civilización del indígena.* Santiago, 1901.

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115 "Frau Elisabeth GERDTS-RUFF: *Magische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Araukaner im Spiegel ursprünglicher Quellen seit der Conquista.* Hamburg, 1937. [1885- ; a Ph.D. thesis Tübingen and publication no. 8. *Ibero-Amerikanische Studien* des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts.]

"Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*: t. I. Antropología araucana. 1898.
t. IIIo. Costumbres judiciales i enseñanza de los araucanos. 1904.
t. IV. Psicología del pueblo araucano. 1908.
t. V. Folklore araucano. 1911.
t. VII. Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas. 1913.
t. VIII. La mentalidad araucana. 1916.
t. IX. La etnología araucana en el poema de Ercilla. 1918.
t. X. Historia de la justicia araucana. 1922 [1926].
[Appeared sporadically in AUC and elsewhere, and in reprint form with varying dates.]

*P. Martín GUSINDE, S.V.D.: "Medicina e higiene de los antiguos araucanos," PMEAC, t. I, pp. 177-298, 1917. [1886- . Former professor at the Universidad de Chile, and curator of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile. Although main work was in Tierra del Fuego, he made a field trip in 1916 among the Araucanians.]

———: "Tierrythen der Araukaner Indianer," *Boesler Archiv*, vol. XIX, no. 1/2, 1936.

*———: "Plantas medicinales que los indios araucanos recomiendan," *Anthropos*, vol. 31, pp. 555-571, 850-872, 1936.

**Homenaje a la memoria del dr. Rudolfo Lenz*, in *Anales de la Facultad de filosofía y ciencias de la educación, Sección de filología*, Universidad de Chile, tomo 2, cuad. 1, 1938. [Contains P. S. Englert: "Del folklore araucano," Wilhelm Giese: "Moros y cristianos," E. Pereira Salas: "Danzas y cantos populares," etc.]

*Abbe Rafael Emile HOUSSE: *Une épopée indienne; les Araucans du Chile, histoire, guerres, croyances, coutumes du XIVe au XXe siècle.* Paris, 1939. [French missionary for 9 years among the Araucanians, and ornithologist. Translated as *Epopeya india* by P. Andrés Goy, Santiago, 1940.]

José IMBELLONI: "El Toki mágico," *Anales de la Sociedad científica de Santa Fe*, t. 3, pp. 129-156, 1931. [Italy, 1885- ; Argentine anthropologist.]

Carlos ISAMITT: "Cuatro instrumentos musicales araucanos," *Boletín Latino Americano de Musica* III, 1937. [Studied Araucanian music in Cautín, 1932, 1933.]

*Richard E. LATCHAM: "Ethnology of the Araucanians," JRAI, XXXIX, pp. 334-370, 1909.

*———: "La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos. Sus armas, y métodos militares," RCHG, t. XV, 1915.

*———: "La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos," PMEAC, t. III, pp. 245-368, 1924.

*R. E. LATCHAM & Aureliano OYARZÚN: *Album de tejidos y alfarería.* PMEAC, 1929.

Paul Adolf Robert LEHMANN-NITSCHE: "Mitología sudamericana. XIV. El viejo tatrapai de los Araucanos," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, t. XXXII, pp. 41-56, 307-316, 1930. [German folklorist, 1872-1939, for many years in Argentina.]

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*Rodolfo LENZ: "Araukanische Maerchen und Erzaehlungen mitgeteilt von Segundo Jara (Kalvun)," *Verhandlungen des Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Vereins zu Santiago de Chile*, t. III, pp. 169-238. 1896. 113

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

History, linguistics, and ethnography have been given far more attention than physical anthropology and archaeology. Various naturalists and ship's surgeons during the past 200 years have contributed scattered measurements and observations, and a few small series of Araucanian skeletal material are present in Chile, Argentina, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States. However, no museum has an adequate collection, and not even one anthropometric index, ratio, or simple measurement has 114 141

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114 141 been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain cranial measurements and indices provide the bulk of content in the literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1903). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most auspicious recent development is the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Henckel and Dr. Alexander Lipschütz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (*Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile*, and *Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena*) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodtyping. G. Rahm in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Fuegians. Some of the earlier works include:

113 Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'homme américain*. 2 vols., Paris, 1839.

Léonce Pierre MANOUVRIER: "Sur les Araucans du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Paris, Ser. 3, VI, 727-32, 1883. [France 1850-1927 Paris.]

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ARCHAEOLOGY

114 172 The archaeology of Araucanía, as such, has not been done. There are no imposing ruins in central Chile and no scientific excavation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently dubious channels of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chinca, Inca and other influences, are still moot matters—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilotan culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Picunche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Picunche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures. 114

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically. 113

Sixteenth century: Goicueta (1852), [1558], 1558; Ercilla (1910), [1569–89], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1862), [1575], 1549–75; Mariño de Lovera (1865), [ca. 1594], 1551–94; Olaverria (1852), [1594]; Oña (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1887), [1606], 1593–1622; González de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1601–7; Bascuñan (1863), [1673], 1629; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1643; Barlaeus (1647); Maregrav (1648); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1629–82.

Eighteenth century: Frézier (1716); Pietas (1846), [1729], 1729; Olivares (1864), [1758–67], (1874), [1736], ca. 1700–67; Febrés (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1883), [1777], 1748–67; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1767; Gómes de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1767; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), [1796], ca. 1765–92.

Nineteenth century to 1883: Domeyko (1845), 1845; Smith (1855), 1853; Ruiz Aldea (1902), [1856], ca. 1856; Medina (1882).

1883 to present: Lenz (1895–97, 1896, 1904–10), ca. 1890–1938; Guevara Silva (1898, 1904, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1929), ca. 1898–1935; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 a, 1922 b, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1929–30, 1936 d), 1888–90, 1892–95; Robles Rodrigues (1942), [1906–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1896– ; Bullock (1911), ca. 1907– ; Manquilef (1911, 1914), 1887– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1922, 1936); Looser (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1933–34), ca. 1928– ; Moesbach (1936), [1930], 1920– ; Lothrop (1930, 1932), 1929–30; McClafferty (1932); Housse (1939), ca. 1930– ; Brand (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Métraux (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 41; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 193; Domeyko, 1845, p. 58; Housse, 1939, p. 166.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of feasts. Fish and other 262

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Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence. 000 177

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138). 312 342

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho. 411

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. 291

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139). 172 764

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory. 131 101

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901) 113

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Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and
302 arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

17 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians
Pehuenche

the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufü. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41). 771

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44). 778

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance. 113

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 3[illegible] S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources. 131

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 268) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement 262

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[4] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonomy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonomy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which bore a superficial resemblance to teknonomy. 601 [551]

[5] *Ñuñu* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñoño* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñoño* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fuchai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[6] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientes." Given the Araucanian kinship designations, there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamñen*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[6] MoSi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 102–111, Latcham 1924).

[7] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persistía la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[7] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinoa [*quinoa*?], madi [*madi*?], pepper, and beans. . . ."[8]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[9] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[10]

[7] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[8] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to recruit followers.

[9] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 240–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Mooney, 1930, pp. 70–122.

[10] McBride, 1936, p. 329.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[18] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored; but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[19] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[20] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[21]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[18] Latcham, 1924, pp. 299–336, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, I: 261 ff.

[19] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.

[20] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206–7.

[21] *Ibid.*

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By Donald D. Brand

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Rio Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Rio Maule), and to push southward across the Rio Bio-Bio into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angul 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Alvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century). 175 648 114 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bio-Bio—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1651, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bio-Bio. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1782) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1850 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826. 175 648

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Epilogue

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The 350 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading historians of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were compiled by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucania should consult are (most important works are marked *):[5]

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*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*. 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1925. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e.g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Ginés de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1510-1818*. 30 vols., Santiago 1889-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile*. 28 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1873) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos*, 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia*, *Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos*, *Informe de Don Miguel de Olivares*, etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata*. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1794-1806]

Alonso de GONGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575*. Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1579) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NUÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile*. Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chilian 1607-1682) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*F. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile*. Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651, Lima).]

*F. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile*. 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit scholar (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1658.]

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5. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publications del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on reservations, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1869-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucania, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucania. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 300 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1599-1602, 1654-1656, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

Population

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, leather, textiles, silverwork, etc.) developed; schools, new churches, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 80 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1885. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1880 between 50,000 and 55,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 106,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 30 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pachot y Cornejo: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 663) to 150,000 (Cochrane: *Geography of Latin America*, 1938, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 197,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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here, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of encomiendas. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e.g., Quinchamalí near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extension into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cuncos (Kunsho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cuncos with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Nuenquenve) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranquelinos or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

Missions

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[1] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1555, Mercedarians, 1640, and Dominicans, 1607, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

1. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit (1874-1957): Bibliotheca Missionum, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1951, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

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Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (*cf. Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine*), the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

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The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1848 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Paillalef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

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analyzed. There follows a list of the better known dictionaries, grammars, texts, and miscellaneous treatises, with the more important works indicated by an asterisk: 114 ● 19

P. Luis de VALDIVIA, S. J.: *Arte y Gramatica general de la Lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1606. [Born Granada 1560; to Chile 1593; great defender of the Indians; died 1642.] 113

*P. Andrés FEBRÉS, S. J.: *Arte de la Lengua General del Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1765. [Spain 1734-1790 Geneva; Juan M. Larsen published the above in parts in Buenos Aires, 1882, 1884.]

Father Thomas FALKNER, S. J.: *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Hereford, 1774. [1707-1784. Lived in Patagonia ca. 1740-67; contains Moluche vocabulary; editions in Buenos Aires 1885 & 1911, Chicago 1935.]

*P. Bernhard HAVESTADT, S. J.: *Chilidúgu, sive Res Chilensis.* Münster i. Westphalia, 1777. [1708-1781. Written in Spanish 1753-65; facsimile edition of Julius Platzmann, 1883, Leipzig, in 2 vols., *Chilidúgu, sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis.*]

*Fray Antonio HERNÁNDEZ I CALZADA, O. F. M.: *Diccionario Chileno Hispano, Compuesto por el r. p. misionero Andrés Febrés... Enriquecido de voces i mejorado por el r. p. m. fr. Hernández.* Santiago, 1846. [1774-1847.]

R. R. SCHULLER [Editor]: *Confesionario por Preguntas y Pláticas Doctrinales en castellano y araucano según el manuscrito inédito del misionero franciscano Fray Antonio Hernández Calzada* [1843]. Santiago, 1907. [This is *Bibliotecta de linguística americana*, t. 1.]

Dr. Ludwig DARAPSKY: "La lengua araucana." *Revista de artes y letras*, t. XII, pp. 153-185, Santiago, 1888. [1857-?]

Aníbal ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES: *La lengua araucana.* Santiago, 1889. [1864- ?]

Heinrich Robert Rudolf LENZ [commonly Rodolfo Lenz]: *Araukanische Märchen.* Valparaíso, 1892. [Germany 1863; to Chile ca. 1890; founder of scientific philology in Chile, and "Father" of modern *Araucanistas;* died 1938.]

D. BARROS ARANA and R. Lenz: "La Lingüística Americana, su historia i su estado actual," AUC, t. LXXXIV, pp. 985-1029, 1893.

Bartolomé MITRE: *Lenguas Americanas. Estudio Bibliográfica-Lingüístico de las obras del Padre Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak.* La Plata, 1894. [The scholar-president of Argentina; 1821-1906.]

*Rodolfo LENZ: "Estudios araucanos," in scattered volumes of the AUC, 1895-97.

I. Viaje al país de los Manzaneros contado en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp. 359-385.

II. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp.843-878.

III. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto picunche. t. XCI, pp. 195-241.

IV. Trozos menores en Picunche i Huilliche. t. XCIII, pp. 427-438.

V. Diálogos en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIII, pp. 507-555.

VI. Cuentos Araucanos . . . en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIV, scattered.

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fines del siglo XVIII." *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, t. 25, 1914. [Buenos Aires, 1878-1939.] 113

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Diccionario araucano-español y español-araucano*. 2 vols., Santiago, 1916.

Pablo GROEBER: "Toponomia araucana." *Anales de la Sociedad de Estudios "Gaea,"* t. II, Buenos Aires, 1926.

*Fray Ernesto Wilhelm de MOESBACH, O. M. Cap.: *Vida y Costumbres de los indígenas araucanos en la segundad mitad del siglo XIX*. Santiago, 1930. [In Chile since 1920. Texts in Spanish and Araucanian constituting the detailed biography of Pascual Coña, ca. 1847-1927.]

ETHNOGRAPHY

Although a great amount of ethnographic material exists in print concerning the Araucanians, there is yet to be written a definitive ethnography. No trained anthropologist has ever lived for any length of time among these Indians. Consequently, most works containing ethnographic material are primarily histories, travelogues, annals of the various religious, texts compiled for linguistic purposes, and scattered brief observations on various elements of Araucanian culture. The most comprehensive treatment is to be found in the writings of R. E. Latcham, R. E. Housse, and T. Guevara. However, *Vida y Costumbres*, by Moesbach, gives—in the form of a detailed biography of Pascual Coña (1847-1927)—a very good picture of Araucanian life. 114

Greatest attention has been given to the collecting of folkloric material—myths, legends, tales, and songs, and items illustrating the religious concepts of the Araucanians. This undoubtedly grew out of the fact that priests have done the major share of primary collecting and recording. Among the leading contributors in this field (both primary and secondary) have been: F. J. de Augusta, G. Beck, J. Benigar, A. Cañas Pinochet, F. J. Cavada, H. J. Claude Joseph, S. Englert, E. Gerdts-Rupp, T. Guevara, M. Gusinde, R. E. Latcham, R. Lehmann-Nitsche, R. Lenz, M. Manquilef, E. W. Moesbach, A. Oyarzún, E. Rivadeneira, and G. & J. Soustelle. Chief producers of bi-lingual texts have been Augusta, Lenz, Manquilef, and Moesbach.

Music, dances, and games usually have received only incidental treatment. E. Pereira Salas (who is working on a history of music in Chile), C. Isamitt, J. Urrutia Blondel, and W. Giese are among the leaders in this field. K. G. Izikowitz, E. M. Hornbostel (†), C. Lavin, and F. C. Lange are library and museum workers who have contributed from foreign lands.

In the great field of economics there have been many papers but most of the contributions are rather scanty. Latcham is an honorable exception. Among those treating on ethno-biology and agriculture are R. E. Latcham, K. Reiche, E. W. Moesbach, A. Cañas Pinochet, R. A. Philippi, M. Gusinde, W. Knoche, A. Oyarzún, O. Reszczynski, and F. A. Fonck. The discussion of arts and crafts has centered upon textiles, ceramics, and metalwork. Latcham has made the most complete treatment of pottery. Writers on textiles include A. Oyarzún, R. E.

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114 Latcham, S. K. Lothrop (A. H. Verrill in 1924, and Lothrop in 1929 and 1930 collected textiles for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation), G. Looser, R. E. Claude Joseph ,and M. D. Millán. R. E. Claude Joseph and A. Fontecilla Larraín have written specifically on silverwork.

There follows a list of works, other than those already mentioned under history and language, which contain ethnographic material. The list is arranged chronologically for the period 1824-1891, and alphabetically by authors 1892-1940. It contains the more significant works and a selection of others to represent varied content and authorship. The more important works are marked with an asterisk.

1824-1891

113 Peter SCHMIDTMEYER: *Travels into Chile, over the Andes.* London, 1824.

William Bennet STEVENSON: *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America.* 3 vols., London, 1825. [1787-?]

John MIERS: *Travels in Chile and La Plata.* 2 vols., London, 1826. [1789-1879.]

Eduard Friedrich POEPPIG: *Reise in Chile, Peru, und auf dem Amazonenstrome während der Jahre 1827-1832.* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1835-36. [1798-1868; Botanist, in Chile 1827-29.]

Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'Homme Américain,* 2 vols., Paris, 1839. [This is Vol. 4, pt. 1, of the great French (1802-1857) naturalist's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale,* 9 vols., Paris, 1835-1847.]

Captain Allen Francis GARDINER, R.N.: *A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chile.* London, 1841. [1794-1851.]

*Ignacio DOMEYKO: *Araucanía i sus habitantes.* Santiago, 1845. [Lithuanian geologist, 1802-1889, who was one of the great rectors of the University of Chile.]

Fray Victorino PALAVICINO, O.F.M.: *Observaciones . . . sobre la Civilización de los Araucanos.* Concepción, 1854.

*Edmond Reuel SMITH: *The Araucanians or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chile.* New York, 1855. [Smith was a member of the United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to Chile, 1849-52. The work was translated by Latcham and published in Santiago, 1915.]

*Pedro RUIZ ALDEA: "Ojeada sobre la provincia de Araucc," *El Ferrocarril* for 1856, Santiago [One of the two leading Chilean newspapers of that date]. This was republished as *Los Araucanos y sus costumbres,* Los Angeles, 1868, Concepción 1893, and Santiago, 1902. 1830-1870.]

*Fray Victorino PALAVICINO. O.F.M.: *Memoria sobre la Araucanía por un misionero del colegio de Chillán.* Santiago, 1860.

Pablo TREUTLER: *La Provincia de Valdivia i los Araucanos.* Santiago, 1861. [Paul Treutler, 1822-1887.]

Guillermo Eloi COX: *Viaje en las rejiones septentrionales de la Patagonia, 1862-1863.* Santiago, 1863.

Carlos GARCÍA HUIDOBRO: *Viaje a las provincias meridionales de Chile i su descripción.* Santiago, 1863.

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*Rodolfo LENZ: "Araukanische Maerchen und Erzaehlungen mitgeteilt von Segundo Jara (Kalvun)," *Verhandlungen des Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Vereins zu Santiago de Chile*, t. III, pp. 169-238. 1896. 113

Rodolfo LENZ: "Tradiciones e ideas de los Araucanos acerca de los terremotos," AUC, t. CXXX, 1912.

Gualterio LOOSER: "Die Araukaner-Gewebe," *Andina, Zeitschrift für Naturfreunde und Wanderer*, t. V, pp. 10-17, Valparaíso, 1926. [Now president of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales de Chile.]

*Samuel Kirkland LOTHROP: "Notes on Indian Textiles of Central Chile," *Indian Notes*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 7:3:324-35, 1930. [1892- Collected Mapuche material 1929, 1930.]

*Carl Eduard MARTIN: *Landeskunde von Chile*. Hamburg, 1909.

María Delia MILLÁN: "Tejidos araucanos del Neuquén," *Actas del XXV Congreso de Americanistas, La Plata*, t. 1, pp. 215-222, 1932.

Franz William NEGER: "En la Patria de la Araucaria. Los Pinares y los Araucanos," ASSC, t. XX, pp. 37-108, 1910. [1868-1923.]

Dr. Aureliano OYARZÚN N.: *Cultura aborígena de Chiloé*. Santiago, 1935. [Dr. Oyarzún, born Dalcahue 1860, physician and anthropologist, has been director of the Museo Histórico Nacional de Chile since 1939, and was the director of the former Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile.]

———: "Los aborígenes de Chile," *Festschrift . . . au P. W. Schmidt*, Wein, 1928.

Karl Friederich REICHE: "La isla Mocha," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, cuad. 16, Etnología, Santiago, 1903. [1860-1929; plant geographer, botanist.]

*Carlos OLIVER SCHNEIDER: *Los indios de Chile*. Concepción, 1933. [Uruguay, 1899- ; geologist and archaeologist, director Museo de Concepción 1915- .]

A. POLAKOWSKY: "Die Heutigen Aurakaner," *Globus* no. 74, 1898.

*Eulojio ROBLES RODRÍGUEZ: "Costumbres i creencias araucanas," AUC, t. CXIX-CXXXI, 1906-1914. [A series treating chiefly on funeral ceremonies, *machis*, and dances.]

L. F. RUEZ: *Los indios araucanos de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1929.

*Georgette & Jacques SOUSTELLE: *Folklore chilien*. Paris, 1938. [French ethnologists and philologists; Georgette, Tunis 1909-; Jacques, France 1912-]

*Agustín TORREALBA Z: *Tierras del Estado y radicación de indígenas*. Santiago, 1908. [Enlarged edition 1917, 3 vols.]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

History, linguistics, and ethnography have been given far more attention than physical anthropology and archaeology. Various naturalists and ship's surgeons during the past 200 years have contributed scattered measurements and observations, and a few small series of Araucanian skeletal material are present in Chile, Argentina, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States. However, no museum has an adequate collection, and not even one anthropometric index, ratio, or simple measurement has 114 141

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114 141 been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain cranial measurements and indices provide the bulk of content in the literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1903). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most auspicious recent development is the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Henckel and Dr. Alexander Lipschütz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (*Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile*, and *Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena*) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodtyping. G. Rahm in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Fuegians. Some of the earlier works include:

113 Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'homme américain*. 2 vols., Paris, 1839.

Léonce Pierre MANOUVRIER: "Sur les Araucans du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Paris, Ser. 3, VI, 727-32, 1883. [France 1850-1927 Paris.]

Herman F. C. Ten KATE: "Contribution à la crâniologie des Araucans Argentins," *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, IV, pp. 211-220, 1893. [Dutch physical anthropologist; lived for a time in Argentina; 1858-1931.]

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on Chilean Anthropology," JRAI, XXXIII, pp. 167-178, 1903.

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of the Araucans," JRAI, XXXIV, pp. 170-180, 1904. [Latcham lived for three years in Malleco and Cautín.]

Ricardo E. LATCHAM: "Antropología chilena," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, XVI, pp. 241-318, 1909.

Nello PUCCIONI: "Cranii araucani e patagoni," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, XLII, 1912. [Italy, 1881-1937.]

Luis de HOYOS SAINZ: "Crânes fuégiens et araucans du musée anthropologique de Madrid," JSAP, n. s., X, pp. 181-194, 1913. [Spain, 1861- .]

ARCHAEOLOGY

114 172 The archaeology of Araucanía, as such, has not been done. There are no imposing ruins in central Chile and no scientific excavation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently dubious channels of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chinca, Inca and other influences, are still moot matters—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

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satisfaction. From the Río Maule to Chiloé Island the chief archaeologic items are pictographs and petroglyphs, stone projectile points and bolas and other weapons, stone rings (weights for digging sticks, or mace heads), mealing stones, polishing stones, hammerstones, celts, adzes, hoes, gravers, burens, "hominy" holes, spindle whorls, stone and pottery pipes, *toquis*, and pottery. The chief archaeologic sites are boulder patches, caves, coastal kitchen middens, small habitation, refuse and burial mounds (*ancoviña* is term used for some), potsherd areas, and *ruka* sites. The area between the Maule and Bío-Bío rivers is much richer than the wetter forested country to the south. 114 172

The men at present most active in the archaeology of Araucanía are Mr. Dillman S. Bullock, of El Vergel, Angol (Bullock lived some 10 years farther south in Araucanía, ca. 1907-1917, before coming to Angol in 1923), and Dr. Carlos Oliver Schneider, of the Universidad de Concepción. Latcham, Oyarzún, Looser, and others have worked in the area from time to time. Mr. Bullock (Methodist missionary, agricultural expert, and ornithologist, as well as archaeologist) has a small but excellent museum at El Vergel. Other museums containing material from Araucanía are in Temuco, Concepción, Santiago, and Valparaíso. The Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation in New York has the best collection of Araucanian material in the United States. 114

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Any corrections of errors of commission and omission will be greatly appreciated. It was impossible to compare many titles with the originals, and errors in pagination, volume, date of actual publication, capitalization, punctuation, and accentuation must occur. A common practice in Chile is the reprinting of separates from serials and periodicals with a different date, different pagination, often without mentioning the medium of original publication, and sometimes with a different title. In the case of many writers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, dates of birth and death are given variously by different authorities. The author has attempted to give these dates for all individuals concerning whom information was readily available. In the case of many individuals born in the middle third of the 19th century, it has not been possible to determine if they are still alive. [Date-?] means probably or definitely dead, but date not known. [Date-] means probably or definitely alive as of 1941. The names of the writers of non-Spanish origin often appear both in original form and in hispanized form. An attempt has been made to give (with the first citation) the complete baptismal form, wherever known, even though the name does not so appear on the work in question. Chileans are even more prone than most Latin Americans to use the complete form including surnames of both father and mother. [*Cf.* Luis Thayer Ojeda (1877-): "Orijen de los Apellidos en Chile." *Proceedings Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 61-112, 1917.] 000

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

● 114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 648 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the *Araucanian* diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, *in* Fúrlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Roca and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

114 By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cunco*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Picunche*

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and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilotan culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Picunche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Picunche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures. 114

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically. 113

Sixteenth century: Goicueta (1852), [1558], 1558; Ercilla (1910), [1569–89], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1862), [1575], 1549–75; Mariño de Lovera (1865), [ca. 1594], 1551–94; Olaverria (1852), [1594]; Oña (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1887), [1606], 1593–1622; González de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1601–7; Bascuñan (1863), [1673], 1629; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1643; Barlaeus (1647); Marcgrav (1648); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1629–82.

Eighteenth century: Frézier (1716); Pietas (1846), [1729], 1729; Olivares (1864), [1758–67], (1874), [1736], ca. 1700–67; Febrés (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1883), [1777], 1748–67; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1767; Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1767; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), [1796], ca. 1765–92.

Nineteenth century to 1883: Domeyko (1845), 1845; Smith (1855), 1853; Ruiz Aldea (1902), [1856], ca. 1856; Medina (1882).

1883 to present: Lenz (1895–97, 1896, 1904–10), ca. 1890–1938; Guevara Silva (1898, 1904, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1929), ca. 1898–1935; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 a, 1922 b, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1929–30, 1936 d), 1888–90, 1892–95; Robles Rodrigues (1942), [1906–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1896– ; Bullock (1911), ca. 1907– ; Manquilef (1911, 1914), 1887– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1922, 1936); Looser (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1933–34), ca. 1928– ; Moesbach (1936), [1930], 1920– ; Lothrop (1930, 1932), 1929–30; McClafferty (1932); Housse (1939), ca. 1930– ; Brand (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Métraux (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 41; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 193; Domeyko, 1845, p. 58; Housse, 1939, p. 166.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of feasts. Fish and other 262

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101 interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians
131 between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today
175 comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

175 The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

669 But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such appre-
[366] hension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted
[366] until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

[147] 5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1573" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo subcedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío. 669

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures. 177

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as 114 [797]

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 10-14, 63-65, *passim*). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

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114 men, they thought of the Indians as wild savages who blindly resisted the sweet yoke of Christianity and Spanish dominion. For this reason they seldom inquired into the possibility of Indian method; rather, Indian resistance was madness. Another weakness inherent in the chronicles is the factor of cultural change. At any given moment the chroniclers made their notations in the belief that what they saw was and had been thus from the beginning of time. Only when contemporaries gave information which contradicted their own observations did they give evidence of change, but without attempting to explain it.

000 It is seldom wise to take an interpretive fact, as disclosed by one of the chroniclers, at its face value. When we are told, for instance, that the Spaniards lost a given battle because the Indians outnumbered them it is entirely unlikely that the chronicler is telling us the whole truth. We have every reason to doubt him because we already know that the Spaniards, with or without Indian allies, had an enormous talent for winning military victories with inferior numbers. At no time was it normal for Spanish forces to outnumber the enemy anywhere in the Indies. Why, then, did the Indians win not only the battle in question, but a majority of their engagements? The suggestions are several: perhaps the Indians, in their own right, had become superior strategists; perhaps they had improved their own weapons to a point which offset the Spanish advantages of gunpowder and horse; perhaps they had developed a creed for life which made resistance both possible and meaningful. Our questioning of an apparently reliable fact leads us to recognition of a neglected factor, the potentiality of early Araucanian culture. By following these suggestions through and corroborating them with associated evidence, we may well come to an understanding of that particular battle which is far superior to that entertained by the chronicler. More importantly, when the battle is multiplied by 1000 and the conditions of Spanish defeat remain relatively constant, significant conclusions concerning Araucanian culture are inescapable.

114 By the passing of the first generation of Conquistadores the war had become institutionalized, and observers began to think and write about it historically. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several histories of Chile and its Araucanian War were written which contained a relative abundance of passages describing Indian life. These writers, like their predecessors in the sixteenth century, did not take into account the factor of cultural change, and their judgments were almost entirely based upon the present in which they observed and wrote. Nor did they, with few exceptions, have the opportunity of consulting the major chronicles of the sixteenth century. Most of those manuscripts were sent to Spain for publication, but a good many of them were intentionally or innocently shuttled off to a dark repository to await the dawn of modern historiography on Chilean historians.

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There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

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themselves outmanned and outmanoeuvered, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20] 725

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous ex-groom in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of encirclement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability. 725 701

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spanish. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more [411] 725

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 35ff., 85, 101, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could not see the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that more polished peninsular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being unfit for the task. Discrimination against creoles was a constant source of discussion in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many peninsulars in his train. The abundant with which he handed out encomiendas to his peninsular friends enraged the luckless creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chileans knew the identity of their fathers, and then insultingly inquired, "*En qué se conocen aquí estos hijos de putas?*" (Marmolejo, p. 80). Nájera (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born in war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chroniclers ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between creole and peninsular to be utterly inane.

21 Marmolejo simply states that among those who plotted Valdivia's downfall was a young native named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 36). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term yanacona invariably means a friendly and allied Indian from the north. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become so *españolado* in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1878) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 Olaverría, pp. 33-34; Nájera, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Latcham, "La especial guerrera de los Araucanos: sus armas y métodos militares" (Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 13, no. 19, 1915, pp. 122-199). While this study is valuable for purely military affairs, it does not attempt to 114

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important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of snares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[23]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[24] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

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explain or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the factor of Indian bravery. Another weakness in the author's emotional use of Pedro Marino de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1591, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Ostensibly because it was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escobar for rewriting. As a true courtier, he shifted emphasis to flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise took liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revision it was probably revised by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently disseminated in Spain by Hurtado in exchange for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was tired at publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In retaliation he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Nájera remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more victorious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). San Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, vol. 2, pp. 282-286).

23 Mariñas, pp. 44-49, 81, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 687, 1946) is in error when he concludes that the Indians mastered European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

24 Chevalier, p. 34.

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[63] rather than central, and coöperation was most often found in the realm of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Araucanians. The region between the Biobío and Tolten Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *butanmapos*; they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the estado). Each butanmapo had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least in time of war, a principal chief, or *toqui*. It was customary for the chiefs to debate plans for war in a parliamentary junta in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[40] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial toquis is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held to both qualify status and to assure authority. When disagreement occurred between toquis, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[41]

Geronimo Pietas, writing around 1729, describes a further development of this general schema. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called butanmapos, but they extended farther north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Araucania is more testimony to the growth of Araucanian strength and confidence. In Pietas' description each butanmapo had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *toqui-guilmen* (commander), a *guinca-guilmen* (field commander), and a *peiqui-guilmen* (diplomatic courier). While these officers assumed absolute authority in their positions within the province, they were inferior to a *toqui-general* who apparently wielded a measure of authority over the whole of Araucania. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A
[63] general war could be called for only by the toqui-general, and at his own discre-
[72] tion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *coms*. Only the toqui-general could dispatch the coms, and in the event of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a com was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the councils, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional toqui. As messenger he sent his peiqui-guilmen to the other butanmapos, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this event the warring chieftain used force

40 Bacciottini, pp. 39-41. Latcham (*La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 133-134) considers this to be an ancient Mapuche military organization, even though it is first reported about a century after the Spaniards arrived. From what we know of the ancient Mapuche, this would appear to be an unlikely sophisticated organization.

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41 *Idem*, pp. 94-99, 144-148; "Relación de Luis de Valdivia," 1611 (Gay, II, pp. 281-282).

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form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Baezán had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Baezán, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The merchant Baezán then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillán.[46] Baezán registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified eminence the leaders of the ranks, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[47] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[48] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry load or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow in shame. And since this master contains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[49]

There was seldom talk of peace in the ranks. Even a chief, if he dared speak of the ranks, and likewise the use of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Baezán's identity they demanded his head in use of a trophy to inspire peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and over Mocilaun saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a gentle and educated man in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a crude scholar could hold his own with a pretentious, learned his encounter quotations from and reference to classical authors.

[46] Baezán, pp. 133-134. Also see Claudio y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 241).

[46] Olivares, p. 22.

[47] Núñez, p. 22.

[48] Idem, pp. 41, 105.

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. PARSONS
University of Illinois

[2] [2.5] THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) consideration of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

[3] For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

[3.5] [3.6] During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the overall Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

[4] Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

[5] Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1928), who drew heavily on colonial documents. No supplementary field work is conducted among the Mapuche in Cuarto Puntano, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most ambitious students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring kinship

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SO4 Araucanian SO4

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tial material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Morlock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Bidwell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martín Colín, and tentatively concluded that the

Map of Southern Mapuche Chile.

8: Faron K-8 (1953) 1954 SG4 Araucanians SG4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Holmwell 1942:299-300).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Chonchol, in Cautin Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Chonchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the greater divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:498). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1800's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Holmwell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febres (1765), Nove-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of
● 114 Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal
611 promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
601 time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114 ●

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[8]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and levirate obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñeme*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurua*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurua* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 601 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. 174 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [177]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "petu-

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ARAUCANIAN PARALLELS TO THE OMAHA KINSHIP PATTERN

121 (*Introductory note:* At the Poughkeepsie meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1929 I presented the following paper. I never published it, mainly because I obtained the information from a single informant and hoped that I might later substantiate and elaborate my original notes. Such an opportunity never arose. But during the subsequent years no one else, so far as I can discover has reported the occurrence of the Omaha kinship structure among the Araucanians.[1] However, now, when attention is being increasingly focused upon all things South American, it seems worth while to place my information on record. The immediate stimulus to publication came from Dr. Murdock who, in a discussion following a lecture he gave before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in December, 1942, remarked that in his survey of social organizations and kinship patterns throughout the world, he was struck by the absence of the Omaha pattern in South America, although he suspected its presence among the Araucanians. Its absence in South America seemed significant because of its presence in the other four major areas of the world from which he selected his sample. I hope that the publication of the following paper, even at this late date, may ultimately lead to a final settlement of the question.)

114 In the current number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Dr. Lesser has brought a very important problem to a focus.[2] He demonstrates the fairly consistent association

[1] See Donald D. Brand, *A Brief History of Araucanian Studies* (New Mexican Anthropologist, V, 1941), pp. 2, 19–52.

[2] A. Lesser, *Kinship Origins in the Light of some Distributions* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST), 31, 1929), pp. 710–730.

[p.489]

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

[582] [591 604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

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[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 [611] [587]

zation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wéko* = mother's brother) and *ñáke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-ntu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wéko* are always *ñáke*. The children of a *ñáke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*pálu*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*tchkam;* no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*kotát*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *karán* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *karán* by a man is *kémpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *karán* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

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FOREWORD

In this day when the vogue in ethnology is to stress theory and far-reaching comparisons, it is refreshing to find a study that is essentially descriptive. With characteristic energy Sister Inez has gathered a wealth of detailed facts concerning all aspects of child life, biological and sociological, which should serve as a mine of source material for future workers. 114

Essentially she has followed the same methods as used in her two previous monographs on the child life of the Chippewa and the Arapaho, but in this instance she has stressed even more the cultural matrix which to such a large extent has determined the practices connected with the development and socialization of the child.

The approach technically has not been that of the psychologist, but a wealth of psychological material emerges.

The abundance of direct quotes from informants and the frequent recounting of personal experiences give to the narrative an intimacy that not only makes it entertaining reading but imparts a human quality which adds to its value as a sociological and psychological document.

Considering the importance of the Araucanians, there are not too many accounts available in the English language, and no other study concerning child life.

Although acculturated through more than four centuries of contact with European civilization, the Araucanians have retained their identity, their language, and a great deal of their aboriginal culture.

This study of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, using the development and training of the child as a method of approach, actually gives an excellent picture of Araucanian ethnology in general as it is today.

M. W. Stirling
Director, Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

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128 Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Coñaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

114 The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

129 A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

130 The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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121 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or
179 later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evi-
114 dent. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from
121 the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the *Mapuche* (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing culture ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:38). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:677). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, even in the life cycle, and so *forth*, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the pre-reservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. 114 177 [182]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrism. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me 121 121 177

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A 101 in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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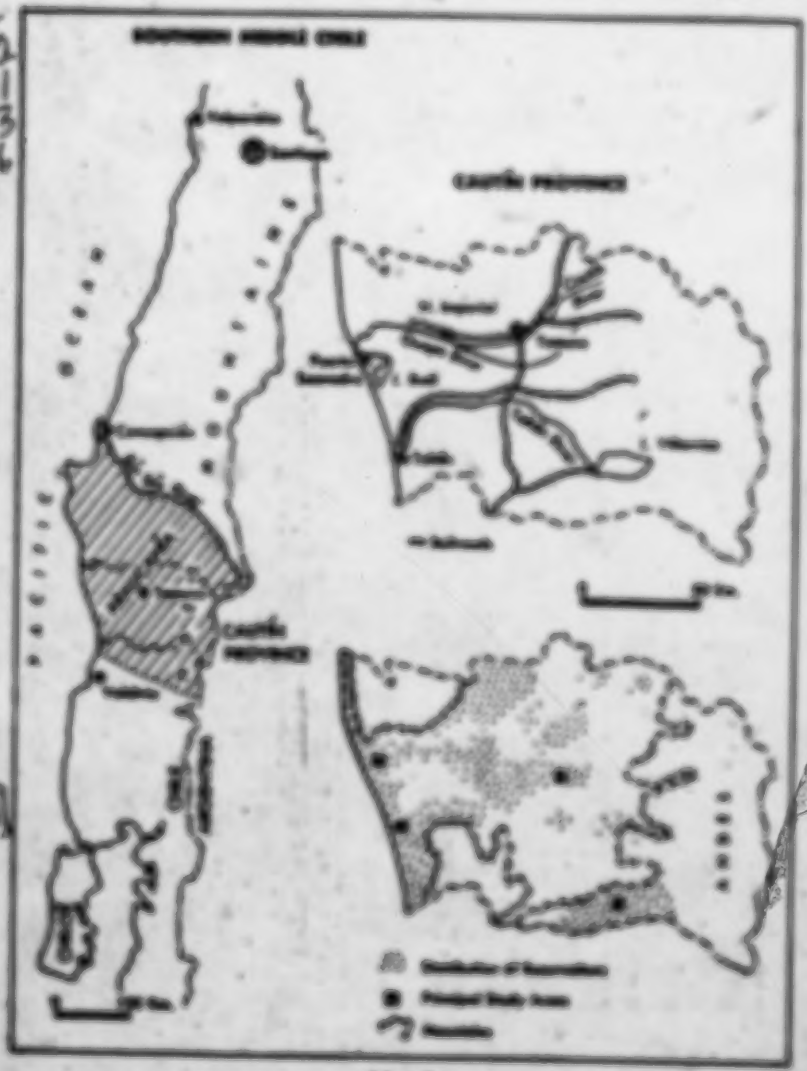

[114]

Map 1

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did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or cultivated for chicken feed forward. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Tolten and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Rukile Huachi

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 10 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Rukile Huachi designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called Iulufmawitha (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to Iulufmawitha; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Rukile Huachi:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1940)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	372	130	c. 4 ha.
Nuiel	100	48	c. 4 ha.
Lemuno	100	34	c. 4 ha.
Mamuno	300	100	c. 3 ha.

Pelalcoy

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Tolten, about 80 kilometers southwest of Rukile Huachi, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelalcoy means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

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augmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonquen, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonquen has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an impoliteo (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the temporaneal and interfamilial relationships among the various reservation makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonquen, a man with 48 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and corn, works on a half-share basis, or has to pasture the remaining 45 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 489 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonquen are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Innovation Literature: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llaewtuen. Of a total of 499 hectares, approximately 180 are

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1959. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently responsed to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucania (1959) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help – that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[782] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

• 114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
608 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [182] [621]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 177 613 [648] [423]

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Mapuche

613 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for
621 distinguishing lineal and residential units.
[622]

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
621 of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage.
618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–185, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[a] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

[a] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
62 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
[114] and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
[428] ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche so-
cial structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[580] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[4] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent military relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

§[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887—thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no precolonial over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [704].

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the
[114] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

A [See CAT 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

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582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly
601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[8]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's
[584] sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [8] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[2] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

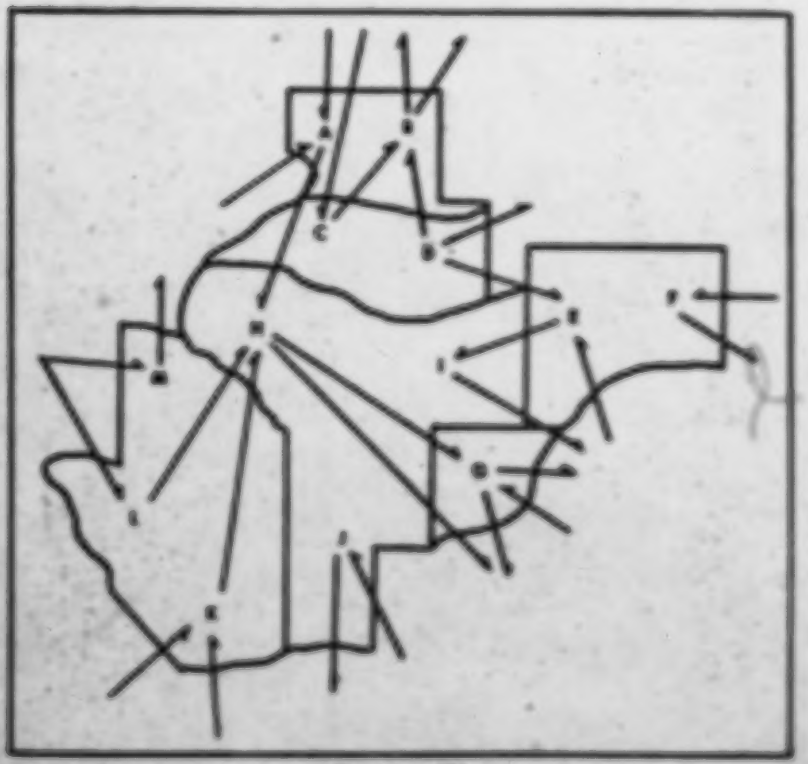

Diagram III

2 [Sec. OCT. 16, P6 -- 4wa1957]

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during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 15 square miles in total area between more than two households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Tolten during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of personal authority operating in the arrangement of intralineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[9] Whereas formerly, in the preconversion era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [632] [193]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the organization of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[9] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, supra. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special conciliating relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my conception that in Mapucheland such a "special conciliating relationship" did develop in preconversion times and that preconversion conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends, of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in preconversion days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before authority transcended the personal and came to some extent beyond the control of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 148 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that *is*, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [182] [342] [656] [291] [692] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet *intrastructural* changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will 177 182 114 105

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persist only as memories" (1951:158). There can be no disagreement with this conclusion except to say that it tells the present short by not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with

[223]

breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciones*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to obliteration of Mapuche society, rather than to instructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

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We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

[1] Ibid.
[1] Cautiñ-Boyle in 1921 and Carrasco in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:85, 88).

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[P.V]

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000 (ceremony) connected with their own "society." The chief
793 priest (ñiñoko) performs on behalf of the congregation during
787 the large, public ñiñatun, usually in the dual role of chief of a
775 descendant community and head of the dominant lineage
763 therein, but a smaller family group may also hold a ñiñatun
613 (which I regard as a parameremun practice) in which prayers
520 are offered to the pentheon and to ancestral spirits by a
household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a
subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called ñiñatuñ.
986 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
969 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently
willing to continue making accommodations in their approach
to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the domestic
pantheon of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless
visualize a rather well-defined set of parades, supplicatory, and
curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and
need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the
examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of sanctity
in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what
extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the
cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures
and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist
demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a
functional relation between the structure of symbolic values
and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche sanctity
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van
Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and
their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves
with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be
handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships.
On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position
represented, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include
> economic and political relationships as well as those based on

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1951:29). 124 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Cooper, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear conviction that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites beyond, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publicly for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 955 754

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114. 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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754 755 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle, usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away [756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed [177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 775 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words: 796 [178] [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of *nillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory. [114]

In the following pages is a generalized account of *nillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great *structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted* for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors. [114] 796 184

A General Description of Nillatun. *Nillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *Ñenechen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *nillatun* is the offering of food to *Ñenechen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening 796 241 178 796 241 782 178

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I have stressed the priestly function of *filiatufe*, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *filiatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *filiatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *filiatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *filiatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi*" in the *filiatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*filiatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *filiatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *filiatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *filiatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *filiatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *filiatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision. [756]

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatorio de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 114 796 769

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from precreservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a *truly corporate community*, and division of land into separalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves
[462] with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patri-
[769] potestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

12] *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
756 correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
462 gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper,
[114] Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an *historical answer, since the present condition is usually described* in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorpo-
462 rated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
756 sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750). 178 456 756 [838] [839]

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

> *Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common* (1951:117). [838] [839]

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Ronald Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emilio Hume (1939:119), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

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machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

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756 554 562 182 shamanism fill the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his avid and unnatural descent from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 769 562 182 613 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 613 182 There is, I find, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is uninportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patriportionality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshaling the Powers of Evil

114 799 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of experiential quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared (we seem to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled). The imperfections and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapuche-land, and it is of great daily concern to the people.

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants about every lonko an almost every reservation seems to contain its kalku. Mapuche give simple evidence that there are many more kalku than machi.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some kalku are more powerful than others. There are the kalku of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people consider for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. Where the venture is great and where success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional kalku. These almost daily elucidations by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful kalku are women and that among these are some machi who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as individuated shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional machi's pole outside their houses.

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are kalku, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, kalku take these recruits to their *ruka*, or witches' *ruca*, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a machi, the feeling of

Id: Faron E-6, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Majucha

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women who engage in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may announce that forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the sphere of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a kalku are her own ancestral spirits, those of other kalku, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with machi, there is no female line involved, but kalku do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to machi, therefore, kalku are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, members of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful kalku may control many spirits captured by her, the unpatterned spirits of the dead whose due converts into wekufe and who assume various malevolent forms, such as wekumalen, anellimallen, pirukchen, chawchen, and ulcen. Kalku, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.* They possess through the agency of their supernatural aids, they cause their familiars to capture (and, conversely spirits—actually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. Kalku's spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inducted in succession to familiars of descendants or concubits.

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[illegible]

The community rejoices when a kalku dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of dilution, held after the death of a suspected kalku (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the dilution ceremony by way of giving thanks to Nenechen and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the kalku's spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special chicha in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the kalku's family

*This poses a problem with regard to sorcerers for witchcraft. If sorcery is itself strictly sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? This is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, morality?

LD: Faron. E-4.3 (1952-1954) 1964
SOA Araucanian SOA
Mapuche

Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily observe and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:169). Since the population of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circulous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not even come to sound in the creation of a total appreciation of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it ought be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly sacred values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with a point concerning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The particular notion of dualism among the Mapuches, at least of their gloses, would seem to lend itself to a reflective Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought, but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—Mapuche

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil in most contexts and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when understanded Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and sovereignty-oriented views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of relationships but, rather, a dualistic world view into

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are found to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their social reservation. In some cases, where lineage ties hold, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the appellations name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The reciprocity of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as trapiche and lonchotoro, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the ave ceremony an example of the obligations associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (wekil), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead, in return the proper bestowal of which binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part in the relative, shifting individuals reciprocity of gift-receiver and gift-giver.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*ulmenge*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's brother's daughter marriage is a direct or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, as complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to considered or not-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous people of the world are Mapuche, all subsistence whites. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapuchland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing on each then in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Pehuenche (pihuen north), to the south, Huilliche (huilli south), to the east, Puelche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (lafken ocean). Some writers have taken these geographical directional classifications to mean that local political and ritual divisions existed among the pre-conquistador Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature to support of this conclusion. Rather, there are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and not one tribe of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

Id: Form: E-4, 5 (1956-1964) 1964
SO4 Arentsiana SO4
Mapuche

social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural context is lacking.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from pan-organization, marriage preferences, ceremonial participation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that some attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the considerations in change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and theory. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1959: 129-42).*

Radcliffe-Brown suggests that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

* It is difficult to consider Titiev's general conclusions in functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs" (142) and, with regard to the social fate of Mapuche morality, "... as epidemic after epidemic took its toll of population, so moral and ... of population, so moral and" (140).

Id: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

APPENDIX

RATHER than discuss the position of various well-known Mapuche specialists in the text of this book, I append what I consider some of their more important statements on the matter of morality. On the whole, these tend to support my thesis, and I shall hold my comments to a minimum. 114

Of Mapuche morality, Guevara (1908) writes:

> Este conjunto de reglas de tradición, consideran como los principales deberes el respeto al padre, a los antepasados *i* al rito. . . . *La* entidad moral reside . . . en la familia . . . (109).

Here we have an indication of the religious sphere of social action, although Guevara never clearly recognized Mapuche magic as religion. This is indicated in his following remark.

> *Para* procurar su comunicación con los espíritus bienhechores *i* neutralizar la acción de los malos . . . *la necesidad* permanente *Religiosa*. . . . *He necesidade* adorada, *a* greater *iniciados* que pueden en practica las *ritos* clasificados según el objeto. *Estas operaciones i operaciones forman los elementos de la* magia *ceremonia* (231; italics added).

Guevara's measure of morality was not hampered by a Christian bias, but his "failure" to recognize the religiosity of Mapuche magic seems a result of his having regarded paganism as an evolutionary switch below true religion. At any rate, Guevara does not seem to have been concerned with the problem, of magic versus religion or with considerations of sacred-profane categories, although as a result of his wide reading he was surely aware that these were theoretical problems.

Latcham's work (1924) is cluttered with speculations about what he called "totemism," a topic further bogged down in an argument that matrilineality preceded patrilineality among the Mapuches. Despite this penchant for reconstructing Mapuche history, Latcham managed to present many data in a structural manner and dealt with the relationships of ancient populations,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

114 public ritual, and the moral order. Latcham's totemic clans seem to have been localized patrilineages which formed part of incipient ritual congregations. Latcham's description of the beginnings of the reintegration of Mapuche society is a stimulating one, as contrasted to his speculations about its origins in the pre-Spanish era.

In the work of Augustín Edwards (1929) we find an evaluation of statements of many of his predecessors and a synthetic contribution of his own, much of which is of high quality. I would like to discuss a few points, however, with which I am in disagreement. What I consider to be a glaring misinterpretation is his remark: "In the minds of the Mapuche, morality and religion are two essentially different things" (26). Edwards supported this conclusion with a quotation from Guevara which maintains that in their invocations the Mapuche merely ask for favors and do not attempt to make amends for their faults (26). The standard Edwards applies appears to be that of Christian religious morality, as evidenced by his contention that "Mapuche morality does not make a distinction between good and evil in the same form as Christian morality does. For the Mapuche, that which conforms to his traditions and superstitions is good and that which is not in consonance with them is bad" (29). The second sentence might be generalized to include all systems of religious morality. In any case, I take it as supporting evidence of my thesis.

In writing of ancestor propitiation and sorcery, Edwards, to my mind, provides data and conclusions which contradict the statements of his I have just cited. As far as it goes, his treatment of sorcery is excellent. He writes in part:

> *In the matter of enchantments and sorcery the Mapuche of the present day are no different from those of the time of the discovery and conquest of Chile. This is undoubtedly their most deeply rooted and ancient belief and the most profound and pronounced trait of the Mapuche character . . .*" (28).

While this statement is subject to certain qualifications a half-century after Edwards wrote, it is still essentially applicable to contemporary Mapuche society and indicates the persistence of the Mapuche moral system. Edwards goes on to say:

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

. . . there are things which are traditionally forbidden. . . . And the doing of forbidden things entails fatal consequences. That is the moral restraint par excellence (28). 1140

And in continuation:

. . . all that disciplines their instincts and keeps their behavior within certain limits of reciprocal justice and equity is their veneration for their ancestors and their traditions and their fear of vengeance, which constituted and still constitutes the punitive right in force among the Mapuches that have not become civilized (29).

Edwards also notes that vengeance was a responsibility of the injured person's family and was "carried out from group to group" (29). Finally, he writes that:

Evil is brought about by the art of enchantment or witchcraft and punishment is inflicted by the retaliation. This was, and still is, the essence of moral law among the Mapuche who have not modified their ideas and customs (29).

While I am not in complete agreement with this judgment, for it omits other moral considerations, it is a fair enough appraisal of an important segment of the moral system. I would like to note, however, that this and other of Edwards' remarks do not wholly support his contention that "Sorcery or witchcraft was the very essence of immorality" (28). While this might be said of those actions of the sorcerer taken solely for her private gain, I pose this question with reference to rank and file Mapuche: "If sorcery is undertaken for vengeance, and if vengeance is a morally accepted practice, is sorcery, in this instance, evil?" There are some interesting implications in this matter with regard to, among other things, the definition of shaman and sorcerer, the line between good and evil magic, the function of sorcery and the existence of evil in the integration of Mapuche society.

Titiev (1951), in an otherwise highly descriptive account of Mapuche ritual and similarities and differences between shamans and sorcerers, comes to this important conclusion:

Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order (124).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

114 It is clear that Titiev, although often only implicitly, relates morality and ritual expression among the Mapuche. This, unfortunately, is not done systematically or in any detail. Nor does one find in the works of Titiev and Hilger (1957) indication of an interest in understanding the social relationships which form the structure of religious morality. Both of these authors handle the spheres of magic and religion as distinct, although overlapping, areas of ritual.

None of the authors cited above may be said to be wholly aligned with the point of view of Herskovits' statement quoted in the Introduction. That is to say, none of these ethnologists appears to have felt obliged to argue that it is difficult to consider religion and morality as social institutions, although some of them made no effort to analyze religion sociologically and did not really concern themselves with the Mapuche system of morality.

Gilmartinez de la Vega 1-5 [ca. 1555] 1871
SE13 Inca
Armacanqui Stef

and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Yupanqui,[1] who came forth from Vilcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Abraham, besides other sad news that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven duccats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Granada, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Second College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

"OF THE REBELLION OF THE ARAUCOS.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the fair

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Yaca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Yaca Huaca, by Ñusta Cusi Huarcay, daughter of the Yaca Huaca. There is a picture of the bride and bridegroom in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed in an ambuscade by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Yaca Princess, named Leonora, was created Marchioness of Oropesa, and married Don Juan Mendoza de Borja, of the House of Gandia.

2. Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Año III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 50, 51-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrerrifle, near Cautín, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lowie concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lowie's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquilief, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[1] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father clans.

[592] [591] [604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[2] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic clan organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[1] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1-285, with 39 maps, 1922.

[2] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXXIX, 1919), pp. 226-270, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

To: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

115

LIST OF INFORMANTS

CHILE

Alepúe area

Marín Calfín and her husband
Francisco Canúlef and his mother
Olegario Canúlef and his mother
Pancho Canúlef
Rosario Huaiane de Canúlef
Andrés Elodio Huaiane
Francisca Pulquillanca de Huaiane
Lorenza Huaiane de Llenlef
Alberto Llenlef
Antonio Llenlef Martín de Llenlef
Artemio Llenlef and an old uncle
Arturo Llenlef
Augustina Llenlef and her mother
Benjamín Llenlef and his parents
Dalmiro Llenlef
Dolores Llenlef and her mother
Elías Llenlef
Elías Quilapan and her father
Esmeralda Llenlef
Hortensia Llenlef and her mother
Isolina Llenlef
Juan Llenlef (30 years old)
Juan Llenlef (18 years old)
Justino Quilapan Llenlef
Marcelia Llenlef and her grandmother
María Llenlef Nahuelquen de Llenlef
Marcelina Pichún de Llenlef
Pablo Llenlef and his grandmother
Ricardo Llenlef
Rosario Llenlef
Soledino Llenlef
Teresa Llenlef
Victoriano Llenlef
Zacarías Llenlef

Ignacio Adolfo Llenlef Matías
Pedro Martín
Clara Pichún
Pedro Pichún
Lenina Llenlef de Quilapan
Osvaldo Quilapan and his father
Avelino Raipán
José Raipán and his parents

Pangueipulli area

Delphina Antrán
Domingo Huenun
Teresa Huentra de Huenun

Coñaripe area

Ernestina Huenullanca Antemilla
Elías Antemilla
Josephina Llenlefilo Antemilla de Antemilla
Carlos Huenullanca
Carmela Antemilla de Huenullanca
Francisco Huenullanca
Emilia Millanao de Huenullanca
Manuel Huenullanca
Margarita Antequín de Huenullanca
Rosamel Antemilla Panlef

Reyes area

Andrés Sao de Calfín
Juan Huaitri
Carmel Antel Llanlikinao
Juana Llanlikinao
Antonia Pichún
Francisca Antem de Pichún
Llanlen Sao

ARGENTINA

Trevelín

Florentino Sosa (Chilean Araucanian, 24 years in Argentina)
Antonio Cayún
Matilde Cayún

Cinda Cardenicna
Lorenza Cardenicna de Epulef
María Cardenicna de Quinchawal
José Morales
Juan Quinchawal

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4

115

Quilapuiae
- José Santo Arango
- Edwina Chuquipan and her two sisters
- Victoria Chuquipan
- Cleola Carabalaca
- Francisco Carabalaca
- Teresita Carabalaca
- Mercedes Kosodai de Chuquipan
- Maria Lefio

Pilpil
- Sofia Arango
- Rosa Arango
- Pedro Carabalaca
- Kolupan

- Juana Huipan
- Petrona Huipan
- Manuela Vera

Lago Lolog
- Generio Navarete

Collile Curé (Los Ignacio)
- Francisco Namunkurá

Malleo
- Cacerio Huevara de Salinero
- Ramberto Rumbolid
- Francisco Rumbolid (Chilean Araucanian, 25 years in Argentina)
- Manuel Pichillán

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SC4 Araucanians SC4

Chile

Informants and interpreters: [illegible]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Chile

115
142
241

Young man (Mamaqani): 1, 2, Cifuelgo man; side and front views. 3, Alegria man.

[A92(c)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Chile

115
HQ
281

[p.92(0)]

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

BO4 Araucanians BO4

Chile

Collage informants: 1, 2, 3 Two views of one of a set of photographs of a Chilean Araucanian

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Arsenoklase SO4
Chile

115
1957
201

[p. 92(F)]

16: RGgeo E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

RG4 Arrecifeiana RG4

Argentina

[p. 248(A)]

10: Hilger R-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Arauraniana SG4
Argentina

Informants, interpreters, and field assistants. 1. Obtaining information on [illegible] from Kunsa of Pilcó. 2. To the right, Sacha [illegible] of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter; to his left, Margarita Quechuru, field assistant. 3. Informant in Quillapán (left) and Luis Pilcán of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter.

[p. 368(B)]

16: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Arsenicum SG4

Argentina

534

[N2]

[15]

[illegible]

[p. 916 (C)]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342
231
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A Mapuche lonnetad

[frontispiece]

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

OCCASIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE MUSEUM OF
ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
NO. 15

ARAUCANIAN CULTURE IN TRANSITION

BY
MISCHA TITIEV

ANN ARBOR
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
1951

[p. i]

[pp. ii, iii, iv are blank]

E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PREFACE

The project described in this monograph was first planned early in 1941. In that year support was received from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and a leave of absence was obtained from the University of Michigan. After preliminary plans for field work had been completed, America's entry into World War II brought about a delay of several years in carrying out the program.

In January, 1948, I was fortunate enough to secure a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and an additional grant of funds from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. Accompanied by my wife I left for Chile at the end of the month and arrived in Santiago on February 19, 1948. Here we met Mr. Rafil González Mella, a doctoral candidate in geography at the University of Chile, who had previously agreed to serve as a field assistant. After two weeks spent in visiting museums and libraries and conferring with various scholars in Santiago, we entrained for Temuco, capital of Cautín province, in the heart of the Indian-inhabited territory still known as the Frontera (Map 1).

Many students have expressed such lively curiosity about the methods used by an anthropologist in locating a specific field station and in making initial contact with native informants that a short statement of the procedure followed in this instance may not be amiss.

Before we left the United States, it was learned from anthropologists conversant with Chile that the Reverend Dillman S. Bullock was one of the best informed men on Araucanian matters in that country. An exchange of letters brought a cordial invitation to visit Mr. Bullock at the famed agricultural station called El Vergel, in Angol. He received us on March 4, 1948, and advised us to plan to work in the neighborhood of Cholchol, to get in touch with members of the Anglican Misión Araucana stationed at Quepe and Cholchol (Map 2) and to

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

bear in mind the possibility of using as our first informant the Reverend Juan Antinao, an Araucanian who is an ordained Episcopal clergyman.

Acting on Mr. Bullock's advice, we next called on Canon and Mrs. William Wilson at Quepe. They agreed that Cholchol was the most suitable center for ethnological investigation, and Mrs. Wilson graciously offered to loan us her caravan (a small, ox-drawn trailer; see Pl. III, Fig. 1), which was destined to serve as our home for the greater part of our stay in Chile.

A few days later, on March 10, we met the Reverend Harry Donaldson, chief of the Misión Araucana, who promptly invited us to visit his home and station in Cholchol. Through the active and friendly co-operation of Mr. and Mrs. Donaldson and their staff, we succeeded in equipping the caravan for winter use, in having it drawn to the field, and in concluding arrangements to work with the Reverend Juan Antinao at his home reduction of Cautinche.

After making several studies in and around Cholchol during the remainder of March we took up residence at Cautinche on April 5 and remained there until May 10. We then had the caravan taken to Carrarriñe, where we stayed, except for a two-week trip to Santiago, until July 17. After that, the caravan was drawn into Cholchol, and we were given the privilege of using the mission house as a base while we made an investigation of Renaco (Map 2). We left Cholchol for Temuco on July 27 and concluded our visit to Chile on August 10, 1948, after working for ten days in Santiago.

800 Many people have contributed to the successful accomplishment of the project. I am thankful to all who have aided me, whether or not their names are specifically mentioned. To the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, and to the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, I am deeply grateful for generous support and for the sabbatical leave. Thanks are also due Dr. Donald D. Brand, Dr. Junius B. Bird, Dr. Julian H. Steward, and Sister M. Inez Hilger, who helped me formulate my field plans before departing for Chile; Dr. Eugenio Pereira, Dr.

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Ricardo Donoso, Dr. Humberto Fuenzalida, and Dr. Leopoldo Pizarro (all of Santiago), for much useful advice pertaining to my program of work; the Reverend Mr. Bullock for directing us to the Misión Araucana and Cholchol; and Canon and Mrs. Wilson for many helpful suggestions and the loan of the car-ryall.

Among the most helpful Araucanian informants were Juan Antinao, his wife Aurora, and his daughter Josephina at Cautinche; Segundo Painco, Domingo Carilaf, and Fermín Collio at Carrarrifie; Segundo Huenchual and Fermín Nahuelhual at Renaco; J. M. Collio Huaiquilaf at Santiago; and Ramón Chihuaicura, whose guest I was at a *fillatun* ceremony at Coigue.

To Raúl González I owe many thanks for his cheerful acceptance of numerous inconveniences in the field, for his assistance in conducting interviews and securing data in Spanish, and for his drawings of most of the maps and figures reproduced in this work. For further assistance with maps and figures I am particularly indebted to Mary Walfred Stauch and to William M. Masters; I am grateful also to Gertrude D. Stevens and to Edith M. Todter for typing the entire manuscript.

I wish to thank James T. Babb and David H. Clift, director and associate director of the Yale University Library, for providing excellent working facilities in the summer of 1949, and the members of the Yale faculty who favored me with their advice while this monograph was being prepared. Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop was kind enough to read my manuscript and to contribute many valuable suggestions that have been incorporated in the final draft. Dr. James B. Griffin, director of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, has shown a continuous interest in the project, and I am grateful for his co-operation in making arrangements for the publication of the manuscript.

To my wife I am deeply indebted, particularly for her willingness to spend a Chilean winter in the field, for her help in establishing contacts with the natives and gathering information,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

and for keeping house in the caravan until she left for the United States late in May. I have also had the benefit of her advice and criticism in the preparation of this report.

Above all, the field trip could not have accomplished its objectives without the unselfish friendship and help of the Reverend and Mrs. Harry Donaldson and the staff of the Misión Araucana. Their experience in dealing with Chileans and natives was constantly employed on our behalf, and their unfailing willingness to assist us in every possible way contributed much toward making our stay in Chile a memorable and pleasant experience.

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INTRODUCTION

SELECTION of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information. In the course of the last four centuries a great deal of valuable material on numerous phases of their culture has been written by soldiers, travelers, scholars, and missionaries, but this monograph provides the first ethnographic report ever compiled from data gathered in the field by a professional anthropologist.[1] It would be presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a single field trip, that one had made adequate coverage of the total range of Araucanian culture; hence a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the area covered, the native groupings, the limitations of time, and the problems and objectives presented in this study. [2]

First, the area will be considered. Approximately three hundred miles south of Santiago, from the Río Bío Bío, an eighty-mile wide stretch of territory extends about one hundred and fifty miles farther south. Most of this region is a valley contained between the Nahuelbuta coastal range on the west and the Andean mountains on the east. The area has long been known as the Frontera (Map 1) because it is beyond the system of forts erected by the Spaniards during the conquest of Chile. Commonly, this territory is called Araucanía, because it is the principal zone inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. At present native communities are scattered over much of the old Fron- [3]

[1] Compare the statement of this situation in Brand (1941a, p. 29), whose work provides the most complete bibliography of Araucanian studies that is readily available. The late Father Cooper's excellent summary of the existing literature (Cooper, 1946) will be frequently cited to indicate earlier treatments of topics covered in this monograph. It should be noted that in 1945 Sister M. Inez Hilger made a field study, principally centered on child-rearing practices, among several Araucanian groups. For a preliminary description of her findings, see Hilger, 1946. A full report is now in press.

For bibliographic references to works mentioned see Literature Cited.

tura. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[1] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrewíllo, Contítulo, Renaico, and Chokíchol (Map 1).

There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[2] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[1] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.
[2] Brand, 1941a, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the [2]
term Mapuche-Huilliche.[1] This is the group with which my report is concerned.

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact [3]
that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of [795]
Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Still after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Properly speaking, then, the known history of the Mapuche extends over a span of four hundred years. This study does not propose to cover such a lengthy period. A brief historical sketch will be provided in the succeeding chapter, but I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1884, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1927, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began.

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circum- [4]
stances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *ciga*, *cauga*, and *ciga*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[2] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture,

[1] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 258–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 191–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–99.

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 722.

L: Tiller E-5 (1968) 1971 SG6 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

[3]

MAP 1. The Frontera in Chile. The stippled area gives the approximate location of the region called the Frontera or Araucanía. (After Jefferson, 1921, Figs. 6 and 13.)

[2] Father Cooper was led to write: "Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting . . . that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture."[6]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 704.

I: Thiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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MAP 2. Cholchol and vicinity. Redrawn from an original sketch by Rafil Gonzlez.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

121 The first objective, therefore, was to obtain information on kinship and sociopolitical structure, and because Cautinche gave promise of yielding reliable and concrete data, intensive field work was initiated at that small reservation of seventeen households, about each of whose inhabitants it was possible to obtain precise sociologic information. Comparative and supplementary studies were then made at Carrarriñe and Renaco.

Another factor that strongly influenced the direction of the investigation was the knowledge that the Araucanians were currently in a state of cultural transition, having only recently been pacified and settled on fixed reserves. This situation provided an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of cultural change, a topic with which I have become increasingly concerned in recent years. It likewise helps to explain why the neighborhood of Cholchol was so readily selected as a center of operations. All studies of cultural dynamics require a sort of base line in time and space from which variations can be determined, and it happens that Richard E. Latcham, one of the most diligent students of the Araucanians, had done much of his field work about half a century ago in the vicinity of Cholchol.[7]

In brief, this report is concerned with the recent and contemporary culture of the Araucanians who live just north of the Cautín River in south central Chile and has four major objectives: to report new information acquired in the field, particularly with respect to kinship and sociopolitical organization; to fit these aspects of Mapuche life into the total picture of their current culture; to augment existing data and to suggest fresh interpretations on the basis of first-hand observations; and to project the present situation against the tribe's former customs, with a view to gaining an insight into the dynamics of culture change.

104 Since many native and Spanish terms are included in the text, mainly for purposes of exact identification, it is necessary

[7] Latcham, 1924, p. 250. For a sketch of Latcham's life, and a complete bibliography of his works, see Lothrop, 1945.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

to explain the system of transcription. Spanish words are given in their standard form, but Mapuche terms are rendered according to the method employed by Fray Félix José de Augusta,[8] with the following exceptions: inverted *e* will be represented by *u*, hooked *n* will be written as *ñ*, and elongated *s* will be given as *s*. The plurals of all Mapuche words will be made by the addition of *s*.

Before closing this introduction I wish to call attention to the great need for additional studies of Araucanian culture. Opportunities still exist for investigations both north and south of the Cautín River. In addition to whatever contributions may be made by the publication of this monograph, it is hoped that it will stimulate other anthropologists to exploit the rich potentialities for field research that yet remain among the Araucanians of Chile.

[8] Augusta, 1916.

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Mapuche-Huilliche

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

090 If one wishes to understand the process by which the contemporary situation of the Mapuche came into being, it is essential to know some of the salient aspects of their past. For that purpose an effort will be made to provide a historic outline that will include only those events which have had the greatest impact on the development of the tribe's culture.

175 Broadly speaking, Araucanian history may be divided into five parts: a pre-Spanish period before Almagro's arrival in Chile in 1536; the Spanish period, between 1536 and the establishment of the Chilean republic about 1810; the early decades of the republic, between 1810 and 1884; the era of pacification and settlement on reservations, from 1884 to 1917; and the time of the allotment program since 1917, featured by the allocation of land in severalty. It is with the last two periods that this monograph is primarily concerned.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD, BEFORE 1536

174 Neither historians nor archeologists have yet been able to establish the date when Araucanians first settled in what is now called Chile,[1] nor does any one know the extent of the territory that they originally occupied. Events remain obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Araucanian domain was invaded from the north by the powerful Incas. During the struggle that followed the Mapuche were forced to yield some ground, but they seem to have been successful in establishing a frontier at the Río Maule (Map 1). No doubt the Incas sometimes penetrated far beyond the Maule, and their comings and goings unquestionably affected the lives and customs of the Chilean aborigines, yet it is generally agreed that the Incas met with such stubborn opposition that on the whole "the in-

[1] New light will certainly be shed on this topic when hitherto unpublished reports of excavations in the Cautín Valley become available. According to a note from Lothrop, Mapuche log coffins and unpainted pottery have been found stratified over stone box graves and painted pottery with Inca-influenced patterns.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1341a, p. 19.

1: Titi ev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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175 the inva ler."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects
177 that res lted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally es tablished the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucan an territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite n umerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held lan d was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean
648 republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.
[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.
[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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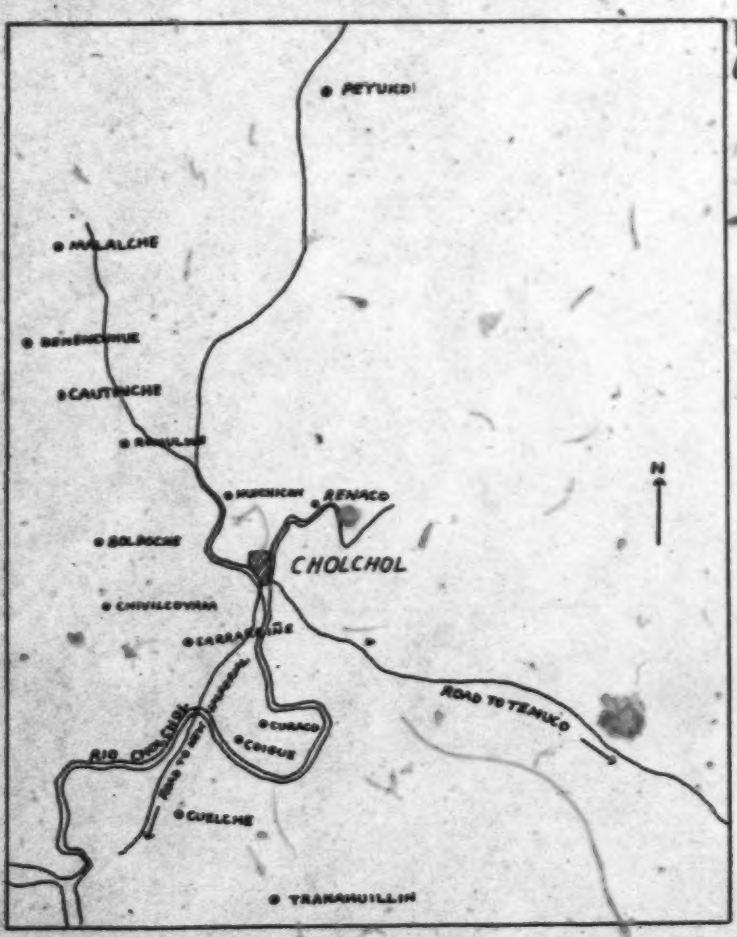

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. 175
Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, 648
some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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strated that Indians and Chileans could learn to live peacefully together.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Araucanians continued to be on their guard and to oppose any large scale encroachment from the direction of the country's capital on their north, but during the administrations of President Manuel Montt (1851–1861), they found themselves cut off at the south by the arrival of German and other European immigrants who came by sea to establish settlements that extended out from Valdivia. Thereafter, relatively peaceful penetrations from north and south succeeded, where frontal assaults had failed, in opening parts of Araucanía to white settlement. To encourage this movement, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from losing their land, the government passed a law in 1866 that provided for the establishment of large reservations or reductions, which could not be alienated from the native occupants. Whatever parts of the area were left unassigned, however, were sold on easy terms to colonists. Unfortunately, as the region was unsurveyed and unmapped, no definite boundaries could be set up, and since the filing of legal titles was not always required, the matter of land ownership in the Frontera soon became subject to utter confusion and endless bickering.

It must not be thought that the Araucanians, with their long tradition of fighting in defense of their territory, made no protest against the new invasion of their homeland. They revolted violently in 1868–70; and, when Chile became embroiled with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific (1879–83), they took advantage of the absence of troops in their area to stage a major uprising that continued from 1880 to 1882. This turned out to be their last major effort to regain their lost independence. As soon as Chile began to feel assured of victory in the War of the Pacific, she sent her seasoned soldiers to the Frontera, with the result that by 1884 the Araucanians were thoroughly defeated and pacified.[7]

[7] Galdames, 1941, p. 337. Dr. Lothrop said that in Latcham's opinion the use of modern weapons was a decisive factor in the final defeat of the Araucanians.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PACIFICATION AND THE RESERVATION SYSTEM, 1884–1917

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When the government of Chile, in the year following the victorious termination of the War of the Pacific, succeeded in pacifying the Araucanians, it took the stand that the Mapuche deserved to be punished for their disloyalty in revolting while the country was at war. Accordingly, it was decreed that the titles to their tribal reservations were to be cancelled, and their holdings were declared state property.[8] The Indians were permitted to remain on the reservations previously set aside for them, but all of Araucanía was politically subdivided to form several of the present provinces including Bío Bío, Malleco, and Cautín. In fact, it was upon the establishment of the last-named province in 1887 that "the whole of the Frontera was incorporated in the organized national domain,"[9] and to all intents and purposes the Araucanians thereafter became an ethnic minority group of Chilean citizens living within the borders of the republic. New towns and cities sprang up all about them, lines of communication crossed and recrossed their former territory, roads and railroads were built throughout the region, and within a short time every section of the Frontera was penetrated as increasing numbers of colonists laid claim to the unreserved portions of the area.

In this way the Araucanians, soon after their pacification in 1884, came to be confronted with a major problem of cultural readjustment. Whereas they had once been accustomed to wide stretches of free land, they were now hemmed in on fixed reservations; where they had developed a way of life that was successfully adapted to the conduct of long-drawn out wars, they were now forced to modify their customs to suit the conditions of lasting peace. It is the study of this aspect of cultural dynamics that provides one of the central themes of the present monograph.

[8] Housse, 1939, p. 282. This move may well have been influenced by the need of finding new economic outlets for veterans who were returning from four years of service in the army.

[9] McBride, 1936, p. 296.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1927

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Toltén the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1929 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.
[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old asked only that the government should give them adequate legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

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present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [262] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* piñons as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*maní?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [122]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucania contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
552 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[77] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lónko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were 423
used, and these were generally shared by several members of a 698
kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allo- 551
ted titles to numerous Antipanes and Huenchuals without fur- 553
ther identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment 423
system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, [16]
when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 176 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small 423
parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of 425
them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.*

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work 126
in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

* From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences around legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Tilley E-3 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanian SG4
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the owners of the big estates known as fundos.* The Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.* Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,* and its practice has become increasingly rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

*Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has gone to work for a Chilean landlord as a mayordomo, or a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men seem become far richer than their neighbors.

*Under missionary influence a few Mapuches are competing for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Foerstemann).

*Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[10]

[10] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Choichol, may be regarded as typical.

438 Cautinche is linked to Choichol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a
[291] number of small merchants in Choichol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesman. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *comchar en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Choichol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[291] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–708) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 262–90, and Munchmeyer, 1950, pp. 19–31 and 138–68.

come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with painfully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their traditional type of dwellings, which they call *ruka*. Home building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.* The *ruka* are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 15 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.* Formerly, I saw no *ruka* that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Curihuf affirmed that in "better"

* Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Menghin, 1931, pp. 184-85; and Joseph, 1934, pp. 10-19.
* For further details see Guevara, 1911, pp. 138 ff.

[312] houses a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

[313] [314] Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are striking differences in cleanness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or cows are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

[315] Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A formal housewarming takes place on these occasions, so some fires are lighted on the floor.* It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the church roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new rude until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for cooking in smug and weatherproof.

On some of the reservations that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.* Sometimes [316] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or horse stables than dwellings, as the Mapuche claim that conventional rudes are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are sheathed the rest of the way. As a [317] rule, women still build their own houses with the help of relatives, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new rude is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

* Cf. Titiev, 1951, pp. 122 ff.

* Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned, for example, Garth, 1953, pp. 107-108, and Titiev, 1951, pp. 127-131.

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done on the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a laboratory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Amaranthians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hitches oxbows and drags off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor left burning. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Amaranthian community is the absence of any formal distribution of houses. "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."* Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, houses as tight, but single dwellings that would square are common. As a general rule, such houses is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mayaches for special relations may originally have been a reflection of their family but social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of nearly fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

* Tilton, [illegible] p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a
493] considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the 000

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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen korü* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *raniañtu korü* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun-korü* ("night soup").[18]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yuyo*,[19] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin korü*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal korü*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[20]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[21] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[18] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *iaqel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[19] *Yuyo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[20] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[21] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

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Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[22] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[23] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[24] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[25] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

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273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[836] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

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DRESS

Araucanian males of all ages have abandoned their old-style 291
costumes almost entirely, except for the constant wearing of woolen ponchos (Spanish, *manta*; Mapuche, *makuñ*). The most common garb for all occasions consists of a pair of woolen trousers, usually threadbare or repeatedly patched, an inexpensive cotton shirt, a short poncho that covers the chest and back, and a felt hat (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). When no hat is used, men generally bind a colored handkerchief about the forehead. Shoes are sometimes worn, and oxhide sandals may be utilized in winter, but most often men go barefooted. Chaps or trousers of untanned rawhide are occasionally worn by men when they must travel over muddy roads, and two or three ponchos are put on, one above another, on cold days. Except for differences of size, little boys dress in the same fashion as do adults (Frontispiece).

Young women usually wear simple cotton house dresses, aprons, shoes, stockings, and if they can be obtained, such conventional undergarments as slips or chemises. By way of contrast, older women generally wear more traditional styles of clothing. Their most essential garment still consists of the untailored type of heavy woolen dress that is called a *chamal*. It is draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a pin, frequently nowadays with a huge safety pin, and it is passed under the right armpit so that it envelops the body and hangs almost to the ankles.[22] It is held at the waist with a woven sash or belt that encircles the figure twice and is looped at the left side. An apron is commonly worn over the *chamal*, and when the weather is cool a shawl is draped over the shoulders and may be fastened in front with a large safety pin. A kerchief or scarf is the conventional head covering and is usually the brightest part of the daily costume. Some of the older women wear shoes, but most of them go barefoot; and in general they do not wear stockings or undergarments.

[22] The cut of the *chamal* leaves the left shoulder bare. At present, a blouse is worn under the traditional garment. Further information on the subject of clothing may be obtained in Latcham, 1909, p. 336; Lothrop, 1930, pp. 326–29; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 209–11.

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292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarüloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarüloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[171] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[33] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[34] and the others purchase what they want

[33] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[34] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarriñe and

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directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares. 463

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. Commonest of all is the *pifullka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bitonal Pan pipe fashioned from laurel wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifullkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo. 534

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as *ñillatuns* and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancao, husband of Cautinche's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *llollkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by taking in the breath. A *llollkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleared like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Renaco, but in no one of these places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy. [28 32]

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534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[31] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[31] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

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weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 512
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 857
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apa- [181]
thetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually foresake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

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177 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the
241 contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

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KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

KNOWLEDGE of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1929, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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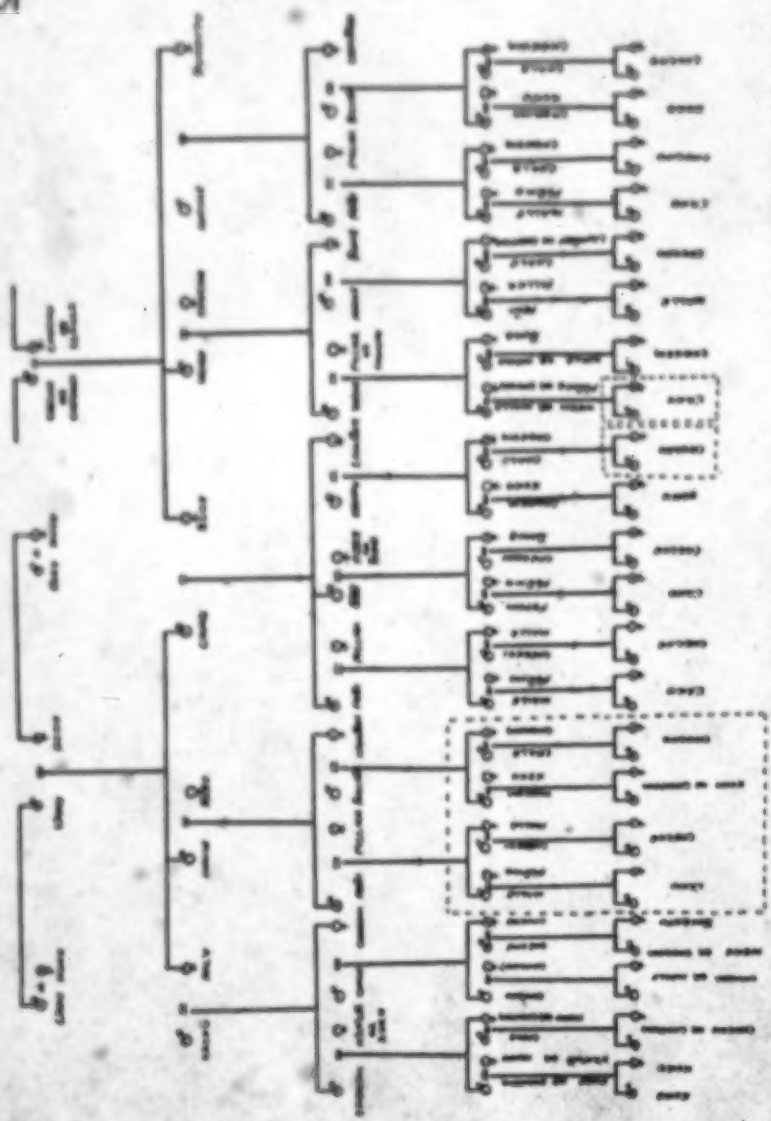

FIG. 2. The Araucanian kinship system, male speaking. For the terms inclosed by broken lines, which should be regarded as tentative, informants failed to reach close agreement.

601 *kuku* to him. A similar tendency to use the same term for wife
587 and mother appears in the generation above that of *epo*, since maternal uncle's wife and mother are both called *chacha*.

Levirate and sororate were voluntarily invoked by some informants to explain other aspects of terminology. Thus, it was pointed out that *malle* conveyed the meaning of potential stepfather. Through the levirate, father's brother (*malle*) would become *epo's* father; and through the sororate, the husband of *epo's* mother's sister (*malle*) might likewise become *epo's* father. It follows logically that the offspring of these men, *epo's* parallel cousins, should be regarded as siblings.

In a society where the filial inheritance of wives is a common practice, it is not unexpected to find that the nomenclature occasionally disregards generation lines. The Araucanian system has an additional feature of this kind, since certain relatives in alternate generations employ reciprocal terms for each other. In the case of men (Fig. 1), father's father and son's son are *laku*. When *epo* is female (Fig. 3), father's mother and son's daughter are known as *kuku*, mother's mother and daughter's daughter are *chacha* or *llalla*, and father's sister and brother's daughter are *pai'u*.

Another noteworthy aspect of Araucanian kinship termin-
681 ology is that a number of terms convey sex distinctions at one generation level but do not serve that purpose at another. For example, *laku* (Fig. 1) means father's father, and *kuku* refers to father's mother; but when a man applies these terms to the grandchildren's generation there is no distinction of sex. *L aku* refers to *epo's* brother's son's son or daughter, and *kuku* designates either *epo's* sister's son's son or daughter.

Still another noteworthy feature is the use of specific terms for certain relatives within a general category that is designated by a classificatory term. For instance, a man calls a male relative-in-law in his own generation *llilan*, but he uses *kuepa* when referring to his own sister's husband.[9]

[9] Other examples, which are not shown because they were reported by only a single informant (J. M. Collin), are *dua* applied by a man to his own sister, whereas *kuchu* is the classificatory term for sister or female parallel

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Kinship terms are widely employed for direct address in ordinary social intercourse. Whenever a specific relationship exists between speakers, teknonymy is utilized. If there is no close relationship, terms of address[4] are used as listed in Table I. 601 [55]

Araucanian kinship terminology recognizes only five generations, two above and two below *ego*. If it is found necessary to extend terms to higher or lower generations, the Mapuche do not use new words, but employ numerical prefixes as needed.

TABLE I

TERMS OF DIRECT ADDRESS

Male Speaker	Person Addressed	Female Speaker
fücheche	Very old man	*chachai*
kuzepapai	Very old woman	*deña*
chau or *chachai*	Older man than *ego*	*chau*
papai[5]	Older woman than *ego*	*papai*
peñi	Man of *ego's* age	*lamfen*
lamfen	Woman of *ego's* age	*lamfen*
futam or *fachaw*	Younger man	*weiche*
lamfen	Younger woman	*pailiao*
fachawtu	Very young man	*chachaiñu*
lamfentu	Very young woman	*deñeiñu*

For instance, a man calls his paternal grandfather *laku*. Hence, great-grandfather is *epachi* ("twice") *laku*, great-

cousin; *chachai*, used by a male to indicate his actual father-in-law, whereas *weiche* applies to any one of his mother's brothers or potential fathers-in-law; and *deñi*, a term of affection used by a woman toward a favored father's sister's son, whereas other cross-cousins of this kind are generally called either *chau* ("father") or *futam* ("son").

[4] Terms of direct address are almost invariably preceded by the Mapuche greeting, "*Mari, mari*," which means "ten, ten," and has the connotation of a hundred greetings or welcomes.

There are so many alternate usages possible for terms of direct address that the data given in Table I require confirmation and further study.

[5] *Papai* is the most common respectful term of direct address used by either sex when speaking to an adult woman.

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601 great-grandfather is *kilachi* ("thrice") *lobo* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *chacho*, great-grandson is *epachi chacho*, great-great-grandson is *kilachi chacho*, and so on.*

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below ego. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings or in private conversation. Whenever the great *kilatue* cere-
601 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance
602 with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always pre-
746 cedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peki* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

* Cf. Lanthan, 1929, p. 207.

FIG. 3. The Amerindian kinship system, female speaking

[illegible] dada, the mother's brother's daughter.[1] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a dada is a potential spouse that the term may be used friendly for any pair of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to dadas, but the gardens of eligible girls sometimes were there not to yield readily to cousins who have no thoughts of marriage.[2]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, mama, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, chacha, as a potential mother-in-law. A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Arapaximos had a strict mother-in-law taboo. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[3]

Outside of marital bonds and the normal love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[1] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of the custom is so strongly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it as the present rather than as the past usage.

[2] Tilton, op. cit., [illegible].

[3] It is hard to reconcile the presence of a mother-in-law taboo with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly marked avoidance of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

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company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

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they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their 562
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[12] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606]
father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [432]
that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607
regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592
who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *medomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[13]

[12] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[13] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

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602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
[578] siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachū*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachū* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of
[609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor
[587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun*
572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16] 602 572

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans. 601

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted 601 582

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Housse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

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601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else re-
582 ported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify
613 the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

000 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete.[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

174 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

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has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[23] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[24] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[25] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[26]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[23] Latcham, 1924, pp. 295–356, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, I: 261 ff.

[24] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.

[25] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206–7.

[26] *Ibid.*

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174 kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-
611 cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

174 There still remains for consideration the question of whether
613 the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

174 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

174 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following
591 other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kuga* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

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nuclear family."[30] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[31] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[32] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[33]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[34]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[30] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[32] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[33] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[34] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

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621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
621 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
681

[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death. 622 592 627 681

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon-as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man. 622 [623] [537] [556]

If a chief died or if his *kon-as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life. 622 623

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re- 631

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

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631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that
512 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal.
[721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In
[621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the
[595] number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

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They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good
orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

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RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

621 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *trokiñche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Cholchol to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *loñko* of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarriñe. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarriñe as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarriñe had important links with Renaco. For that reason we decided to investigate Renaco on the completion of the study of Carrarriñe.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

621 131 The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by 133
many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very 621
high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarrifie, and [439]
Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which 621
can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable 484
amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along [491]
a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva [497]
Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members 509
of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air 621
service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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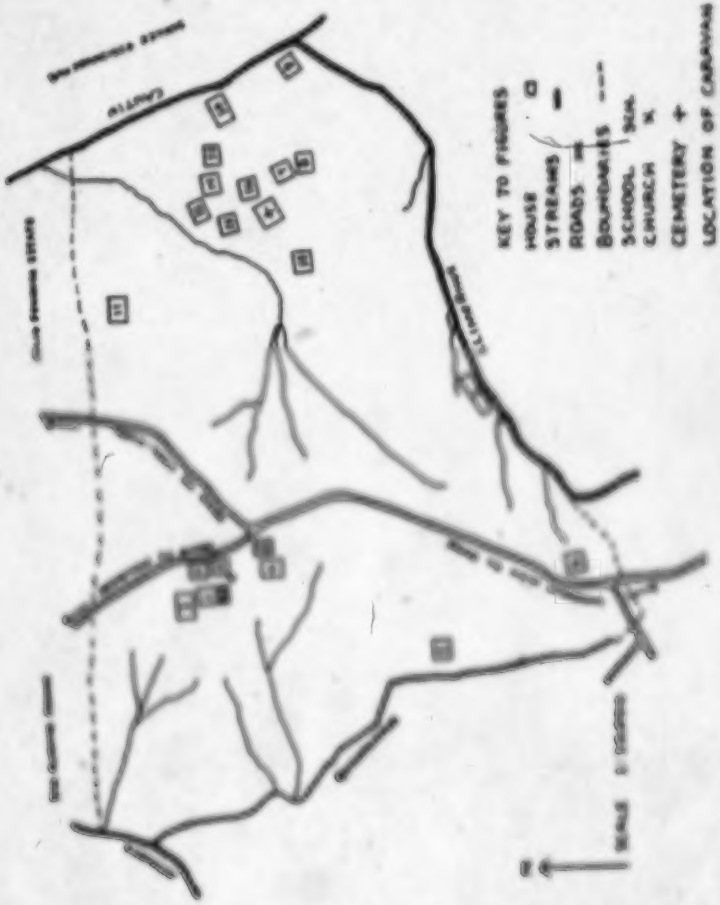

Fig. 4. Cautinche settlement pattern. Based on an original field sketch made by Raúl González. The key also applies to Figures 8 and 9.

[p. 60]

1: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

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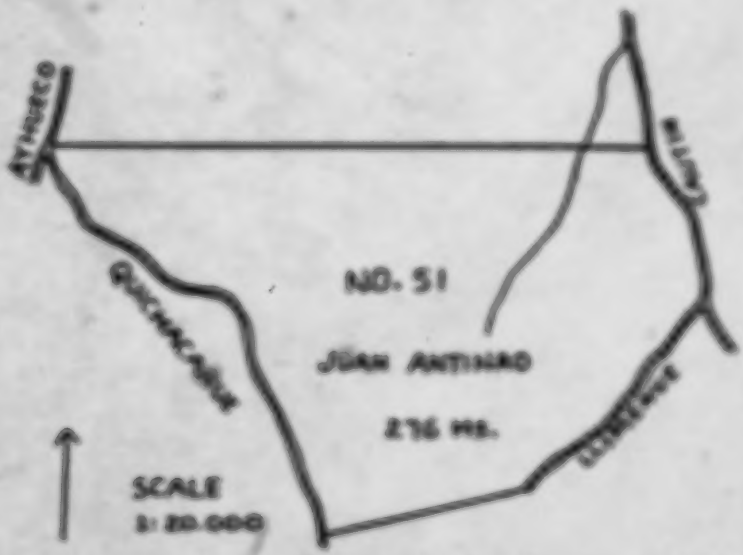

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautículo, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antiuao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTÍNCHE

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Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautículo had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Cerrerrido man named Antio Painen built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many conversions in the vicinity. When Rafil González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 17, 1948, the Chaidiel River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Chaidiel to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by escort.

1: Tozzer E-5 (1968) 1951 SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche-Huilliche

175 Cautín River, not far from house No. 13 on Figure 4. For this
(2) reason the settlement came to be known as Cautinche ("people of Cautín"). There are conflicting stories concerning Antilo Painen's reason for moving away from Catrumilla. Some say that he was driven out for misconduct, but others claim that he was only an alert pioneer who took advantage of an opportunity to lay claim to a good piece of virgin territory. Cautinche's founder chose wisely, for he picked a spot that was both well watered and well drained and that unquestionably had excellent forest and plant cover in those days.

As the founder of Cautinche, Antilo Painen became its first head man or *lekfu*. He had several wives and begot a number of sons who, in keeping with unilocal and patrilocal residence practices, lived with him permanently and served as his followers or *dewen*. Antilo Painen also had a sister, Jacinta, who had gone to live with her husband near by, but her spouse had several wives and treated them badly. After a time, Jacinta left her husband and came to live with her brother, bringing along a son named Juan Antinao Painen. Antilo Painen reared his nephew with his own sons and apparently gave him training as a warrior and a potential heir to the chieftainship. At any rate, when Antilo Painen died, his succession was disputed between his son, Dionisio Pulliao and his sister's son, Juan Antinao Painen. Although the son was traditionally favored to succeed, he was judged in council to lack the force of character and oratorical skill that were highly regarded in a leader, and Juan was elected *lekfu*. He proved to be an able leader,* and during the period when reservations were being formed he was given an official *título de merced* on December 19, 1895, that entitled him to 176 hectares for the use of forty-four kinfolk (see Fig. 5). One perhaps that Dionisio Pulliao and some of his brothers were not entitled to have their late father's prerogatives transferred to a nephew, for they soon began to leave the paternal roof and to build separate houses of their own. Since no one in those days had a precisely defined individual plot of ground, much

* While the main form of the story are doubtless correct, it should be borne in mind that this narrative was told by Juan Antinao Painen's son.

bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of witchcraft were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antiman Painen died and left the Cautinchu title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antiman. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

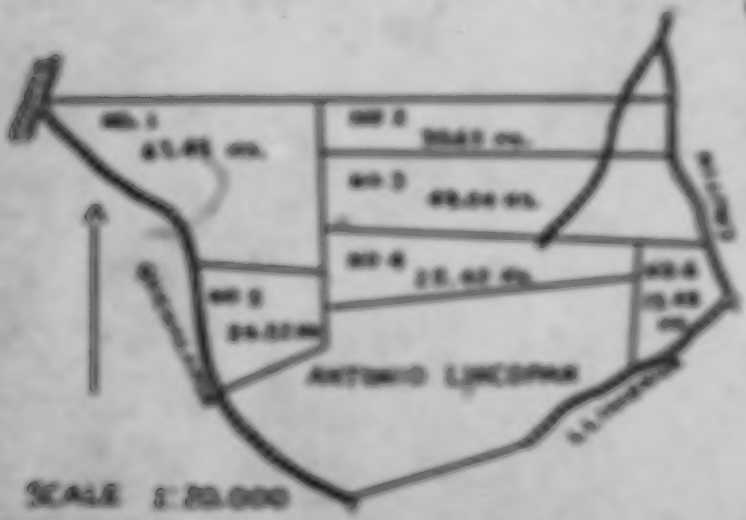

FIG. 6. Cautinchu alinamiento in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antiman. As in Figure 5, private boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 60.42 hectares.

and worse, and increasingly quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinchu and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 10, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antiman received 87.42 hectares and promptly built himself a new house on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 6). Thereafter, other homesteads followed suit until Cautinchu took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CATTONEE

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In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

Demographic of Cattonee's Population*

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	1	4	7
5	0	1	1	2
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	1	6	9
11	1	1	9	12
12	1	1	4	6
13	1	1	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	1	10	12
Totals	16	15	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

*The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 2. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that numerical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees.

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women.

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *loñkos* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 [582] Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 587 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[6] Another

[6] The man in house No. 16 also acquired his wife by levirate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 One must not lose sight of the fact that Cautinche was first settled by a unilocal, patrilocal group which retained its essential structure for some time. Even today the reservation may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sort of multilocal, patrilineal kinship group. With a single exception, all the men are related. Occupants of houses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 trace their ancestry back to Juan Antinao Paineo, and the owners of houses Nos. 3, 5, 9, 16, and 17 to his cousin, Dionisio Paillao. Only the occupant of No. 14, Oligario Nankucheyo, is genealogically unconnected with the others. He first came to

TABLE IV

CAUTINCHE SCHOOL ROSTER

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Home Reservation	Boys	Girls	Total
Cautinche	12	9	21
Denencuhue	6	8	14
Curaco	2	2	4
Boldoche	3	0	3
Catrimalal	0	2	2
Ayehueco	0	1	1
Huichiton	0	1	1
Totals[7]	23	23	46

621 Cautinche as a laborer for his wife's uncle, Antonio Huircapan, of house No. 10, and now works for him on half shares. Oligario Nankucheyo moved from the Yauyahuenche subdivision of Malalche, his home reservation, because he had no land of his own. He and his wife may be called the only "immigrants" in Cautinche. They arrived about three years ago and have become so well adjusted that they are liked by all their neighbors.

[7] Although forty-six pupils are shown on the official roster, half of the number generally missed attendance, and some "students" probably never came to class. Since teachers are paid on the basis of enrollments, there is a tendency to exaggerate the size of a school's roster.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves 591
an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges 621
and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently [131]
sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the 133
Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). [245]
Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial [491]
and Cholchol.

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It 621
contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

[8] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his govern-
173 ment connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

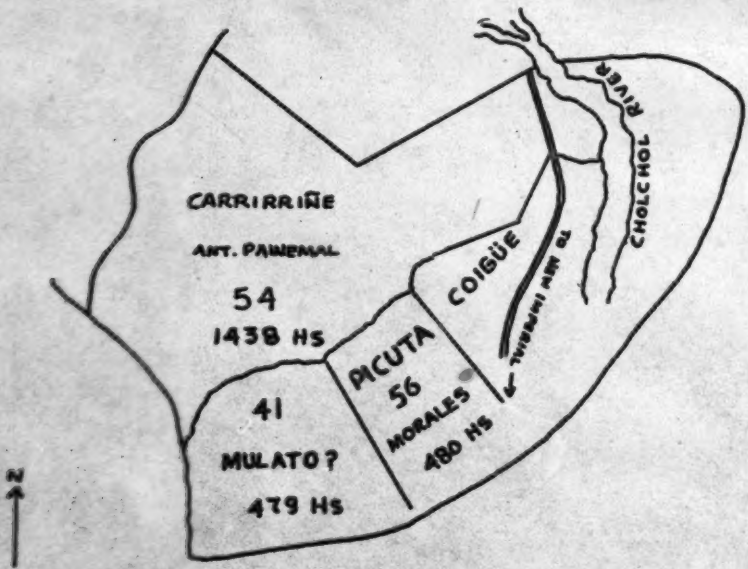

FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarriñe. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarriñe residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarriñe's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Tranahuillín.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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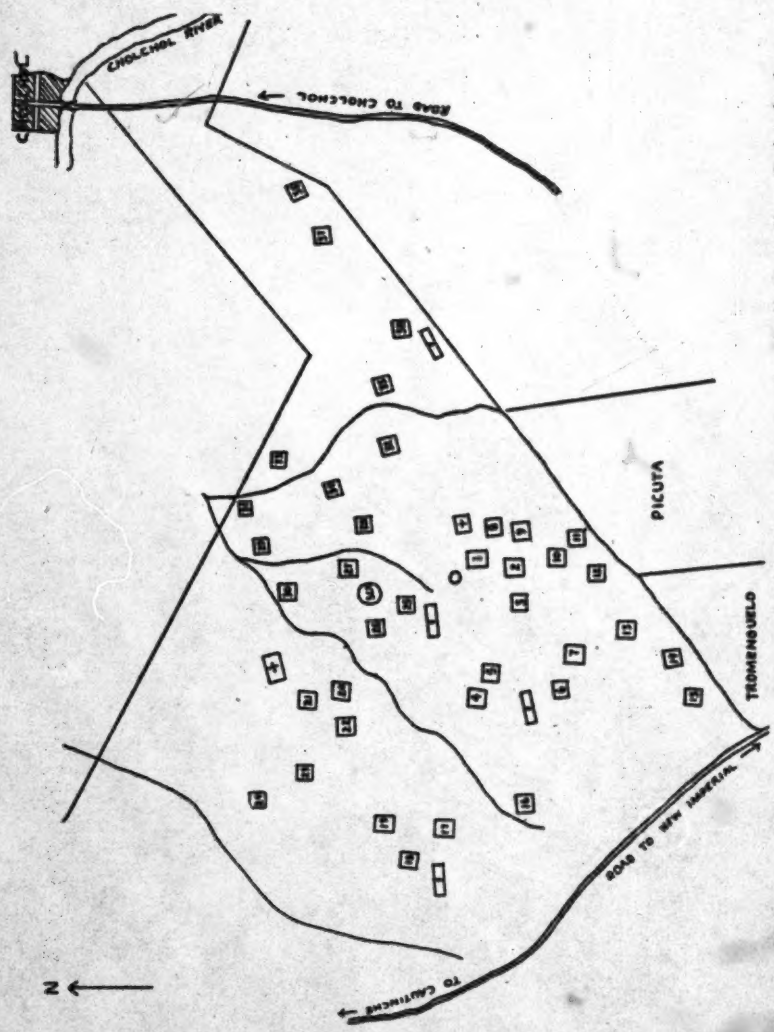

FIG. 8. Carrarrife settlement pattern. Based on a diagram by Raúl González. Only the houses studied in the text are shown. The key to figures is the same as in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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TABLE V

Distribution of Carrarriñe's Population

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	224

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

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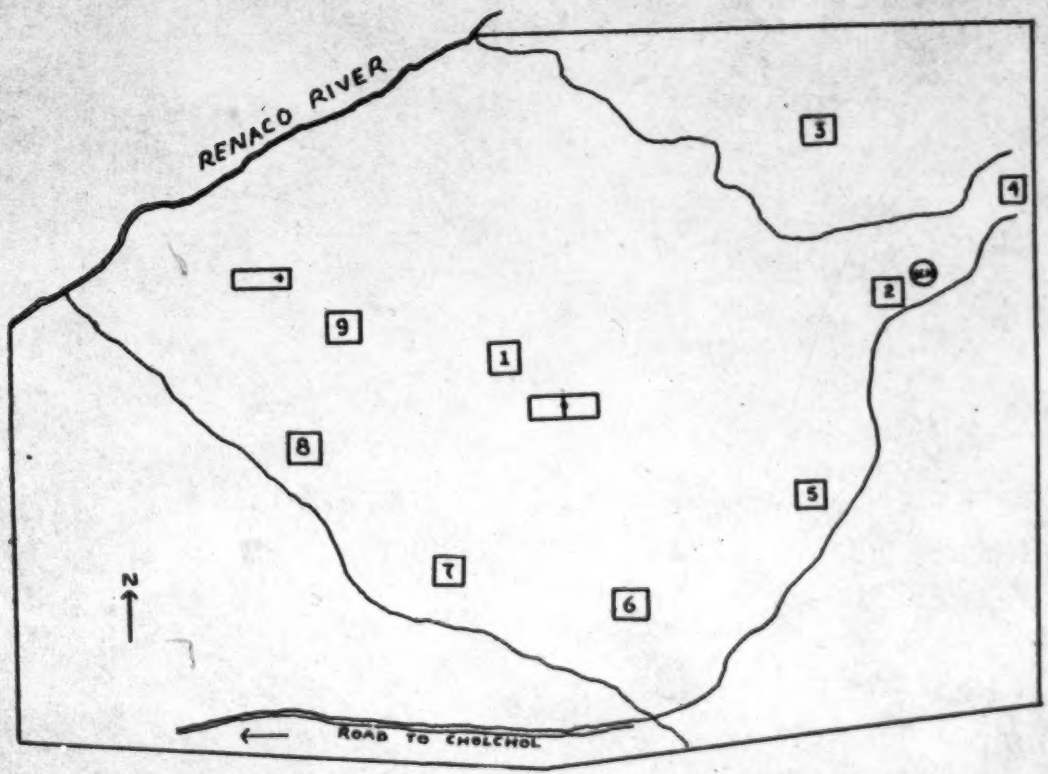

FIG. 9. Renaco settlement pattern. From a diagram by Raúl González. The hockey field near house No. 1 is distinct from the *ñillatun* ground near No. 9. See Figure 4 for key to symbols.

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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *lonko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[21]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[22] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *fillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[21] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[22] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 162 592 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarile. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Tenque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster. 592 621 162

Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No. 395

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9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarrifie, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

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About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bio Bio River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarrifie. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarrifie, Antío Painen, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarrifie about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarrifie divided to form Cautinche. The off-

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spring groups became politically, spatially, and economically detached from the parental settlements, but they established sociological links with one another through the agency of cross-cousin marriage.

To venture just one step further into the realm of hypothesis, there is something in the social composition of the reductions that makes them appear like patrilocal units which are dispersed into a number of multilocal residences. If one imagines a vast roof extending over the entire limits of a reservation, each of them could be viewed as an old-fashioned patrilocal, unilocal residence. In other words, a small reduction, such as Centinela or Ranco, probably contains much the same association of individuals as would have made up the traditional *lekin's* household and following; and a large reservation like Carrulle comprises an aggregation of several such households. In some ways the dynamic process by which new Araucanian communities were formed resembles the kind of segmentation which has been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Hopi and other societies.*

Great, indeed, is the contrast between the theoretical organization based on the unilocal practices of the past and the actual state of affairs in the present. Each married man usually lives in his own dwelling, which averages six occupants. Few ties hold together the residents of a reservation, and divisive tendencies may be noted on each reduction. Relations between communities likewise tend to be slight, but complete isolation is prevented through contacts brought about primarily by reservation company, school attendance at near-by reductions, and participation in *ñillatun* and the large assemblies known as *kawil* or *rewan*.

* Titiev, 1944, pp. 46–48; 1943, pp. 370–71.

THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY DISORDERS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mayuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to conceive pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, perhaps, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural lover possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collis, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations. §92 [§97]

Barren women consult a female shaman, *mashi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificial sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *mahache* ("*mahe* grass").* Swelling is regarded as inevitable if the *mashi* decides there is a witch caused, in which case, in Collis's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman." §93 [§95] [§98]

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *mahgh mawra ashwa* ("war-man-image"), attached to her lower extremity, *mapalibache*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or she she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son. §94

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky.

* *Mahache* may also be known as *mahawaki*, which Augusta Lynch, Dr. Paul identified as *Pennisetum nephrosum* Jac. family Gramineae.

E. a supposed [illegible] to cover from the sky

[illegible] ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of consciousness, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[1] There is also a belief in an anonymous spirit of fertility, *chenkhiyh*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *chenkhiyh* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cisterns. He is also associated with bees, which return to force such women whose germination reaches a peak. *Chenkhiyh* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

[illegible] An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

[illegible] Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. More frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard falling has been assumed, such a girl may resort to a *mashi*. The *mashi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pacha* tree,[2] and a plant called *mapu* or *mapu*,[3] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an infusion of *chilko* ("chicken"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *mapu*; Mapuche, *Kel an*).

[1] Cf. Lenhoss, 1904, p. 168; Lenhoss, 1905, p. 325, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[2] The Spanish name is *pataqua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 175), identified as *Myrospermum pitta* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[3] Identified by Augusta (op. cit., pp. 178-79) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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fed out. Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among 357
unmarried women, who are ordinarily patronized only in con- DRL
junction with an act of witchcraft known as *hefun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile.

I was told of no current pregnancy taboo, but Cooper stated: 343
"It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the door"[1] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[2] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation.

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she 364
is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place.

PARTURITION

Unlike the women of earlier days,[3] a contemporary mother is 344
expected to bear her children within her own rooms, and some of 349
the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *chejdin*. On the occasions when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins.

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[1] Cooper, op. cit., p. 120.
[2] Guevara, op. cit., p. 48.
[3] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the lurid picture drawn in Latcham, 1924, pp. 229-30.

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A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a
[759] 844 *machi*, her own husband, and, occasionally, one other man or woman. She is given a sturdy stick and encouraged to hold it and to walk up and down as long as she can. During labor she takes draughts of water, sometimes mixed with ginger. When parturition is about to occur, the mother assumes a kneeling position on a sheepskin mat large enough to catch whatever matter may be discharged incidental to birth. If help is needed a strong man or woman may grasp the patient and press down on her abdomen. It is thought that particular care must be taken with women having their first babies to make sure that the child is guided through the proper orifice.

As soon as birth has taken place the attendant midwife or *machi* heats a special instrument, *katrūf dowe* ("umbilical cord cutter"), made of sharp metal, formerly of stone. With this instrument, which is reserved for this one use, she severs the cord, then ties the knot. Upon the expulsion of the afterbirth the husband is directed to gather up the sheepskin on which accouchement occurred, and to be sure that it contains every particle of solid and fluid substance that was shed at the confinement. Should anything have fallen to the ground, the husband carefully scrapes it up and puts it into the sheepskin. The mat and its contents are then secretly buried in a deep hole, dug in virgin soil at an unfrequented spot. A stone or a heavy piece of wood may be used as a weight to prevent animals from getting at the buried bundle. Secrecy is observed for fear of witches or of jealous people, such as lovers or women who may want the recently delivered mother for a daughter-in-law.

846 Soon after a delivery has been safely accomplished, all soiled garments and bedding are carefully laundered in a stream. Mother and child are bathed in a mixture of water and the fragrant leaves of plants such as *foye*,[8] *ifulkoñ*,[9] or *natruñ*.[10] Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may

[8] *Foye* is the cinnamon tree which is called *canelo* in Spanish. It is very sacred to the Araucanians and is used in a wide range of religious contexts.

[9] Augusta (1916, 1: 65) identified this plant as *Vestia lycioides*.

[10] Identified as *Solanum Gayanum* Remy, family Solanaceae, in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 146).

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Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother MAYE
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [278]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [784]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Baldua fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

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INFANCY

853 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collío in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Housse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L·aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself. 553 431

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupukwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night. 854

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 862 863 [278 386]

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man passed to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

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863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kŭl·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chenopus* spec. [824]

[19] Hoosse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-malley*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

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861 Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood and
293 worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufü*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by sanctioned clowns. It used to be customary for each household to have a *koloñ* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people still possess masks.

861 A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unexpectedly troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of intensity. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *koloñ* had departed. If this treatment failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

867 Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he hears many folk tales that convey moral lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.[22] Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded masculine accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and womenfolk, since men work in the fields or are away from home much of the time.

[22] Hosse, 1939, p. 267; and Titiev, 1949, p. 4.

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fields or are away from home much of the time. For the most part, however, children under six or seven years spend their waking hours at play. Little boys run races, wrestle and pull one another's hair, pretend to plow, and walk about carrying miniature hockey sticks with which they strike at a ball or at any small stone or object along the path. Girls prefer to play with dolls fashioned of cane or bamboo into human shape, *puñeñkantu*. They take care of them as if they were babies, dressing and undressing them, and occasionally pretending to hold curing rites over them because they are supposed to be ill. 857

CHILDHOOD

Before they have reached the seventh birthday youngsters begin to pass out of the carefree stage of infancy, and to learn the tasks that are appropriate to their sex. Sometimes they receive spoken instructions from their elders, but more often they learn from observation and imitation. Adults make it a point to take them along when they leave the house, and to converse with them while they are at work. In this way children are made ready to undertake their first serious chores, which usually consist of herding and caring for sheep. Boys or girls generally serve as shepherds between the ages of six or seven and twelve. They take their flocks out to graze in the morning, and if they expect to remain away until late in the day they may take some bread or parched wheat, plain or sweetened with honey. At some time in the afternoon the herders drive their flocks into a corral or a field near home, and go into the house for the midday meal. 868 857

The children have various ways of amusing themselves in order not to be lonesome while they are herding. Most often they sing aloud the songs they have learned from their elders, and occasionally they shout something for other shepherds in the neighborhood to hear. They do not try to carry on actual conversations at long distance, but they get a sense of companionship simply from hearing one another's voices when they are out of sight. This is especially true on misty days, when each little shepherd feels cut off from the rest of the world. 857

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857 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a stout piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of
868 years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity.
857 They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

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ADOLESCENCE

Latcham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.[33] Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations. 881

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.[34]

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,[35] but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a trait was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems 841 841 754

[33] Latcham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.
[34] Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekūyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *kūyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [342] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[31] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[31] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH*

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by 864
older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged 839
in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homo- 838
sexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion ex- [582]
pressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did 839
volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly [831]
attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose [836]
as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but 833
women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629–30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend 847 to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [584] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

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A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually 848
reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained 836
license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[4] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said 548
that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[4] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to 548
resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they 829
have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[3] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 609. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

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548 829 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lokko* supervised negotiations with the *lokko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 836 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

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girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakuduan*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ahuw domo* ("loose woman").

MARRIAGE[1]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a marital pact is *dakuliwe*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakuldafe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakuldafe* make a long story at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of conubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakuldafe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *ruwaun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. As the festi-

[1] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of the section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Mandrini, 1970, pp. 131–82; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

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576 ities proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food
587 and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayükalen*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected
583 to parry.[9] "*C'est de bon ton*," as House expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rukikelue*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rukikelue* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the *kilimonuwe*, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] House, 1935, p. 326.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "mock rape." The Mapuche commonly describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

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the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *hi-flawdomu*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price."

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is commonly the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment.

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intertribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment, and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of enmity and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial avoidance." As I have elsewhere written:* "Ceremonial avoidance' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law." The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

* Titiev, 1943, p. 371, footnote 30.

578 It is the postnuptial residence payment that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live in his natal rukunilu, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to each of his relatives as happens to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Women's Song' Nos. 3, 6, 7, and 9.*

579 Further proof that the Arawanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain uxilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postnuptial mourning and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlywed. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

580 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorce, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occurs. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price removed to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much supernatural [illegible] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.* The rarity of divorce is also correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

* Tzinz, [illegible] p. [illegible].
* Cf. Bowen, [illegible] p. [illegible].

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along to one household, he may build a separate room for the [illegible]
deceased wife. The house could, upon its returning to her [illegible]
parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can
attend to her needs, she may prefer living in her own small-
holdings to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their masters, [illegible]
but no serious restrictions are placed on the premarital con-
duct of men. Although an adulteress wife is supposedly sub-
ject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,*
it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the
great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever
adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while
making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS*

Ignorance of medication and medical care, combined with [illegible]
inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Arau-
canians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies,
word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives
living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the
burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides
do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies
and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of pro-
minent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much
the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange
the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse
is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the
section of the ruka in which it lies is taboo to small children. If
the person had a favorite hackey sack, musical instrument, or
household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his
possessions may be freely handled and even pass into second
use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse.
Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and
again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

* Lenhossek, 1909, p. [illegible]
* Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. [illegible]; 1909, [illegible]; pp. [illegible] and
Ebeson, 1909, pp. [illegible].

[754] away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to leave the bedclothes.

[754] [755] Formerly it was a common practice to call in a machi or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.* Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

[756] Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by hollowing a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupifes*, representing the dead person's maternal and paternal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by relatives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful laments are sung on the *rutrafe*.

[757]

[758]

* According to Edwards (1929, p. 42) the passage who performs this office is called *ngulam*, but Smith (1943, p. 138) stated that machi make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1890 is given in Lenhossek (1905, pp. 367-70).

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Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from 764
the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no [767]
professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, [766]
marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, [778]
a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

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764 versely, that ashes are spread on the way home to prevent the soul's return.[29] I was unable to verify these practices.

Interment takes place in a deep grave. *Mudai* or *chicha* is poured into the opening, and other offerings may be added. At one time it seems to have been the custom to kill a man's favorite horse over his grave and to bury it in an adjacent plot, but this is no longer done.[31] According to Housse, the more grave offerings a person receives, the better his soul's fate in the afterlife.[32] So strong a hold does this notion have that even Christian Indians are often observed putting objects, more or less surreptitiously, into the graves of their dead.

After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a *witranalwe*. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance. More offerings are sometimes made on these occasions, after which the grave is no longer visited, except by those who observe Christian customs. There is no evidence of a native belief in the periodic return of spirits of the dead.

OTHER-WORLD NOTIONS

774 Araucanian notions of souls and spirits are seldom given overt expression, but many of their beliefs are indirectly stated. There are numerous variations of their basic concepts, but in general they believe in multiple souls,[33] and they have a tendency to equate a number of spirit-containing factors including

[29] Housse, 1939, p. 219. Also, see Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84. Detailed accounts of the traditional rites for a chief may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 395–415, and in Joseph, 1933, pp. 515–26.

[31] Lothrop wrote me that at La Serena llamas used to be sacrificed.

[32] Housse, 1939, p. 89.

[33] Cooper (1946, p. 735) said: "There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Huilliche believed men to have two or more 'souls.'" Among contemporary Araucanians there is widespread belief in multiple souls as the phrase is customarily used in anthropological literature. On this point see Latcham, 1924, pp. 579–86.

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heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[34] 774

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[35] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final. [761] [766] 775

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *küralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *n·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *rewü* with which they were formerly associated.[36]

[34] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[35] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama. [371]

[36] Hosse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

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775 While it is universally agreed that the souls of the dead continue to exist in the afterworld, the manner of existence is variously and only vaguely described. As a rule, the belief prevails that men and women carry on shadowy replicas of their lives on earth, following the same pursuits, raising the same crops, marrying, and having children.[27] Informants were unable to say whether spirits die in the other world, but it was explicitly stated that the souls of the dead are not reborn on earth in the bodies of babies. Departed spirits are considered capable of exerting some influence on the living, especially through the agency of dreams. If they are displeased by their funeral services, or if they are manipulated by witches, spirits can wreak harm on mankind, but no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out.

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live on in clouds, and witches are chained in active volcanoes. Compare Cooper, 1946, pp. 736–37.

[27] Molina (1808, p. 81) made a similar statement: "The soul, when separated from the body, exercises in another life the same functions that it performed in this, with no other difference except that they are unaccompanied with fatigue or satiety." See also Latcham, 1924, pp. 580–81.

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WITCHCRAFT AND CURING PRACTICES

BELIEF in witchcraft, ever widespread among the Araucanians, is still a pervasive element of their culture.[1] A witch or sorcerer, *kal-ku*, seldom operates individually, but is usually thought to be in league with others of his kind. Each *kal-ku* is supposed to train a youngster in the ways of sorcery, but the novice is sworn to secrecy and seldom practices witchery until he is old. Aged women are particularly apt to be suspected of witchcraft. By native definition, a *kal-ku* is one who deliberately harms or kills a person, generally upon request and payment by an enemy of the victim or else because of jealousy. A witch may or may not be related to the injured party, but he who employs a sorcerer must be prepared, if the victim succumbs, to have one of his own kinfolk die to even the score. In this sense, resort to witchcraft is regarded as a gamble. 754

A suspected witch was formerly tried before a *lóko* and an assembly of his followers. If the testimony of at least two witnesses or accusers was accepted, the sorcerer was supposed to be slain on the day of the victim's funeral.[2] According to one of the accounts I was given, based on stories a thirty-eight-year-old informant had heard in youth, a guilty witch was tied and dragged by a man on horseback from her home to a spot where a blazing fire had been kindled. She was then beheaded, but to prevent any artful recovery, she was cut into pieces and these were thrown into the fire to be burnt to ashes. If a chief did not want to inflict such severe punishment, he could have the accused witch driven off his territory. Together with her close relatives she would thus be forced to wander from place to place until she found a *lóko* who was willing to accept her and her party. Such a chief might be a distant kinsman, an old friend, [695] 754 [696]

[1] Practically every source dealing with Araucanian culture contains some material on witchcraft and curing. Particularly full accounts that supplement this field report are readily available in Latcham, 1909, pp. 370–73; 1924, pp. 770–822, *et passim*; and Métraux, 1939.

[2] Cf. Molina, 1808, p. 78; and Smith, 1855, p. 237.

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754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renūs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renūs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, mon-
[757] sters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 776 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufū*.[3] *Wekufū* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *choñchoñ*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[3] Lenhossek (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *huecuvas* ("evil spirits") and *huecuvayes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *dungum* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* 754
is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that 776
these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popu- 754
lar tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the 754
use of various things associated with heat and light. They are 778
known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the ex- 754
ercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms 775
signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

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754 775 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to permit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 [758] 711 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death. Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 828 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *weduwd*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal'ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770-823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329-32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

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of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If 754
the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's 754
narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. 756
Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal'ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death. [763]

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal-kas* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *rewü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümelkaweches*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wezelkaweches*. The latter operate through witches *and wekufü to cause illness and death, and the former function* to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *trekreü*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[9] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *pinichen*, *chofichofi*, *cherufe*, *witranalev*, or *akrkimallew*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[9] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Serandile, 1938, pp. 39-43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Cervantes's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

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CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, conferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul-trufi*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *pepen* or *kelefun*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YA!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

[10] Hunzen, 1939, p. 105.

[11] For comparative descriptions of machitun consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114-40; Mondach, 1930, pp. 350-70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340-48; and Hunzen, 1939, pp. 130 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303-11.

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tient, massages his body with fragrant leaves, sucks out, *fochañ*, whatever infection she discovers (or pretends to find), gives him a drink of herbs, and prepares to divine the exact cause and nature of his ailment and the cure for it. This is the great climax of the *machitun*. By way of preparation the shaman drinks copiously of ripened urine, *fai willeñ*, mixed with a solution of ginger and cinnamon, and gives some to her helpers. She then sings and beats the *kul·truñ* more and more vigorously, jumps over the patient from one side to the other, and works herself up to such a pitch that she is supposed to go out of her mind and become possessed, *küimin*. Thereupon, she begins to speak with the voice of the spirit that has possessed her but never does she reveal the name of her familiar.

At this stage another person engages her in conversation. He is an experienced and trustworthy man, who was previously selected for the task. He is called *duñumachife* ("interlocutor" or "interpreter"), and he must be a good speaker and endowed with a powerful memory. This man asks many leading questions of the entranced *machi*, cleverly urging her to tell as much as possible about the case, and remembering exactly what she says. After a time the *machi* stops talking and begins a violent dance. Very often she suddenly rushes out of the house to climb up and down her *rewe*.[10] She then dances around the pole, accompanied by a sturdy young man whose special function it is to catch her when she finally collapses and to hold her tightly until she returns to normal. *Machis* are said to select as special assistants men whose embrace will give them pleasure.

Members of the patient's household now provide the *machi* with water so that she may wash and restore herself. When she is ready, the *duñumachife* relates verbatim all that was said while she was possessed. The *machi* pays careful heed, explains the meaning of her remarks, tells what she has learned from the spirit's statements, and prescribes such remedies and treatment as she considers necessary. This concludes the ma-

[10] If a *machi* cures at home she uses her own *rewe*, but if she works at the patient's house, she generally orders a duplicate post to be erected in his yard.

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chitun, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control. 756 755 [#45]

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampines*, who work with herbs; *nilews*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[10]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[11] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[12] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely 756 838 [#73]

[10] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[11] Lanchas, 1904, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1935, pp. 934–36. Also, see Mombeuth, 1930, pp. 230–49.

[12] Cf. Hanson, 1939, p. 113.

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756 that they are homosexuals. For all that, their services are much
838 in demand, and many natives regard them as more efficient than are women. Nevertheless, the great majority of contemporary *machis* are women who seem to be sexually normal.[14] They marry, bear children, care for their households, and follow the usual feminine occupations, except when engaged in professional activities. A suggestion of homosexuality is revealed in their relations with novices and assistants, and whispers of adultery during *machitun* are not uncommon, but the older pattern of marked sexual abnormality no longer prevails.

756 The person who becomes a *machi* must have a strong will and character, partly because of the danger implied in the close conceptual link of witch and shaman, and partly because of the long and arduous training program. Many young women deliberately avoid all *machis*, and so difficult has it become to secure recruits that established practitioners may resort to subtle threats in order to get newcomers to join their ranks. If they meet a likely girl who is the descendant of a former *machi*, they may tell her that she is going to sicken and die unless she takes up the profession. More commonly, especially if a young, single woman becomes a patient, a *machi* may tell her that she cannot recover unless she agrees to serve as an apprentice after her cure. Coercion is not necessarily employed in all cases. Some women voluntarily apply for training, presumably because of the high fees they may earn. Another class of recruits includes people who have had narrow escapes from death by lightning. There is a belief that sometimes a frightened woman faints during a severe thunderstorm and finds on recovery that she has acquired the knowledge and power to be a *machi*.[15] If she decides to accept the call, she is supposed to be superior to an ordinary curer.

[14] Compare the independently made summary of the transition from male to female *machis* in Cooper, 1946, p. 750.

[15] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 750): "A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon him."

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TRAINING A NEW MACHI

When, in one way or another, a young woman decides to 7956
become a *machi*, she offers her services to an experienced and well-known practitioner. Since every highly regarded *machi* has need for one or two assistants, arrangements are usually readily made. The novice goes to live with her tutor for a period of a year or more, during which they work and sleep together. Whether or not they actually enjoy homosexual relations is uncertain. From her tutor the novice learns how to diagnose ailments, how to identify medicinal plants, what preparations to make in curing various diseases, how to play the *kul'awü* and shake gourd rattles, how to communicate with spirits by singing, praying, and dancing, and finally, how to become possessed and to speak with the voice of a spirit. As she acquires these accomplishments the neophyte assists her tutor at machitues and fiestas, and when she has mastered all the required lore, she prepares to give a public demonstration of her skill. This professional debut is known as machitun, and at its completion the novice emerges as a full-fledged *machi*, ready to practice in her own right.

The machitun centers about the dedication of a new *rewe*. Attention has already been called to the fact that the *rewe* is the visible sign of a practicing *machi*. It is a stout post or tree trunk, with several steps cut into one side, and it culminates at the top in a small, flat platform. Every active *machi* has a *rewe* planted in the ground before her house. It is set at an angle, and cinnamon and other branches are usually affixed to the upper end (Pl. VII, Fig. 1). Occasionally, a *rewe* has the semblance of a face carved above the last step (Pl. X, Fig. 1). At her death, a *machi*'s *rewe* is brought to the cemetery and placed at the foot of her grave (Pl. X, Fig. 1). When a novice is ready to commence her own career, her male relatives prepare a *rewe* for her, and her tutor sets a date and invites guests to observe the ceremony accompanying its erection.

To some extent the procedure of a machitun follows the

[illegible] pattern of a machiten, with the neophyte in the role of patient.* As the rites progress the elder maché rubs the body of her pupil [illegible] with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a charm. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.* Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kalwak*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.* As in the case of earlier performances, the maché becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals second the rites, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective assistant helpers. Fainting follows their recovery, after which the experienced maché goes home, the guests depart, and the new maché is ready to accept her first professional case.

[illegible]

[illegible] Every year, at the feast of San Juan, which in southern latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active maché is supposed to rehabilitate herself and her tutor at a ritual known as *kalwawan*.* The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events the

* Many additional details are given in Bolton, [illegible], pp. [illegible], and in Mikasen, [illegible], pp. [illegible]. According to Bolton several maché recipients in Mikasen a novice, among other things, they "cure" the candidate by rubbing parts of her body till they are red and bloody.

* Bolton, [illegible], p. [illegible].

* Typical markings on a *kalwak* are shown in Plate [illegible].

* A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the rites following, as Jaramen wears a reddish pair, and Jaramen wears repulsion. Though the rehabilitation rites the maché is supposed to be remarried to her tutor. It may be that Jaramen also applies, as was suggested by Edwards [illegible], p. [illegible], to a new maché's first consummation of a vow, in which she symbolically marries a saint or other sacred vow.

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place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night. Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *ñulñiras*, *kul'trukes*, and *pifulkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.* It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeñewun*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machitunes*, a *machi* is expected to dance and play her *kul'trukes*, to conduct the *ñeñewun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.*

* Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeñewun*, I could hear the songs and dances raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrutrilla. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi*'s house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

* Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 737-51.

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ASSEMBLIES, GAMES, AND CEREMONIES

ASSEMBLIES

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Large assemblies known as *kawil* or *rewun* are important features of Araucanian culture.[1] Their impact on the lives of the people can best be appreciated in the light of certain aspects of their social organization. It must be recalled that Mapuche communities are characterized by an element of physical cohesion and a corresponding lack of communal activities. Throughout the year there is a fair amount of intercommunication visiting, but contacts with other subtribes are quite rare, especially in the cold and rainy season when roads wash out and travel is all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every settlement tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The annual festivals that provide a winter is celebrated in the spring and fall when ceremonial gatherings . . . are held. Members of a given community are at home, and guests are invited from other districts. Various material ends serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants,[2] to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place,[3] to celebrate a holiday . . . or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability. Whatever their particular aims may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities feasting, drinking, smoking, and singing.[4]

Notwithstanding the variety of purposes underlying these meetings, they seem to follow a similar pattern, and even the

[1] These words may be variously spelled, and some writers try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All public assemblies have as many points in common that it seems permissible to treat them together. (Cf. Bullen, 1972, p. 175).

[2] McBride (1936, p. 311) described a congress held to discuss land problems.

[3] A meeting of this sort is reported in Bullen, 1972, pp. 177–81.

[4] Titiev, 1968, pp. [illegible]

events that are currently secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the feast of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *wekilwiqawun* ("mid-point of the year") or *wenipawun* ("new year").* The following account of a San Juan feast is based on material supplied by Domingo Curihal, school teacher at Carrerillo, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *lebiu* or cacique would send his workers to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's residence would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *lebiu* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity domiciled there (*Nenemapun*). From time to time he would blow on the pitmatoken, a performed stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence,* and every time he said this he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

* Augusta (1916, I: 93) gives an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wenipawun*: "El tiempo de que nada se sabe del mero (sin mero sujeto el tiempo mismo), la primavera; el año nuevo (publico)." See also Augusta, *supra*, p. 31, and Cooper, *vade*, p. 707.

* Pitmatokens are pictured and discussed in Joseph, *supra*, pp. 56-58.

[illegible] Each was centrally governed, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk wore no shirts or woven cloth, but chiefs were secured on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by medicos.[9]

[illegible] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their social reservations, and fiestas.

Games

[illegible] "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Magnuche-Stellicha," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawil*".[10] Centered within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Arawakian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 738) wrote: "The *kawil* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and an aftermath, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[illegible] [8] Lathrop (1939, p. 207) spoke of a dance called *kawa wai*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of best ornaments. The feasts were generally termed *Mita pawa*. Lathrop said that *kawa wai* was performed on a greeting and welcome to a visiting recipe, which fits the context of the last feast here. For additional details, consult Marshall, 1939, pp. 187 ff.

[9] Lathrop (1939, p. 207) of practice needed to view the assemblies made up essentially of laymen or women elders.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Tiller E-6 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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major wars, athletic contests and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.* In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey.

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca*; Mapuche, *palihueue*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.* So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *lonko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex taboos before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *Ñiñawe* celebrations.

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.* The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

* Smith (1879, pp. 320–23) and Mansfield (1924, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

* Cooper (1946, p. 736) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

* For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Mansfield, 1924, pp. 140 ff.

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526 starts, the ball is placed in a slight depression exactly at mid-field. The opposing centers face each other with sticks crossed over the ball, and at a shouted signal of "Ya!" each tries to hit the ball toward the opponent's goal. Thereafter, the progress of the game consists of trying to drive the ball over the end of the field defended by the enemy without letting it cross either side line. Defenders, of course, strive to prevent this, chiefly by forcing the ball outside the playing area. As soon as the ball goes out of bounds play stops, and the game commences again with a new face-off at mid-field. There is little organized team play, and little specialization of functions (Pl. XV, Fig. 2). Once the ball is in play, everyone shifts from offense to defense as the situation demands. No one is especially designated to guard goal, and when a long hit is made everyone runs after the ball, the offensive team trying to keep it in bounds until it crosses the goal line, and the defensive side struggling to knock it out of bounds. Blocking and tripping are permitted, and there is no such thing as illegal use of hands, but no point is scored if the ball is kicked or thrown across the goal line. Whenever the ball is improperly handled, or if a man is badly hurt, play is stopped and a face-off takes place in the center of the field.

Every little boy, in ancient times, was given a stick and taught to play. Under the supervision of an older man, often a *loñko*, youngsters were organized into teams and encouraged to compete. As they grew older they formed groups, each of which had its own captain. To summon his team the captain sounded his *kullkull*, the Araucanian equivalent of an army bugle, which was formerly used also to assemble warriors or to sound warning of an enemy raid.

When *chueca* was played avowedly as a training exercise for war, games lasted for long periods of time, because neither team could win unless the score was four to zero. Each goal made by an opponent cancelled a point for the other side, somewhat on the order of deuce in tennis. Hence it often happened that two teams struggled for the better part of a day before either side won.

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Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturing of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[14] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Cholchol in [541] conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they [756] pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[15]

[14] There is a possibility that *lofkos* formerly selected team captains.
[15] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 332–34.

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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarriñe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[14] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarriñe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

Ñillatun ceremonies[15]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 796 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *ñanechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *ñanechen*, or *küme* ("good") *ñanechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[14] See Figure 9, the Huaiquian-Painao field near house No. 25.

[15] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 742–43. A good account by a native is given in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 371–94.

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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñanechen*, and are said to dwell in volcanoes.* The essential dualism of Araucanian belief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent deities: *Kŭle-ake-fŭcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ñille-mari-kowa* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Lonkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

* Several writers associate *Pillán* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 394–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillán* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñanechen* is the old *Pillán* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1920 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

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796 up the ceremony altogether. There is no consensus, either, with respect to the appropriate time for these events, although a slight preference is noticed for dates in the fall when the moon is full.

756 796 Even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi* there was no agreement among early writers: "Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *füllatun* rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Hunse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *füllatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being."[10] Whatever may have been the situation in other days or other parts of Chile, it may be categorically stated that *machis* invariably play key parts in the *füllatun* observances now held in the vicinity of Chokchol.

796 A further difficulty in treating of the *füllatun* stems from the lack of standardization. Details of performance vary widely, depending on the time and place of the ceremony, the wishes and instructions of the *machi* in charge, and whether the main objective is to give thanks or plead for help. To illustrate some of the differences and to bring out the complexity of the rituals, accounts will be given of two celebrations which I had the opportunity of observing.[11]

THE FÜLLATUN AT COIGUE

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, the Reverend Harry Donaldson and I rode horseback from Chokchol to watch a *füllatun* ceremony at Coigue. We had been invited by Ramón Chihuailaf, who conducts the mission school in Coigue, and the occasion was rather special as a new field was to be dedicated. After resting and taking yerba maté with our host, we proceeded to the schoolroom in which there was a large, white wooden cross, inscribed in Spanish on the crossarm with a verse from Matthew 11:28. The lettering was in green, and just be-

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 501.

[11] Contrast the general summary of events in Cooper (1946, p. 745) with the two descriptions that follow.

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low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word 796
Rillatuin ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag.

The *Rillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *muday*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached [825]
it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged.

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *Rillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in *Augusta* (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *kulli* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae). [137]

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of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul-trull* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul-trull* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.[18] At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

[18] For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

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and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Cholchol for the night.

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and asperging was now so copious as to suggest a mimetic shower.*

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

* Rainmaker ceremonies that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. Those designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Cuipar rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall plowing difficult.

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overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kultrun*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, struck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[8]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[9] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[8] Mosquiel (1910, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[9] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

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superb horsemen, and many wore colorful ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who knelt at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul'trun*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No chicken or watermelon is left by any party if a *mate* of chicha, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

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turned to the *ñimi*, and there was another round of chanting by the *machi*, group dancing to and from the altar, mounted circuits, and more outrich dancing. Again the emphasis seemed to continue the dominant theme of thanksgiving and supplication, but just as the rites were concluding toward sundown a climax occurred that was apparently designed as an attack on evil spirits. Up to this point the celebrants, in close ranks, had been dancing back and forth as before. Facing the main body was the young couple that advanced and withdrew in the same rhythm as the others. Soon the *machi* began to grow wilder in her singing; she pulled the kerchief from her head and allowed her hair to tumble over her face; and she jumped vigorously up and down. Suddenly she brandished a knife in her right hand and a gourd rattle in her left. She shouted and gesticulated, stabbed at the air in all directions, and pretended to charge at the dancing couple, who backed hastily away. Once she seized the *kal'wuk* that her assistant was beating and ecstatically banged it up and down on her own head. She then paused for a few moments while a man (her husband) came forth and pressed the flat blade of a knife against her body at various points, an action that was supposed to give her strength. After that she resumed her wild dance, holding the knife aloft, jumping and whirling from side to side. While the crowd shouted and the *trutruka* sounded, a dozen men took up hockey sticks and clashed them repeatedly over the *machi*'s head. By now the *machi* appeared on the verge of a collapse, and once again men on horseback performed the *ñeu*, riding at a gallop around the whole sacred area as the *ñilatun* came to a close.

THE ÑILATUN AT MALALCHE

On Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24, 1948, the people of Malalche were busy at a *ñilatun*. We were unable to go on the first day, but from a high spot at Cautinche we could see the ramadas and smoke from the cooking fires, and we could hear an occasional shout or the sound of a *trutruka*. Early Saturday morning, my wife, Rafil González, and I, accompanied by Juan Antiman, his daughter Josephina, and his son Melinao,

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proceeded to Malalche.* A double row of ramadas stretched for nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Malalche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *fillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *muday*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).* Beside her stood two female assistants, each one beating a *kultrun*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four

* The women rode in an outmoded driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Reli made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antinao answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

* We learned that this *machi* came from Chaihuí where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antinao told us afterward that she had received sixty pesetas of exact money and many beverages for her services.

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796 young men danced in separate rows toward and away from the
535 altar, in an east-west direction. One of the men carried a Chilean flag, another a white banner, and the other two straddled bamboo poles as they danced. The rhythm was at all times straight and fairly quick, and two *trutruka* were occasionally sounded by players standing north and south of the altar. Among the male spectators were many who blew rhythmically but monotonously on small *pifulkas*.

Shortly after noon the *machi* begins a vigorous dance, once striking an inverted *kalwall* against her head. From her position west of the altar she moved north and then east, then approaching the six young dancers, whom she appeared violently to oppose. Her assistants spat on the ground and repeatedly supported the group of dancers. Soon the *machi* dropped to her knees and continued to dance wildly around the altar. She paused for a moment while an assistant bound a dark kerchief over her head and then, even though blindfolded, she resumed her fanciful dance around the altar on her knees. When she returned to the west side, a number of men clashed hockey sticks over her head, and one man waved a knife about.
796 The *machi* then begins a conversation with an interlocutor, in the same fashion as in a *machitun* or curing service. Juan Antinao said later that her first words were, "I have come," referring to the arrival of the spirit that had possessed her. After an exchange of conventional greetings, the *machi* went on to give instructions for the successful conduct of the fiesta, ordering, among other things, an *entrich* dance, circuits of mounted men, and the sacrifice of a sheep. She also told the assemblage that the Araucanians were having trouble because they had given up their ancient ways. This must have sounded strange coming from a *machi* who lived in a Chilean town. When the spirit's report was finished, the *machi*'s head was uncovered and after she had rested a bit, the interlocutor reported the full conversation he had held with her.

796 A short time later, three young men, one very reluctantly,
535 prepared to do the *entrich* dance. Except for the use of shawls

over outstretched arms they made little pretense at cannoning 796
or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced 535
rearward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *ngen*. Several of the men blew on *pifulkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls [796]
and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pot, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the hymnsingers lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Cuipan, non-Indian visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by one of the sponsoring families.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the main dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as in elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started 796

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back for Cautiocho. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ROGATIVE AT CRUCES AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *Gillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Cuipan, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of chueca was played. The machi at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the machi who conducted the Cuipan rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep ritual near the Cuipan altar was not sacrificial. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more trumpets and pifulkas, two altars, and a larger dance ground, but there was much less sapongqui, a poorer nguillatun performance, a rugged one, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cloth marks favored the Cuipan ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Cuipan.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Cuipan and Malalche. One of them, dancing, is called by Mundubeli an omen to the *Gillatun*.* This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificial sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was chewing by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antiman, chewers, masked women, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite wish was so much roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Chewing seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy omen-

* Mundubeli, op. cit., p. 37.

place on pleasing to the gods that they would be more likely to grant the prayers of the people.*

Comparison of differences in details, both sets of observations were pursued along similar lines. In each case it was evident that the dance is a complex performance, containing elements of the major foundation ceremonial activities. Within its structure there are included features of the public assembly (band), hockey game (pelleman), and racing ritual (machine). There is a likelihood that the lack of synecoristic and standardization may reflect the breakdown of Maya-Ch'ol social organization, but such a hypothesis can only be stated tentatively on the present data.

* A wide variety of songs used by masked dancers is published in Gamarra 1926, 20, 27[illegible].

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF CULTURE

[77] Mirror that has been written in the preceding pages provides ample evidence that Araucanian culture is in a state of flux. Dynamic forces impinge on every aspect of Mapuche life, and the people betray uncertainty and uneasiness as they find themselves increasingly called upon to give up the ways of the past and to conform to conditions of the present. By way of recapitulation and conclusion a review and analysis will be given of some of the salient features of the process that is bringing about the changing pattern of Araucanian culture. The forces of change do not, it is evident, operate independently in isolated segments of culture, but interconnect and interact on each other at all times. For purposes of analysis it occasionally becomes necessary to disentangle some of the elements concerned and to discuss them separately, but whenever possible an attempt will be made to treat each aspect of change within a broad cultural context. The earlier phases of Araucanian history will be disregarded and the warring period in the nineteenth century in which a strong parallelism prevailed will serve as a point of departure. Attention will be focused on the changes that have taken place since pacification and reservation life began.

It would not be hard to show that in the realm of material things the principal effects have been a loss of traditional arts and crafts and the substitution, wherever circumstances allowed, of Spanish-Chilean products, raw materials, and styles. Changes of house type and construct have been noted earlier, and attention was called to the greater conservatism of women in matters of dress. Abandonment of native industries is not, however, a simple matter of recognizing and accepting the greater utility and convenience of modern gadgets. Not only did the old system of handicrafts provide satisfying work for many artisans, but methods for distributing the finished products were adjusted to the rest of the socioeconomic structure. Today, one either pays for a trade object in cash or does

without. Yet the Araucanians have not developed the concept 177
of money, and their opportunities to acquire cash are exceedingly limited. As a group they have so little purchasing power that they are merely on the outer fringe of the Chilean financial system. The government lacks the resources to subsidize the Indians in any way whatsoever, and private manufacturers and traders can find little reason for making concessions to such poor customers. Consequently, the natives who cannot buy the things they need are discouraged and dispirited, and the shift to material culture has serious ramifications that result, at least for the time being, in a lowering of efficiency and morale.

Another aspect of transition that has a material base but 177
extends into other areas of culture is the matter of drunkenness. 785
Reverend Juan Antinao repeatedly affirmed: "Alcoholism is the curse of the Mapuche." No doubt he was influenced by Christian teachings, but there is much point to his statement in ecological terms. In times past when a man became drunk, he was among friends and relatives at home or on a friendly reservation. He did not pay money for his liquor, nor did he get into jeopardy much more than his own health and comfort. Nowadays the pattern of drunkenness tends to run along different lines. The favorite drinks are not "home brews" of one sort or another but cheap wines sold in every town and city at numerous establishments that operate with or without legal license. To buy liquor one must pay cash, and when the craving is sufficiently strong a man will resort to all kinds of practices to get funds. He may sell bits of needed equipment, stores of seed or food, standing crops, or unborn animals, and he may even turn to thievery and robbery. Furthermore, while intoxicated, he may go so far as to dispose of his land, a contingency that could not have arisen in the old days.

A typical example of what may befall a drunken man concerns one of my informants who, in his youth, went into Chaitén with a cart drawn by two fine oxen and loaded with wheat to be milled. He remembers having had a few drinks. The next day, he woke up half-naked under a bridge. Gone were his cart, his wheat, and his bullocks. Similar tales are told of

other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are dull and unrewarding.

Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and success by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually began numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to replenish food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a werkon; and if he combined these qualities with the generosity of many men he had a fair chance of becoming a lebbe. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to mingle and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than simple territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles to serenity gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with kinsmen or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Araucanians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a current system of passage. [777] [3]

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by reservation life and the slowness progress in the disintegration of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Territorial and cultural residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bands of strychnos were forged at assemblies at which the relatives of one or two friendly *lebiu* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their own intra-lighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *lebiu* was expected to supervise the training of his relatives' children, and through his sorcery to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he [777] [2]

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177 522. needed the support of allies. There is a suggestion that *lekkar* were once reinforced in their authority by supernatural sanctions, and Latcham may well be correct in claiming that group ceremonies used to be led by caciques.

At present every aspect of chieftainship has been drastically modified. Whatever native leadership the people still have is so vaguely defined as to be of little importance. As long as men hold individual titles to their land and its usufruct, they do not need to rely on a *lekko* to tell them when or where to farm. They find it equally unnecessary to seek his advice on the disposition of their crops or other goods, or to consult him in regard to marriage. Disputes are not referred to a cacique for settlement, nor can any leader order suspected sorcerers to be punished or expelled. Chilean courts have the same jurisdiction 177 over Araucanians that they have over other nationals; there is a police station in each town; and the carabineros have the right of investigation and arrest on any reservation within their territory. In practice, the police seldom interfere in the internal affairs of the Mapuche, and those natives who resort to government courts are rarely pleased with the treatment they receive. As in so true elsewhere, litigation in Chile is apt to be expensive and long drawn out. Complaints of unfairness are often heard, and the phrase, "there is no justice," is frequently repeated. The Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización maintains an office in Temuco over which presides a judge of Indian affairs. Court is held about three days a week, and crowds of natives come in from outlying districts. Almost inevitably, they seek adjustment of land titles. If they can establish their identity and show that they have an authentic claim, they generally get a legal document of ownership, but this court only confirms previously assigned holdings and does not allot new land or grant titles to other than presumed heirs of previous owners. Incredible confusion arises from the Mapuche custom of duplicating names, from failures of men to list all their wives and offspring, and from the lack of accurate records. Even the wisest and best intentioned of judges must, inevitably, make numerous mistakes, and the natives often leave the courtroom feeling

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that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders. 177

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere [578] apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school.

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating 177 the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction 871 conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

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177 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at
871 the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural read-
562 justment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from popula-
582 tion changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

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tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

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177 at which the Indians are aware that they diverge most widely
157 from accepted Chilean norms. Contemporary Araucanians realize that many people condemn them as ignorant, poor, dirty, shiftless, drunken, and lazy, partly because they have different forms of behavior and outlook. Yet the Mapuche have a nostalgic regard for many of their traditional practices and are unwilling to give them up altogether. Consequently, one detects uncertainty and a marked ambivalence in their attitudes. Sometimes they seem ready to forego native customs and become thoroughly assimilated, but at other times they try to resist the pressure to change. For example, even those who recognize the greater efficacy of medical science, may hesitate to forego the ministrations of a *machi*. Within a broader frame of reference the matter of land ownership is a case in point. The Mapuche may not like the current system of being forced to live on fixed reservations, yet most of them realize that this very system gives them a measure of protection, and that their way of life would be much more likely to be lost in competition with Chilean customs if their lands were not set aside as reservations.

177 A final review of Araucanian culture in transition throws light on several important characteristics of cultural dynamics. As in any study of dynamics, it is a matter of analyzing a balance of forces, in this case forces of sociocultural change versus forces of inertia. Not all the former press with equal intensity on all sectors of a given social structure, nor are they always resisted with equal strength. With regard to the Mapuche it is obvious that pacification and the attendant loss of symbolic masculine values gained through boldness and fighting ability have had a far more drastic effect than the introduction of new styles of dress or housing and that resistance to changes in material culture has been less steady than the reluctance to accept basic Christian teachings. Then, again, it should be noted that changes originating in one sphere of activity are likely to spread into other areas of the culture pattern. Thus, ownership of reservation land in severalty begins as a material and economic shift but can be shown to exert a powerful influence on chieftainship and marriage customs.

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As the forces of change continue to manifest themselves [77]
people grow hesitant and uncertain and often become disgruntled and maladjusted. While their morale is at low ebb feelings of shame are apt to arise, especially when they contrast their situation with that of a neighboring group which appears to possess greater stability and self-assurance. Nevertheless, the sense of shame does not necessarily engender complete willingness to abandon traditional customs. The net result is a series of compromises whereby old traits are modified rather than lost or replaced by totally new ones. Specifically, not every Mapuche lives in an old-style, thatched *ruka*, yet other kinds of houses are in a distinct minority, and even frame houses are likely to be straw covered so that they resemble rukas. Nearly all women regularly wear modern aprons and blouses, yet a woman entirely dressed in an old-fashioned costume is no rare sight, and combinations of native and Chilean garments are very common. Some new varieties of food and drink are not infrequently consumed, but there is still a marked taste for Mapuche bread and for native beverages such as *muday*. Although aboriginal arts and crafts have almost disappeared, enough craftsmen remain active to keep most households supplied with basketry trays, wooden spoons and bowls, handwoven ponchos and blankets, and old-style ornaments and musical instruments. Polygyny is unquestionably fading out, but men with multiple wives may yet be found on most reservations. Mapuche religion which, apparently, was never strongly organized, is slowly yielding to missionary pressure, and medical science is gradually replacing shamanistic practices; but a host of pagan beliefs survive, and *machis* are still called upon to effect cures and officiate at *ñillatues*. Hockey has lost its former significance for training warriors, but as a competitive sport it is highly popular and much esteemed. Education along new lines and the use of Spanish are being widely accepted as a part of modern Araucanian life, but it is most significant that no segment of the old culture has been more completely preserved than the use of the Mapuche language. Every man, woman, and child that claims to be an Indian has a fluent command of Mapuche no matter how acculturated he may be in other respects.

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177 Above all, it is apparent that the process of culture change is slow, nonsymmetrical, all-pervasive, and cumulative. It operates not so much by the sudden displacement or elimination of established traits, as by means of a series of successive modifications. After powerful forces of change have once been generated, they cannot easily be dissipated before they have run their full course, even if the people affected are made unhappy and ashamed in the interim. Inertia may slow down the process somewhat, but in the end enough trait alterations are effectuated to make the traditional culture unrecognizable. So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will persist only as memories.

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PLATE I

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

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PLATE II

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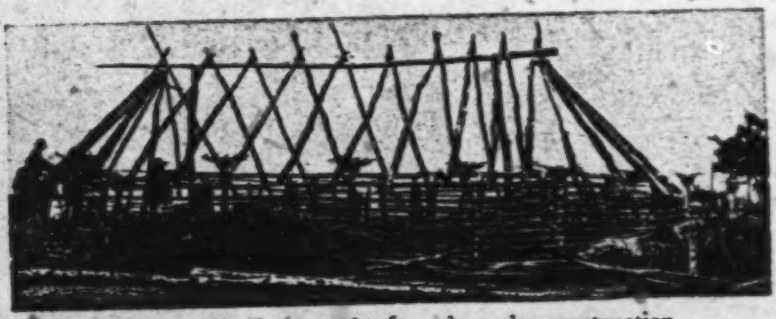

FIG. 1. The framework of a *ruka* under construction.

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(Rudy Hirsch photograph)

FIG. 2. A baby tied in its cradleboard.

[end plate 2]

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PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antinao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

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PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

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PLATE V

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FIG. 1. Winter travel. The main highway linking Cholchol with the rail center at Nueva Imperial, at the height of the rainy season.

FIG. 2. Crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos. Passengers and crew haul on the steel cable at the left of the raft.

[end plate 5]

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PLATE VI

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FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Cholchol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

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PLATE VII

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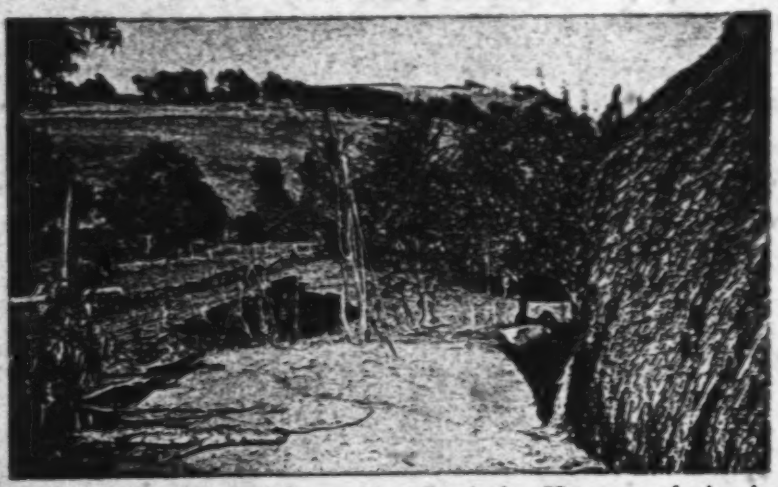

FIG. 1. The home of the *machi* at Cautinche. Her nonprofessional status is indicated by the absence of a *rewe*. Only the poles in the middle ground reveal her calling.

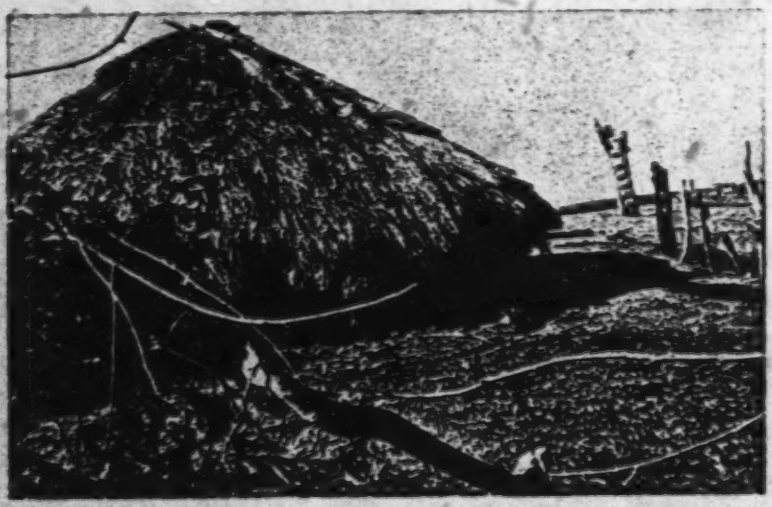

FIG. 2. The home of a Carrarriñe *machi*. The *rewe*, surmounted by twigs of sacred trees, is set at an angle before the *ruka*.

[end plate 7]

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PLATE VIII

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(Rudy Hirsch photograph)

A *machi* climbing her *rewe*. The *machi* holds a *kul-truñ* and drumstick. Her *kul-truñ* is decorated with traditional markings.

[end plate 8]

PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collo identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Leviu ("Sekuta") Paineo playing a *llullkin* of his own make at Carrinjiñe. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

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PLATE X

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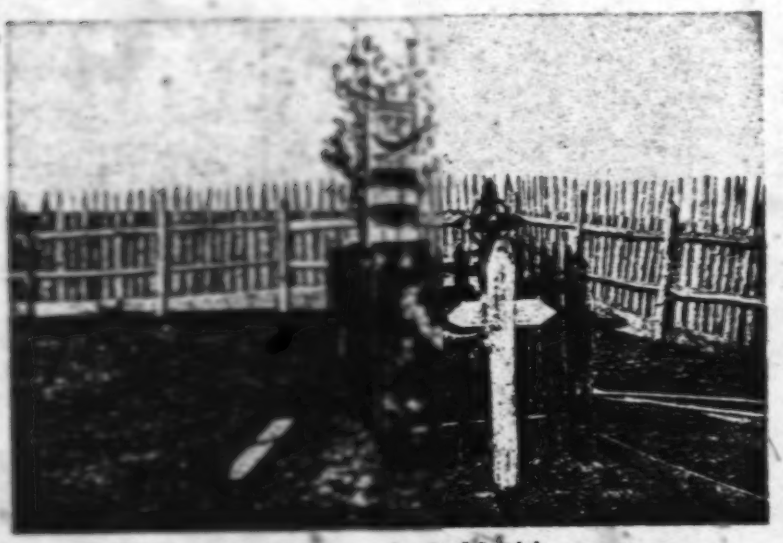

FIG. 1. A *machi's* grave in the Malalche cemetery.

FIG. 2. The original cemetery at Cautinche. Although no Christian was ever buried here, the entrance is marked with a cross.

[end plate 10]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XI

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FIG. 1. Dedication of a new cross at Coigue. A *ñillatun* field is being inaugurated. The donor of the cross is in white shirt sleeves at the left of the second row. The officiating *machi* faces the group, and a *trutruka* player is at the left. A Chilean flag, a black standard, and jars of *mudai* and *chicha* are next to the cross.

FIG. 2. The principal *ñillatun* field at Carrarriñe. The same area is used for hockey.

[end plate 11]

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PLATE XII

796
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FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kal-trañ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

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PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the fiesta is in progress.

[end plate 13]

PLATE XIV

796
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FIG. 1. Main altar of the fiesta at Maloleche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Maloleche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The machi is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

PLATE XV

FIG. 1. The family of Ingenio Peinen at Carrentilla, in front of a cowhouse, by the rule in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Peinen's [illegible].

FIG. 2. Hockey game at Carrentilla. Players and spectators wear everyday clothes. Fermin Collio stands left of center, with his feet spread wide apart.

[end plate 15]

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PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaico. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarrile. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

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[For participation of the machi (shaman) in organized ceremonials, see category 116, pp. 130-140.]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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Social Singing Among the Mapuche

by

WINONA TITIEV

ANN ARBOR
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1949

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[p. III]

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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. [622, 537] Skill in oratory and associated arts was once a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101] [1]For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2]Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3]Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

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533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

[756]

[4]Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5]For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6]The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 621 [574] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

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796 may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

533 It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time
533 at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become
876 acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS

FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

126 The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

creencias araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Ano III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[115] [11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 24, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrarriñe, near Cholchol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

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out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu. 539

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai 539

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

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inche ta eimi
deuman piuke
fente ini ayufiel
kimwe laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
felen meu feipien
eimi ta sakin domo.

[551] Free translation.—It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peuman
kuifi meu kai
welu fele pulai
alka pülelen.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a lapwing[14] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.—In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[14] Fray Félix Jose dé Augusta (Diccionario araucano-español [Santiago, 1916], II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collío described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

7 539

Man's Reply

ñuke anai ñuke
ñochi müten kimei
mute dungulmi
ñillatu piuke nguea fun
piukeye niye eli
fele kayu müten
tayu poyen külen
inchiu meu ta
dungu kilpe che
inchiu müten kisu.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor (literally, piuke, "heart"). If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

koñi anai koñi
müna küme küllüi
tami feipi fiel
ruf künu lan tatei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke. 539 593

[15]Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart." 601

[16]A woman calls her husband koñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

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Woman's Song No. 3

ngüru peuman
ni wesayauan meu
chum nguea afui
femguei feleael.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a fox. It was bad for me, but there is no help for it now, since that is the way it turned out to be.

Interpretation.—After having been married for two years or so, a wife has come to realize that her husband is like a fox, in the sense that he is given to thieving and wrongdoing.[17] Interested auditors, acting on this hint, make it a point to advise the husband to mend his ways. They also remind him that he has now been married long enough to realize that he ought to settle down and accept the responsibilities of a married man.

Man's Reply

müna wesa pimi
nai pichi nuke
femkefuli ofpe
fachi antü kimgue
eimi meu müten
puai ñi lelilen
wesa dungu afai.

Free translation.—Things are not as bad as you have said, my little cousin (wife). If I have done anything wrong, it's all over now. Only on you do my eyes gaze. Let everything bad be ended.

Interpretation.—The husband expresses remorse for his errors and promises to mend his ways at once and henceforth to keep his mind only on his wife.

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[17]It is a Mapuche convention that a man whose faults are publicized in an assembly song must neither show anger nor seek to punish his wife. Nevertheless, an ominous tone runs through the husband's reply to Woman's Song No. 2; and the wife's counterreply is distinctly conciliatory.

539

Woman's Counterreply

feula anai koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[18]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed piñmal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collfo. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him. [626]

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539 dirt make mud, and that is far from good.

Interpretation.—A wife sings in this vein to make it known
[592] that she is maltreated by her husband's family, with whom she has to live according to the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence. On hearing such a complaint people speak to the singer's parents-in-law, urging them to be more considerate of their daughter-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 6

weda lerkei pũmo
dungu allkutun
fotum müten mülei
domo nguerke lai.

Free translation.—Things are very bad with me. My father-in-law pays attention only to his son, while I am dismissed as if I were dead.

[592] Interpretation.—Once again the strain put on a woman by the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence is brought out. A wife is a newcomer to her husband's household and is very much subject to her father-in-law throughout his lifetime.[19]

Woman's Song No. 7

weda peuman
trafia müten
ñi fillka duam
me peuman müten.

Free translation.—I had a bad dream just last night. On account of my brother-in-law (fillka) I dreamed of nothing but dung.

539 Interpretation.—This song expresses unhappiness because
592 a woman's brother-in-law is about to marry. Through the workings of the custom of unilocal patrilocal residence his marriage means that another woman will come to live in the singer's household and will share in the conduct of its affairs. Women who are married to brothers often are so hostile that

[19]There is reason to believe that in former times a mature man maintained strong control over the inmates of his household. Normally, these consisted of his wives and unmarried offspring and his married sons and their wives and unwed children.

they call each other medomo ("feces woman").[20] 539

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the 592
presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 8 539

re kochü dungu
piyeninga welu
afkerkelu kochütun
fei ula fre letui
tami dungun
ellaka feipi feli.

Free translation.—At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.—Acting on the complaint expressed here, a 539
group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find 593
out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Collío expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing in this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household.

Woman's Song No. 9 539

maicoño kuntrul
inaful inche meu
pün-pün külei

[20]Cf. De Augusta, op. cit., I, 133.

539

inche püle müten
fenguechi peuman
tañi ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[21] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my nadu ("husband's sister").

539 592 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenañkun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[22] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[23]

539 584

kiñe ngue meu
ella lelien feichi
elu ad laen
rume kutrantun
tami fem fiel
re kura piuke
ütruf niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[21]De Augusta, op. cit., I, 128, identified maikoño as la tortola, the turtledove (Zenaida aurita).

[22]Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law move into her household.

[23]"Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dakeltun ül ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539
584

Why must you ever show me nothing but a heart of stone?

Interpretation.—A boy sings in this fashion to his sweetheart, either during a family visit to her home or at an assembly where members of both families are present. It reveals the fact that he has failed to win the girl of his choice, and it also serves to test her reaction. In accordance with Mapuche conventions it is not proper for a young woman to accept a proposal too quickly or too directly. Hence, she answers in the manner of the reply given below. If the affair reaches a stalemate the suitor's father, confident of the singer's sincerity, may take steps leading to a formal betrothal.

Woman's Reply

müna koila wentru
piuke meu feipilai
re mellfu-un meu
müten feipi kei
angue ta pengue
küle kei müten
piuke ellka lei.

Free translation.—Men are all liars, they speak only with the lips, not with the heart. They show their faces uncovered, but not their hearts.

Interpretation.—By singing in such a vein, a girl who is being courted makes it clear that she is not to be taken lightly. The implication is that she may consider a serious offer of marriage but that she is unwilling to take part in a mere flirtation.

Man's Song No. 2

chumül anchi
inche kiman
tami piuke
ni inchü ngueael
feipi keeli
feichi dungu
allkutu anai
küme pichi ñuke.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539
584

Free translation.—When will the time come when I shall know what is in your heart? Why don't you say the word that will allow us to be united? Please listen to me, my little cousin.

Interpretation.—A lover will sing in this way if a sweetheart continues to show reluctance even after some of the preliminaries to marriage have been carried out. The intent is to persuade the girl to set a wedding date.

Woman's Reply

prolei li piuke
feipi keeli arol
piuke ta pekan
fam tuku keel
troki kiflingue
rulpa fingue
amulechi antu
fei ula kimalmin.

Free translation.—At this moment my heart is tied in a knot, so I cannot reply. The heart is not a toy to be lightly given away. Please do not hurry me. Let the ever-moving sun go on, then you will learn what is best.

Interpretation.—In these words a girl expresses her unwillingness to set a definite wedding date. Her song implies that she may yet be willing to marry her suitor, but is not interested in a casual love affair.

Man's Song No. 3*

inaltu mukuida
amulerpu fun
welu pela eyu ñuke
cheu anta müleí
tami piuke am
inche kutran piuke
eimi ayene-en
papai amai papai

*Strictly speaking this song is not rendered in public. It deals with a request for a private love affair and is addressed only to the girl concerned. Nevertheless, the lover may make his plea during the course of a large assembly.

2: Thiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Areocanlane SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

S3f
S8f

chumil chefel
inche ta elmi chechel.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[28] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[29] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[30]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

S3f
S36
S32

Woman's Reply

kulli anai kulli
mulfichi duke
rume piyalmi
wein rilpli kille
kiso lolmi rume
feipi ainyu
trig ewpu mero
wefpalen inche
pu che mero ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me duke ("cousin" or "wife")[31] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their duke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential sweethearts, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[28]Tami ainlen ani mencai literally, "your heart soul." However, ani also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where is the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This suggests that she appears heartless to him.

[29]For the use of mami see the free translation of "Men's Reply" in "Women's Song No. 1."

[30]Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[31]Compare footnote 12.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 536 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [542] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.* This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to each of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 582 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-fuke) that one may use the term fuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

*The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

CONCLUSION

The assembly songs also serve to call attention to several themes of Mapuche religion. Belief in dreams as omens is frequently reiterated, and there is one interesting example of the widely held notion that heart, soul, shade, and reflection form a single complex. Furthermore, there are some references to bird and animal lore, with mention being made specifically of the deer, fox, vulture, lapwing, turtledove, hen, and rooster. 589 1971

In conclusion, it may be said that these songs give proof of the high poetic quality of Mapuche oral literature. At the same time they throw light on numerous aspects of social organization and provide important clues to an understanding of the interplay between Mapuche culture and personality development. 539

NEW MEXICO ANTHROPOLOGIST

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EDITOR'S NOTE

From February to May, 1940, Dr. Donald D. Brand (Editor-in-Chief of the New Mexico Anthropologist, Professor of Anthropogeography and Head of the Department of Anthropology) was a member of a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace group that visited a number of Latin American countries. While in Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, Dr. Brand visited museums and universities and became acquainted with the anthropologists and geographers of the various countries. Being aware of the general ignorance concerning each other among the anthropologists of the Pan-American nations, Dr. Brand has been in a series of studies which eventually will cover each of the Two World countries. These studies combine personal knowledge and library research. This number of the New Mexico Anthropologist is dedicated to anthropology in Chile.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century). 175 648 114 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826. 175 648

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HISTORY

114 175 797 The 285 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading histories of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucanía should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

113 *D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e. g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1518-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 26 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos,* 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverria,* etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1784-1859]

Alonso de GÓNGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NÚÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz . . . y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1655.]

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1. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

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*Jos. STŒCKLEIN: *Der Neue Welt-Bott, mit allerhand nachrichten dere Missionarien Soc. Jesu.* 6 vols., Augsburg, Grätz and Wein, 1728-1758.

*P. Juan Ignacio MOLINA, S. J.: *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale, e civile del regno del Chile*, Bologna, 1776; and *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chile*, Bologna, 1787. [This Chilean Jesuit 1737-1829) wrote the bulk of his work in exile in Italy. It was the best Chilean history up to that date, and was translated into several languages, e.g., J. Ignatius Molina: *Geographical, natural and civil history of Chile.* 2 vols., Middletown, Conn., 1808.]

*P. Miguel de OLIVARES, S. J.: *Breve noticia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesús de Chile*, Santiago, 1874; and *Historia Militar, Civil y Sagrada . . . del Reino de Chile*, Santiago, 1864 and 1902. [This Chilean Jesuit (Chillán 1713-1786 Italy) provides the clearest picture of the Araucanians during the Colonial period.]

Felipe GÓMEZ DE VIDAURRE: *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1889. [Born Penco ca. 1740; wrote ca. 1789; died Cauquenes 1818.]

*P. Giuseppe SALLUSTI: *Storia delle missioni apostoliche dello stato del Chile.* 4 vols., Roma, 1827.

Miguel Louis AMUNÁTEGUI ALDUNATE: *Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile.* Santiago, 1861. [First great modern historian of Chile; a pupil of Andrés Bello; born Santiago, 1828; died 1888.]

Orélie Antoine Charles de TOUNENS: *Orélie-Antoine 1er, Roi d'Araucanie et de Patagonie . . . et sa captivité au Chili.* Paris, 1863. [de Tounens was a French adventurer (1820-1878) who set himself up as King of Araucanía 1861-2. He was captured by Chilean officials, tried, judged insane, and exiled to France. He returned briefly to Araucanía during the wars in 1869-70; then went back to France where he was officially recognized as King of Araucanía, and for some years (1871-1878) published an "Araucanian" journal.]

Luis de la CUADRA: *Ocupación i civilización de Arauco.* Santiago, 1871.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Los orígenes de la iglesia Chilena 1540-1603.* Santiago, 1873. [Dominican; Archbishop of Santiago, 1919-1931; born Santiago, 1839; died 1931.]

*Diego BARROS ARANA: *Los antiguos habitantes de Chile*, Santiago, 1874; and *Historia jeneral de Chile*, 16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, new ed. 1930. [Barros Arana was greatest historian of the colonial period (see first 7 vols.) and period until 1833. Tomo 1, pt. 1 is devoted to *Los indijenas.* Born Santiago, 1830; twice rector of the university; died 1907.]

*José Toribio MEDINA ZAVALA: *Los aborijenes de Chile.* Santiago, 1882. [Greatest Latin-American bibliographer, biographer, and numismatist; born Santiago, 1852, died 1930.]

Memorie inedite delle missioni dei F. F. M. M. Capuccini nel Chile. Roma, 1890.

*Horacio LARA: *Crónica de la Araucanía.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1889. [Born 1860; died ?]

*Ramon BRISEÑO: *Repertorio de Antigüedades Chilenas.* Santiago, 1889. [1814-?]

*Francisco Adolfo FONCK: *Viajes de Fray Francisco Menéndez.* 2 vols., Valparaíso, 1896-1900. [Christened Franz Adolf, 1830-? Concerning a Franciscan missionary of the late 18th century.]

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113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANCILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians —in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 300,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method
162 of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a
144 full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a
175 pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

101 These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and
161 the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some
175 Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands
[131] eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with *yanaconas* and *mitimaes* brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as *encomiendas* to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

2. Olivares, in the latter part of the 18th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

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bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla. 101 175 161

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e. g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[3] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1535, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the 797 175

3. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit [1875-1930]: *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas. [114]

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Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (cf. *Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine)*, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

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The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Paillalef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

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analyzed. There follows a list of the better known dictionaries, grammars, texts, and miscellaneous treatises, with the more important works indicated by an asterisk: 114 19

P. Luis de VALDIVIA, S. J.: *Arte y Gramatica general de la Lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1606. [Born Granada 1560; to Chile 1593; great defender of the Indians; died 1642.] 113

*P. Andrés FEBRÉS, S. J.: *Arte de la Lengua General del Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1765. [Spain 1734-1790 Geneva; Juan M. Larsen published the above in parts in Buenos Aires, 1882, 1884.]

Father Thomas FALKNER, S. J.: *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Hereford, 1774. [1707-1784. Lived in Patagonia ca. 1740-67; contains Moluche vocabulary; editions in Buenos Aires 1885 & 1911, Chicago 1935.]

*P. Bernhard HAVESTADT, S. J.: *Chilidúgu, sive Res Chilensis.* Münster i. Westphalia, 1777. [1708-1781. Written in Spanish 1753-65; facsimile edition of Julius Platzmann, 1883, Leipzig, in 2 vols., *Chilidúgu, sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis.*]

*Fray Antonio HERNÁNDEZ I CALZADA, O. F. M.: *Diccionario Chileno Hispano, Compuesto por el r. p. misionero Andrés Febrés . . . Enriquecido de voces i mejorado por el r. p. m. fr. Hernández.* Santiago, 1846. [1774-1847.]

R. R. SCHULLER [Editor]: *Confesionario por Preguntas y Pláticas Doctrinales en castellano y araucano según el manuscrito inédito del misionero franciscano Fray Antonio Hernández Calzada* [1843]. Santiago, 1907. [This is *Bibliotecta de linguística americana*, t. 1.]

Dr. Ludwig DARAPSKY: "La lengua araucana." *Revista de artes y letras*, t. XII, pp. 153-185, Santiago, 1888. [1857-?]

Aníbal ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES: *La lengua araucana.* Santiago, 1889. [1864- ?]

Heinrich Robert Rudolf LENZ [commonly Rodolfo Lenz]: *Araukanische Märchen.* Valparaíso, 1892. [Germany 1863; to Chile ca. 1890; founder of scientific philology in Chile, and "Father" of modern *Araucanistas;* died 1938.]

D. BARROS ARANA and R. Lenz: "La Lingüística Americana, su historia i su estado actual," AUC, t. LXXXIV, pp. 985-1029, 1893.

Bartolomé MITRE: *Lenguas Americanas. Estudio Bibliográfica-Lingüístico de las obras del Padre Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak.* La Plata, 1894. [The scholar-president of Argentina; 1821-1906.]

*Rodolfo LENZ: "Estudios araucanos," in scattered volumes of the AUC, 1895-97.

I. Viaje al país de los Manzaneros contado en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp. 359-385.

II. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp.843-878.

III. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto picunche. t. XCI, pp. 195-241.

IV. Trozos menores en Picunche i Huilliche. t. XCIII, pp. 427-438.

V. Diálogos en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIII, pp. 507-555.

VI. Cuentos Araucanos . . . en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIV, scattered.

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113 VII. Cuentos Araucanos. t. XCIV, pp. 691-719, 841-865.
VIII. Cuentos en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVII, pp. 331-352, 491-504.
Apéndice á los estudios araucanos VI, VII, VIII. t. XCVII, pp. 623-662.
Apéndice á los estudios araucanos VI, VII, VIII. t XCVIII, pp. 177-185.
IX. Cuentos en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. 187-207.
X. Cuentos araucanos en moluche i pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. 301-338.
XI. Trozos descriptivos i documentos para el estudio del folklore araucano . . . en dialecto pehuenche chileno. t. XCVIII, pp. 499-525.
XII. Introducción; Corrección al estudio III; Diálogos en dialectos moluche de Cholchol. t. XCVIII, pp. 739-777.
[All of this material was combined in *Estudios Araucanos. Materiales para el estudio de la lengua, la literatura i costumbres de los indios mapuche o araucanos*, published in t. CXVII of the AUC, 485 pp.

Rodolfo LENZ: "De la literatura araucana," *Revista del Sur*, t. 1, num. 7, pp. 380-450. Chillán, 1897.

Raoul de LA GRASSERIE: *Langue Auca (ou langue indigène du Chile)*. Paris, 1898. [1839- ?; a judge and philologist of Rennes, France. An imperfect "armchair" job.]

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Gramática Araucana*. Valdivia, 1903. [The leading living student of the Araucanian language, Convento Capuchino, Valdivia.]

Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "La Raza y la Lengua Veliche." ASSC, t. XIV, pp. 1-20, 1904.

*Rudolf R. SCHULLER: "El vocabulario araucano de 1642-1643 con notas críticas y algunas adiciones a las bibliografías de la lengua mapuche." AUC, t. 119-121, 1906-1907. [1873- . This is the vocabulary of Elias Herckmans, a captain under the Dutch freebooter Hendrick Brouwer, who in 1643 attempted to conquer the Chiloé-Valdivia area. It was first published in 1647, and therefore is the second document (after Valdivia) to be printed. The main value of this work lies in the extraordinarily complete critical bibliography compiled by Schuller.]

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Lecturas araucanas*. Valdivia, 1910; 2nd ed., 1934. [Texts in Spanish and Araucanian for instructional purposes.]

Manuel Segundo MANQUILEF GONZÁLEZ: "Comentarios del pueblo araucano," in t. 127 of AUC, 1911. [By an Araucanian associated with Guevara; 1887- . Contains texts; published as part of t. II of the *Revista de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno*.]

*Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "Estudios de la lengua Veliche," *Trabajos del IV Congreso Científico*, t. XI, pp. 143-330. Santiago, 1911.

*Francisco Javier CAVADA CONTRERAS: "Chiloé y los chilotes; estudios de folklore y lingüística." RCHG, t. VII-XIV; printed separately as t. V, *Revista de la Sociedad de Folklore Chileno*, 448 pp., Santiago, 1914. [1864- .]

Félix F. OUTES: "Un texto y un vocabulario en dialecto pehuenche de

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fines del siglo XVIII." *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, t. 25, 1914. [Buenos Aires, 1878-1939.] 113

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Diccionario araucano-español y español-araucano*. 2 vols., Santiago, 1916.

Pablo GROEBER: "Toponomia araucana." *Anales de la Sociedad de Estudios "Gaea,"* t. II, Buenos Aires, 1926.

*Fray Ernesto Wilhelm de MOESBACH, O. M. Cap.: *Vida y Costumbres de los indígenas araucanos en la segundad mitad del siglo XIX*. Santiago, 1930. [In Chile since 1920. Texts in Spanish and Araucanian constituting the detailed biography of Pascual Coña, ca. 1847-1927.]

ETHNOGRAPHY

Although a great amount of ethnographic material exists in print concerning the Araucanians, there is yet to be written a definitive ethnography. No trained anthropologist has ever lived for any length of time among these Indians. Consequently, most works containing ethnographic material are primarily histories, travelogues, annals of the various religious, texts compiled for linguistic purposes, and scattered brief observations on various elements of Araucanian culture. The most comprehensive treatment is to be found in the writings of R. E. Latcham, R. E. Housse, and T. Guevara. However, *Vida y Costumbres*, by Moesbach, gives—in the form of a detailed biography of Pascual Coña (1847-1927)—a very good picture of Araucanian life. 114

Greatest attention has been given to the collecting of folkloric material—myths, legends, tales, and songs, and items illustrating the religious concepts of the Araucanians. This undoubtedly grew out of the fact that priests have done the major share of primary collecting and recording. Among the leading contributors in this field (both primary and secondary) have been: F. J. de Augusta, G. Beck, J. Benigar, A. Cañas Pinochet, F. J. Cavada, H. J. Claude Joseph, S. Englert, E. Gerdts-Rupp, T. Guevara, M. Gusinde, R. E. Latcham, R. Lehmann-Nitsche, R. Lenz, M. Manquilef, E. W. Moesbach, A. Oyarzún, E. Rivadeneira, and G. & J. Soustelle. Chief producers of bi-lingual texts have been Augusta, Lenz, Manquilef, and Moesbach.

Music, dances, and games usually have received only incidental treatment. E. Pereira Salas (who is working on a history of music in Chile), C. Isamitt, J. Urrutia Blondel, and W. Giese are among the leaders in this field. K. G. Izikowitz, E. M. Hornbostel (†), C. Lavin, and F. C. Lange are library and museum workers who have contributed from foreign lands.

In the great field of economics there have been many papers but most of the contributions are rather scanty. Latcham is an honorable exception. Among those treating on ethno-biology and agriculture are R. E. Latcham, K. Reiche, E. W. Moesbach, A. Cañas Pinochet, R. A. Philippi, M. Gusinde, W. Knoche, A. Oyarzún, O. Reszczynski, and F. A. Fonck. The discussion of arts and crafts has centered upon textiles, ceramics, and metalwork. Latcham has made the most complete treatment of pottery. Writers on textiles include A. Oyarzún, R. E.

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114 Latcham, S. K. Lothrop (A. H. Verrill in 1924, and Lothrop in 1929 and 1930 collected textiles for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation), G. Looser, R. E. Claude Joseph ,and M. D. Millán. R. E. Claude Joseph and A. Fontecilla Larraín have written specifically on silverwork.

There follows a list of works, other than those already mentioned under history and language, which contain ethnographic material. The list is arranged chronologically for the period 1824-1891, and alphabetically by authors 1892-1940. It contains the more significant works and a selection of others to represent varied content and authorship. The more important works are marked with an asterisk.

1824-1891

113 Peter SCHMIDTMEYER: *Travels into Chile, over the Andes.* London, 1824.

William Bennet STEVENSON: *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America.* 3 vols., London, 1825. [1787-?]

John MIERS: *Travels in Chile and La Plata.* 2 vols., London, 1826. [1789-1879.]

Eduard Friedrich POEPPIG: *Reise in Chile, Peru, und auf dem Amazonenstrome während der Jahre 1827-1832.* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1835-36. [1798-1868; Botanist, in Chile 1827-29.]

Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'Homme Américain,* 2 vols., Paris, 1839. [This is Vol. 4, pt. 1, of the great French (1802-1857) naturalist's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale,* 9 vols., Paris, 1835-1847.]

Captain Allen Francis GARDINER, R.N.: *A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chile.* London, 1841. [1794-1851.]

*Ignacio DOMEYKO: *Araucanía i sus habitantes.* Santiago, 1845. [Lithuanian geologist, 1802-1889, who was one of the great rectors of the University of Chile.]

Fray Victorino PALAVICINO, O.F.M.: *Observaciones . . . sobre la Civilización de los Araucanos.* Concepción, 1854.

*Edmond Reuel SMITH: *The Araucanians or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chile.* New York, 1855. [Smith was a member of the United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to Chile, 1849-52. The work was translated by Latcham and published in Santiago, 1915.]

*Pedro RUIZ ALDEA: "Ojeada sobre la provincia de Araucc," *El Ferrocarril* for 1856, Santiago [One of the two leading Chilean newspapers of that date]. This was republished as *Los Araucanos y sus costumbres,* Los Angeles, 1868, Concepción 1893, and Santiago, 1902. 1830-1870.]

*Fray Victorino PALAVICINO. O.F.M.: *Memoria sobre la Araucanía por un misionero del colegio de Chillán.* Santiago, 1860.

Pablo TREUTLER: *La Provincia de Valdivia i los Araucanos.* Santiago, 1861. [Paul Treutler, 1822-1887.]

Guillermo Eloi COX: *Viaje en las rejiones septentrionales de la Patagonia, 1862-1863.* Santiago, 1863.

Carlos GARCÍA HUIDOBRO: *Viaje a las provincias meridionales de Chile i su descripción.* Santiago, 1863.

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ANONYMOUS: *The Araucanian Territory, its inhabitants, natural productions, etc.* Valparaíso, 1870. 113

ANUARIO ESTADÍSTICO, 1868-1869: *La Araucanía y los araucanos.* Santiago, 1870.

*Lucio Victoria MANSILLA: *Una excursión a los Indios Ranqueles.* 2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1870. [Argentinian colonel; 1831-1913. Most recent edition Buenos Aires, 1940.]

Carlos JULIET: "Informe del ayudante de la comisión exploradora de Chiloé y Llanquihue," *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile,* t. 1, pp. 265-338, 1875.

Carl Eduard MARTIN: "Ueber die Eingeborenen von Chiloé," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* IX, pp. 161-181, 317-330, 1877. [Dr. Martin, 1838-1907, was a physician in Llanquihue province for 30 years.]

Manuel SEÑORET: "Exploración del Río Bueno y Lago Ranco." *Anuario Hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile,* t. IV, pp. 25-63, 1878.

Orélie A. C. de TOUNENS: *La Araucanie.* Burdeos, 1878.

Pierre Henri Richard de LUCY-FOSSARIEU: *Ethnographie de l'Amérique Antarctique, Patagons, Araucaniens, Fuegiens.* Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie no. 4, Paris, 1884. [1859-?]

1892-1940

Fray Jerónimo de AMBERGA, O. M. Cap.: "Estado intelectual moral y económico del araucano," RCHG, t. VIII, pp. 5-37, 1913.

Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *¿Cómo se llaman los araucanos?* Valdivia, 1907.

Juan BENIGAR: "El concepto del tiempo entre los Araucanos," *Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana,* t. I, Buenos Aires, 1924. [Zagreb 1883; to Argentina 1908.]

———: "El concepto de la causalidad entre los Araucanos," *Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana,* t. IV, Buenos Aires, 1927.

Alejandro CAÑAS PINOCHET: "La religión de los pueblos primitivos; el culto de la piedra en Chile," ASSC, t. XII, pp. 177-250, 1902.

Frère Hippolyte Janvier CLAUDE JOSEPH: "La platería araucana." AUC, 1er trimestre 1928. [Friar and entomologist.]

———: "Los tejidos araucanos," *Revista Universitaria* de la Universidad Católica de Chile, año 13, pp. 978-1034, 1929.

———: "La vivienda araucana," AUC, 1931.

P. Sebastian ENGLERT: "Lengua y literatura araucanas," *Anales de la Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación,* Universidad de Chile, t. 1, num. 2/3, 1936.

———: "Un aspecto psicolójico de la raza araucana," *Anthropos,* vol. 33, 1938.

Pedro Lautaro FERRER: *Historia general de la medicina en Chile desde el descubrimiento y conquista de Chile en 1535 hasta nuestros días.* Talca, 1904. [1869-1937.]

C. A. FINSTERBUSCH: "Las dalcas de Chiloé y los Chilotes," RCHG, t. LXXV, pp. 412-433, 1934.

Francisco Adolfo FONCK: "Formas especiales de los utensilios caseros de los aborígenes," RCHG, t. II, pp. 181-188, 1912.

Manuel GAJARDO SANHUEZA: *Estudio sobre la civilización del indígena.* Santiago, 1901.

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113 *Frau Elisabeth GERDTS-RUPP: *Magische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Araukaner im Spiegel spanischer Quellen seit der Conquista.* Hamburg, 1937. [1888- ; a Ph.D. thesis Tubingen and publication no. 9. *Ibero-Amerikanische Studien* des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts.]

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía:* t. I. Antropolojía araucana. 1898.
t. IIIa. Costumbres judiciales i enseñanza de los araucanos. 1904.
t. IV. Psicolojía del pueblo araucano. 1908.
t. V. Folklore araucano. 1911.
t. VII. Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanos. 1913.
t. VIII. La mentalidad araucana. 1916.
t. IX. La etnolojía araucana en el poema de Ercilla. 1918.
t. X. Historia de la justicia araucana. 1922 [1926].
[Appeared sporadically in AUC and elsewhere, and in reprint form with varying dates.]

*P. Martín GUSINDE, S.V.D.: "Medicina e higiene de los antiguos araucanos," PMEAC, t. I, pp. 177-293, 1917. [1886- . Former professor at the Universidad de Chile, and curator of the Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile. Although main work was in Tierra del Fuego, he made a field trip in 1916 among the Araucanians.]

———: "Tiermythen der Araukaner Indianer," *Baessler Archiv*, vol. XIX, no. 1/2, 1936.

*———: "Plantas medicinales que los indios araucanos recomiendan," *Anthropos*, vol. 31, pp. 555-571, 850-873, 1936.

**Homenaje a la memoria del dr. Rodolfo Lenz*, in *Anales de la Facultad de filosofía y ciencias de la educación, Sección de filolojía*, Universidad de Chile, tomo 2, cuad. 1, 1938. [Contains P. S. Englert: "Del folklore araucano," Wilhelm Giese: "Moros y cristianos," E. Pereira Salas: "Danzas y cantos populares," etc.]

*Abbe Rafael Emile HOUSSE: *Une épopée indienne; les Araucans du Chile, histoire, guerres, croyances, coutumes du XIVe au XXe siecle.* Paris, 1939. [French missionary for 9 years among the Araucanians, and ornithologist. Translated as *Epopeya india* by P. Andrés Goy, Santiago, 1940.]

José IMBELLONI: "El Toki mágico," *Anales de la Sociedad científica de Santa Fe*, t. 3, pp. 128-156, 1931. [Italy, 1885- ; Argentine anthropologist.]

Carlos ISAMITT: "Cuatro instrumentos musicales araucanos," *Boletín Latino Americano de Musica* III, 1937. [Studied Araucanian music in Cautín, 1932, 1933.]

*Richard E. LATCHAM: "Ethnology of the Araucanians," JRAI, XXXIX, pp. 334-370, 1909.

*———: "La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos. Sus armas, y métodos militares," RCHG, t. XV, 1915.

*———: "La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos," PMEAC, t. III, pp. 245-868, 1924.

*R. E. LATCHAM & Aureliano OYARZÚN: *Album de tejidos y alfarería.* PMEAC, 1929.

Paul Adolf Robert LEHMANN-NITSCHE: "Mitología sudamericana. XIV. El viejo tatrapai de los Araucanos," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, t. XXXII, pp. 41-56, 307-316, 1930. [German folklorist, 1872-1939, for many years in Argentina.]

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*Rodolfo LENZ: "Araukanische Maerchen und Erzaehlungen mitgeteilt von Segundo Jara (Kalvun)," *Verhandlungen des Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Vereins zu Santiago de Chile*, t. III, pp. 169-238. 1896. 113

Rodolfo LENZ: "Tradiciones e ideas de los Araucanos acerca de los terremotos," AUC, t. CXXX, 1912.

Gualterio LOOSER: "Die Araukaner-Gewebe," *Andina, Zeitschrift für Naturfreunde und Wanderer*, t. V, pp. 10-17, Valparaiso, 1926. [Now president of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales de Chile.]

*Samuel Kirkland LOTHROP: "Notes on Indian Textiles of Central Chile," *Indian Notes*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 7:3:324-35, 1930. [1892- Collected Mapuche material 1929, 1930.]

*Carl Eduard MARTIN: *Landeskunde von Chile*. Hamburg, 1909.

María Delia MILLÁN: "Tejidos araucanos del Neuquén," *Actas del XXV Congreso de Americanistas, La Plata*, t. 1, pp. 215-222, 1932.

Franz William NEGER: "En la Patria de la Araucaria. Los Pinares y los Araucanos," ASSC, t. XX, pp. 37-108, 1910. [1868-1923.]

Dr. Aureliano OYARZÚN N.: *Culturas aborígenes de Chiloé*. Santiago, 1935. [Dr. Oyarzún, born Dalcahue 1860, physician and anthropologist, has been director of the Museo Histórico Nacional de Chile since 1939, and was the director of the former Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile.]

———: "Los aborígenes de Chile," *Festschrift ... an P. W. Schmidt*, Wein, 1928.

Karl Friederich REICHE: "La isla Mocha," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, cuad. 16, Etnología, Santiago, 1903. [1860-1929; plant geographer, botanist.]

*Carlos OLIVER SCHNEIDER: *Los indios de Chile*. Concepción, 1933. [Uruguay, 1899- ; geologist and archaeologist, director Museo de Concepción 1915- .]

A. POLAKOWSKY: "Die Heutigen Aurakaner," *Globus* no. 74, 1898.

*Eulojio ROBLES RODRÍGUEZ: "Costumbres i creencias araucanas," AUC, t. CXIX-CXXXI, 1906-1914. [A series treating chiefly on funeral ceremonies, *machis*, and dances.]

L. F. RUEZ: *Los indios araucanos de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1929.

*Georgette & Jacques SOUSTELLE: *Folklore chilien*. Paris, 1933. [French ethnologists and philologists; Georgette, Tunis 1909-; Jacques, France 1912-.]

*Agustín TORREALBA Z: *Tierras del Estado y radicación de indígenas*. Santiago, 1908. [Enlarged edition 1917, 3 vols.]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

History, linguistics, and ethnography have been given far more attention than physical anthropology and archaeology. Various naturalists and ship's surgeons during the past 200 years have contributed scattered measurements and observations, and a few small series of Araucanian skeletal material are present in Chile, Argentina, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States. However, no museum has an adequate collection, and not even one anthropometric index, ratio, or simple measurement has 141 141

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been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain cranial measurements and indices provide the bulk of content in the literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1902). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most auspicious recent development is the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Hershel and Dr. Alexander Lipschitz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (*Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile*, and *Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena*) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodtyping. G. Rahm in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Pueglenes. Some of the earlier works include:

Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'homme américain*. 2 vols., Paris, 1839.

Léonce Pierre MANOUVRIER: "Sur les Araucans du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Paris, Ser. 3, VI, 727-32, 1883. [France 1880-1927 Paris.]

Herman F. C. Ten KATE: "Contribution à la crânologie des Araucans Argentins," *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, IV, pp. 211-229, 1893. [Dutch physical anthropologist; lived for a time in Argentina; 1853-1931.]

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on Chilean Anthropology," JRAI, XXXIII, pp. 167-178, 1903.

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of the Araucanos," JRAI, XXXIV, pp. 170-180, 1904. [Latcham lived for three years in Mallaco and Castile.]

Ricardo E. LATCHAM: "Antropología chilena," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, XVI, pp. 241-318, 1909.

Nello FUCCIONI: "Crani araucani e patagoni," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, XLII, 1912. [Italy, 1861-1897.]

Luis de HOYOS SAINZ: "Cráneos fueguinos et araucanos de museo anthropológico de Madrid," JSAP, n. s., X, pp. 183-194, 1913. [Spain, 1863-]

ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeology of Araucania, as such, has not been done. There are no imposing ruins in central Chile and no scientific excavation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently dubious channels of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chincha, Inca and other influences, are still most nebulous—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

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satisfaction. From the Río Maule to Chiloé Island the chief archaeologic items are pictographs and petroglyphs, stone projectile points and bolas and other weapons, stone rings (weights for digging sticks, or mace heads), mealing stones, polishing stones, hammerstones, celts, adzes, hoes, gravers, burers, "boring" holes, spindle whorls, stone and pottery pipes, toqués, and pottery. The chief archaeologic sites are boulder patches, caves, coastal kitchen middens, small habitation, refuse and burial mounds (cacerías is term used for some), potsherd areas, and ruin sites. The area between the Maule and Río-Río rivers is much richer than the wetter forested country to the south.

The men at present most active in the archaeology of Araucanía are Mr. Dillman S. Bullock, of El Vergel, Angol (Bullock lived some 10 years farther south in Araucanía, ca. 1907-1917, before coming to Angol in 1923), and Dr. Carlos Oliver Schneider, of the Universidad de Concepción. Latcham, Oyarzún, Looser, and others have worked in the area from time to time. Mr. Bullock (Methodist missionary, agricultural expert, and ornithologist, as well as archaeologist) has a small but excellent museum at El Vergel. Other museums containing material from Araucanía are in Temuco, Concepción, Santiago, and Valparaíso. The Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation in New York has the best collection of Araucanian material in the United States.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Any corrections of errors of commission and omission will be greatly appreciated. It was impossible to compare many titles with the originals, and errors in pagination, volume, date of actual publication, capitalization, punctuation, and accentuation must occur. A common practice in Chile is the reprinting of separates from serials and periodicals with a different date, different pagination, often without mentioning the medium of original publication, and sometimes with a different title. In the case of many writers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, dates of birth and death are given variously by different authorities. The author has attempted to give these dates for all individuals concerning whom information was readily available. In the case of many individuals born in the middle third of the 19th century, it has not been possible to determine if they are still alive. [Date-?] means probably or definitely dead, but date not known. [Date-] means probably or definitely alive as of 1941. The names of the writers of non-Spanish origin often appear both in original form and in hispanized form. An attempt has been made to give (with the first citation) the complete baptismal form, wherever known, even though the name does not so appear on the work in question. Chileans are even more prone than most Latin Americans to use the complete form including surnames of both father and mother. [*Cf.* Luis Thayer Ojeda (1877-): "Orígen de los Apellidos en Chile." *Proceedings Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 61-112, 1917.]

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[illegible] OF THE ARAUCANIAN

By S. K. Lothrop,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[Price Francs [illegible], [illegible]]

[illegible] The Araucanians, on the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, have one of the most indomitable name of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, Indians invincible in both Americas, that within their territorial scheme could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the more striking traits of their daily life.

[illegible] Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanians, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two more notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización de los Araucanos*, by Tomás Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautín valley, and also in the neighborhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the Indians seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

[illegible] Although the Araucanian is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the manufacture of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race, the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[illegible] The Incan first brought the Araucanian into touch with civilization. From this regards first the knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of much arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, wandering only from instead of the wood into an [illegible] state.

[1] Journ. Anthrop. Inst., xxxiv (1904), pp. [illegible]

As Steinbüch has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race as soon as the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and as first only to a very limited way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continual union to repel the invader.

The introduction of equivalent legume did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were larger bands of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by drifting along "Government" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic create that it is a common saying to the south that the Gaucho did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—subdued the fierce Araucanos. This view has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, warring, vengeful pastoral, he has become a drunken, cringing, mellow vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in the exciting drains for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the frontier invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life on horses, shifting their tribes from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed crosswise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs recently sewn together, or by generous skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a queue, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favorite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude shovelers skirts of the rather skins, using spinous needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fine cloth, employing rushes, flower grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. The use evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Chilenyes, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes south of the 32nd degree. These

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283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macunyi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macunyi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trariloncu*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llanos*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

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of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

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342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[234] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *nyocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[235] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very
286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

raised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out. 286 386

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying. 281 281 413

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already. 281

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating. 323

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,
415 and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs
[531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huayen*) and rye (*magu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

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From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

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252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *moté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *alga*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 512 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 [565] There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

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intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

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241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give it greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are thrashed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and thrashing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

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accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [177]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly 776

Affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

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000 776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenenapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenenapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this 774 776 821

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belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously 776
towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of 774
contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these 821
tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the 776
power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work 821
evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their [753]
sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Auchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguruvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of 776
a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that [823]
happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huaillepenyi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: 776
Chonchonyi, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who 753
hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

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776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuchenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

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but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nyurueilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aborígenes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *damatun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

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787 Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilisation, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

788 *Superstitions.*—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all lower races, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog howled by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (*pilli*) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit (*Aumen*) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their dice from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white *tordo* (blackbird).

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Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their demonology included three class of thoughts; the *kacumpe* or sorcerer, the *dungum* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes.

The *kacumpes* were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observances took place were performed by them. They were women's dress and their hair long and unbraided; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *kacumpe* (hence their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dungum* and *machi*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this cave a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

After the *kacumpes* come the diviners or *dungums*, who are sometimes the medium or opposition of the former, though not generally so.

The *dungums* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic importance, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or wished object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machi* or sorcerer. Witchcraft is used by *kacumpes*, *dungums* and *machis* alike. The *dungums* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist.

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756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher profession, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had recourse to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *pungu* or lancet ; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *trapuiue*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutre*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *ilue*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trowe*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *pulahue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *rahuilrowe*, or drum, inside of which are carved small white stones, fines, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *ilamungi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *pututuna*, or shell reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous then to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

756 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign
753

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the sorcerer goes provided with a 755
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the sorcerer saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and now proceeds to recover his poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a foreigner, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the sorcerer in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the sorcerer had a grudge, or due to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these ceremonies:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 754
victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands 753
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was
lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast, and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Garcilaso adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of interstitial warfare.

The sorcerer lives in hard and fast cloud for these ceremonies, but each one 754
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the bunch of canes planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Polygamy was common among the sorcerer and still is to a certain extent, though not as much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *Machi*. They do not wear the chiroal, but a skin apron, called *pamu*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians. [D 9]

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the conditions or which heading.

Morals.—Since being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 63

First, the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly, the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father. 630-[64]

[illegible] When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the women in this case becoming the property of the injured. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, receiving so much [illegible]

[illegible] Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

[illegible] Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator must himself fulfill to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women resorting to it as a profession, and going from village to village to provide of new lovers.

[illegible] Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

[illegible] Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor theft are considered as crimes, while adultery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No dueling is permitted, however, in the clan fault, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

[illegible] Armed raids (malones) were constantly made on the neighboring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

[illegible] Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and being their basis the most unfortunate known generally. They then give themselves up to a second generosity that supports no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any ordinary that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

[illegible] In this fact may possibly be due the custom of exchanging parentage and dowers from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among male tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity obtained the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

[illegible] A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as uncivil and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same tribe or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

[illegible] The chief virtues among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, hatred of pain and hardship, resistance to vengeance, and individual strength.

[illegible] Laws.—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The north region, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a descriptive name. Lengua-mapu was the sea-land or coast region, Pilun-mapu or level land was the central valley, Ancu-pilun-mapu

[illegible] the upper length.

[illegible] of [illegible] Iroquois, instead of [illegible] in which many have written have continued. As a member [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(§ 3) In the case of death by accident, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

(§ 4) Murder, cutting, robbery, witchery, or any other crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the [illegible] was not [illegible] to death, and immediately an amount being given, was let out and dispatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relatives offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a melee or sudden attack, and was the source of continual bloodshed warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one enforced, although the laws concerning spirit of the Assiniboine led him to forego personal vengeance for the avenging gods. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defense, ended with murder, was that of ten blankets, strings of green and black beads, generally offerings of copper. This payment was called *Sonnetes*. Outlaws and kidnappers were also punished with death.

(§ 5) Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compensated by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

(§ 6) Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honor of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by fine or will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

(§ 7) Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, homicidal abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

(§ 8) Immorality and lubricity, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to fornication and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their hours the utmost freedom prevailed, absolutely no heeds of relationship being recognized in their freedom amours, even blood being of the most frequent occurrence.

(§ 9) At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is constantly under the charge of the Indian judicial authorities, but only in minor cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to resort to these tribunals in all civil cases.

(§ 10) Relationship—Among the Assiniboine, relationship was recognized to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them,
(§ 11) combined to the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

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[62]

number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised :—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*

Father's father, *lacu.*

Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.

Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.

Father's mother, *cucu.*

Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*

Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*

Mother, *niuks* or *papai* (*pa-pie*).

Mother's father, *chedchi.*

Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*

Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*

Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.

Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*

Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*

Son, *voiem.*

Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.

Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*

Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*

Daughter, *niahue.*

Daughter's son, *chedchi.*

Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*

Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla*, etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *peuyi.*

Brother's son, *malyi.*

Brother's grandson, *lacu.*

Brother's daughter, *malyi niahue.*

Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*

Sister, *lanqen.*

Sister's son, *choquem.*

Sister's grandson, *chale choquem.*

Sister's daughter, *malen choquem.*

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601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huacu.*
Mother's sister, *ninkentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyion.*
" sister, *nyudu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi nutem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi minhue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinpem.*
Mistress, *unpum.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

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provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it 595
was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuchs*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only [582] restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What 583
seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*leventun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give 844
birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born 846
the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

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846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelvilu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Marilluan*, ten huanacos; *Lonculuan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Colavilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

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The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruse* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *kaweswpu*, or sorcerers, the *dungumu*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 747 266

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266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[788] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rukas*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

703 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

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incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitrukue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruloncon* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes. 727

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727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*),
754 which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

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and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarehue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *cosyu*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*curcunapupu*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunenapun alkine chem malepi huye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Pesalelmen chi huye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *cuita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*ahue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, sausages, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avaran*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were
754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its
787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart,
764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The
764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamlapi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and
578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *cojrea* and *cojrauquatro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first women who passed near them and staggered off into the

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622 darkness, dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The oldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilamanqui, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. [illegible], 1909, Plate [illegible].

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Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXIV.

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[For role of the machi (shaman) in divining witchcraft, see category 116, pp. 365-368.]

9 Geogr. B.-4 (see data) 1968 SOA Announcements SOA

THE ANDEAN REGION

By Juan M. Cuevas

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

[1] Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the Araucanians, extends from lat. 30° to 42° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 42°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal divisions of the Chilean Araucanians: the Pikunche, and the Mapuche-Huilliche (map 1, No. 7, map 3). To the east rises the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average [2] altitude of about 10,000 to 10,500 feet (3,000 to 3,200 m.) through much of its length, and toward the west the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 1,500 feet (3,000 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and [3] the low-altitude one east of Villarrica. Rainfall is seasonal in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the Pikunche country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the northern limits of the desert proper at Copiapóto to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with cactus and laurels typical.

[4] In southern Middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The forest [5] temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly on the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Fitzroya chiliana* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

[5] [illegible]

[illegible] native chilenos). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and ñandú (*Drinys winteri*).

The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intermontane valleys of the Andes, partly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intermontane valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°30' to 40°30' S.

The open country of the Argentine Araucanians is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. I, p. 137).

AKAUTCHALAF TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, Araucanian-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaitecanes Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-Araucanian Chono (Cooper, 1917, pp. 39-44). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the area between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly Araucanian.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intermontane valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* pifiones, and who were called "*Pehuenche*" (Olivares, 1903, p. 12) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then Araucanian-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly toponymic, in support of his view that they were not then Araucanian-speaking, but that they became Araucanized in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929-30, 69: 169-72). They were first explicitly recorded as Araucanian-speaking by Feuze in 1739 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 300; 1979 I, pp. 400-02). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Tratado criminal de 1557" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the pifiones-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pehuenche*"). The pifiones-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Tratado criminal de 1557" were probably non-Araucanian speaking (1929, pp. 47, 138, 149-50, 153, 156; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46-47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1629 or 1630 through the upper cordillera "*Pehuenche*" country south of lat. 37° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pehuenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-Araucanian tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431–38). 197 101

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143). 174

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the emigrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions. 174

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131 At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bío-Bío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bío-Bío River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Province of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

101 The tribal appellative "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "La Araucana" of 1569–89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, raq, rau, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanians* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auca* (syn.: *Auka*, *Ouca*, *Aucano*, *Aucanian*), "rebel," from *Quechua* auka, "enemy, rebel," and *Promauca* (syn.: *Prouaoca*, *Promanca*, *Promoca*, *Poromoca*, *Poromaca*, *Poromoaca*, *Paramoca*, *Pomoroaca*), "wild enemy," from *Quechua* purun, purum, "uncultivated field, wild," + auka, were names given by the *Inca* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipó River to the Bío-Bío River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Auca* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

101 Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical,
131 linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:
- *Picunche.*
- *Mapuche.*
- *Huilliche* (and *Cuncu*).

Andean Highlands:
- *Puluenche.*

East of the Andes:
- Argentine *Araucanians.*

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In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanians* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing. 101 131

The *Picunche* (syn.: *Picones*), "North People," from *Araucanian* picu, pikun, pikum, "north," + che, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the Picu mapu, "north country," the territory of the *Picunche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bío-Bío to as far south as the Toltén (Havestadt, 1883, 2:680–81), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanian*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucumán and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Picunche* in the middle and late 18th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Collipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:583).

Latcham (1928 a, p. 128) subdivides the *Picunche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipó River, (b) the Maipó to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promaucaes*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapunche*: Felix Jose, 1910, p. 24; 1916, 1:131), "*People of the Land*," from *Araucanian* mapu, "*land*," + che, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huiliche*, *Guiliche*, *Güilliche*, *Gueplliche*, *Veliche*, *Beliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* Willi, "south," + che, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Toltén, the Quepe, or the Calle Calle Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli mapu* has been located at various points between the Itata and the Toltén River. (Cf. supra under "*Picunche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Osnos* and Chilotan *Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Geiseta's of 1557–58, the canoe-using Indians (*Chono*)

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101 between Corcovado Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "*Huillis*," while Falkner used *Picki* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the *Araucanians* from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–32). (On use of "*Huilliche*" for Argentine *Araucanians*, cf. infra.)
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The *Cunco* (syn.: *Junco;* in forms such as *Guinchi*, *Cunches*, and *Cunchi* (pl.) and *Kuncho*, as used by Molina, who followed Italian orthography, or as derived from him, *ch* = *k;* etymology uncertain) occupied the western third of half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 205), the Departments of Carelmapu and Osorno.

The *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "*Chono*" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotan Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929–30, 64:21 , to denote groups, previously called *Puelche*, of the Cordillera. The term *Moluche* (syn.: *Mulache*, *Ngulache*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* gull, gulhue, "west," + che (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1904–10, 2:509) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Perú" (or Coquimbo) south and including the non-*Araucanian Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* to the Strait of Magellan. *Moluche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Auca*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Pehuenche* (*Pepiñenche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* pehuén, pegüen, pewen, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the Araucaria, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 20′ to 40° 20′ S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the Araucaria range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Pehuenche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of the Cordillera between 24° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 262–65) and others. (Cf. infra under Culture of the *Pehuenche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Ercilla (1910, p. xix) and Olaverría (1852, p. 15) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puelche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Pehuenche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

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Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-*Araucanian* "Serrano" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "*Puelche*"). Since the middle of the 18th century, the name *Pehuenche* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine *Araucanians* with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 97; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 36; Cox, 1863, pp. 164–165; Toumens, 1863, p. 2.)

Many of these *Araucanian*-speaking "*Pehuenche*" of the Argentine Pampa may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 15th- to 17th-century piñon-eating *Pehuenche* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine *Araucanians* or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Moluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30); *Villumoluche* (Sánchez Labrador, ibid.); *Picunche* (Falkner, ibid.; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Huilliche*, *Pichi Huilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p.99: *Araucanian*, pichi—"small"); *Pehuenche*, *Poptonche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836; Cox, 1863, p. 164); *Picun-pehuenche* and *Huilli-pehuenche* (Cox, ibid.); *Manzanenos*, *Hombres del Manzanar* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Milanesio, 1898, p. 38: Span., manzano—"apple tree"); *Sanquelche* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30), *Ranquelche*, *Ranquelos* (Manzilla, 1877), *Ranquelinos* (D'Orbigny, 1839–47, 2:237: "*People of the Reeds*," *from Araucanian*, ranqi, ranqül (r—s, dialectic shift)—"*reed*" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Panpalum* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelche* (*Araucanian*, pwel, "east," + che) —*Serrano* (Camaño, 1783, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114–115); *Mapuche* (Moreno, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbará, 1930); *Patagon* (Molina, 1878 b, p. 493; 1901, p. 266); *Araucanos dos Pampas* (D'Orbigny, 1839–47, 2:225). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "*Puelche*" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 60) considered the following to have been *Araucanian*-speaking: *Tehelet*, *Leuvuche*; the following in part *Araucanian*-speaking: *Diuilet*, *Chilliehet*, *Chadilenkétuen*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine *Araucanians* called *Moluche* (*Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, and *Huilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96–98), and *Moluche*, *Picunche*, *Poptonche*, *Villumoluche* and *Sanquelche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 30–31) appears to have been massed around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

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south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 43° S., a little south of Lake Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Pegüenche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 262) had done earlier, and the *Guilliche* south of them. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* were around Antuco (1835-36, 1381). Mansilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,6; 2:275) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chilean and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Pegüenche* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 18th-century *Pehuenche* of Pietas, or of the middle 17th-century *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the "Proceso criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Mansilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Sanquelche*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Picunche* located by Falkner from about lat. 30° to 35° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Picunche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 18th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the White on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Bío-Bío and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Bío-Bío Rivers was at a very

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early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization. 161 [165]

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians*." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Colliú Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 83). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Manzilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing. 165 164

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r*=*s*=*d*, *n*=*ñ*, *t*=*tr*=*ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty 197

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197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 648 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1555, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1882, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

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tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestiso offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestiso, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* *from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the* Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1846, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncaví, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestiso population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

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175 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of
648 the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Puelches*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Puelches*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 122.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the *Araucanian* diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Furlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Rosas and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cuncos*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Pincuche*

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and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilean culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Pivenche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Pivenche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures. 114

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically. 113

Sixteenth century: Guinazu (1552), [1556], 1558; Rosales (1910), [1569–69], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1552), [1573], 1576–7; Marifo de Lovera (1960), [ca. 1594], 1591–94; Olaverría (1593), [1594], Otte (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1607), [1606], 1608–1622; Gonzáles de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1620–7; Rosales (1862), [1673], 1929; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1942; Barbarena (1647); Mascardi (1662); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1659–62.

Eighteenth century: Febres (1765); Pietas (Chair) [1798], 1799; Olivares (1908), [1736–47], [1878], [1795], ca. 1760–67; Poleo (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1862), [1777], 1746–47; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1787; Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1787; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875), [1796], ca. 1795–62.

Nineteenth century to 1900: Domeyko (1845), 1846; Smith (1855), 1853; Rodi Aldea (1902), [1896], ca. 1850; Medina (1882).

1900 to present: Lenz (1905–07, 1908, 1909–10), ca. 1890–1928; Guevara Silva (1908, 1924, 1926, 1911, 1912, 1920), ca. 1890–1920; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 c, 1922 b, 1922 a, 1924 b, 1928–29, 1928 d, 1929–30, 1929–30); Robles Rodríguez (1912), [1909–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusto (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1890– ; Dubois (1911), ca. 1907– ; Mansilla (1911, 1916), 1907– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1925, 1926); Lenz (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1932–34), ca. 1920– ; Montrath (1930), [1928], 1929– ; Latcham (1928, 1932), 1929–30; McCluhany (1932); Hanson (1930), ca. 1930– ; Rosal (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Milanesio (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 61; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 100; Domeyko, 1846, p. 38; Hanson, 1930, p. 186.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of game. Fish and other 262

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262 sea food formed a considerable element in the diet in the Coastal area. Most of the food supply was derived from cultivated plants. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, all the *Araucanians* (except perhaps the *Pehuenche*: cf. infra) from the Choapa to Chiloé inclusive were sedentary farmers. That *Araucanian* agriculture as such antedated the *Inca* invasion of the second half of the 15th century is reasonably certain, since south of the Maule River *Inca* influence could hardly have given rise in so short a time to such a high development of agriculture as the first Spaniards found as far south as Chiloé.

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Agriculture.—The following food plants were being cultivated by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards: (1) Maize, wa, *Zea mays;* 8 or 9 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 375); cultivated on Chiloé as well as mainland. (2) White potato, poñú, puñe, *Solanum tuberosum;* over 30 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 377; *cf.* Bukasov, 1933, p. 162, many varieties, especially on Chiloé); more than a hundred native names of "varieties" grown on Chiloé (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:559–61). (3) Kidney bean, deqtll, degtll, *Phaseolus vulgaris;* 13 or 14 kinds, according to Molina (ibid., p. 376). (4) Squash, peqka, wada, *Cucurbita maxima* (and *C. pepo?*) (5) Madi, *Madia sativa;* a seed-crop; an oil derived from seeds. (6) Chili pepper, trapi, thapi, *Capsicum annuum;* many varieties cultivated. (7) Quinoa, dewe, *Chenopodium quinoa;* a seed-crop; leaves also eaten (Molina, 1878 b, p. 376). (8) Oca, *Oxalis* sp.; root-crop cultivated earlier in Chiloé and Llanquihue; two varieties cultivated, according to Latcham (1915 b, pp. 149, 154). (9) Magu, mago, mango, *Bromus mango;* a seed-crop resembling our rye; bread made from grain. (10) Teca, tuca, thuca, not identified botanically; superficially resembling our barley; bread made of grain. (11) Peanut, maní (from *Arawak;* no native *Araucanian* name), *Arachis hypogea;* thought by Lenz (1904–10, 2:478) to have been introduced by the *Inca;* by Latcham (1936, p. 192), in post-Contact times. (12) Strawberry, kellet, llawet, *Fragaria chiloensis;* both cultivated and wild used. (13) Huequen, huegoen, not identified botanically; a seed-crop, superficially resembling our barley.

Of the foregoing, maize was the most important food staple among the *Mapuche*, but among the mainland *Huilliche* potatoes were apparently of near equal importance with maize, and among the Chiloteans of much greater importance. This relative importance seems to have persisted down to the present. Potatoes were recently the chief food of the poorer Indians in the Río Imperial area (Cotta, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 96).

Teca, huequen, and oca are no longer cultivated; the cultivation of teca had been abandoned as early as Molina's time in the middle 18th century. The last specimen of magu was collected in 1827 in south Chiloé. Quinoa was reported under cultivation in Chiloé as

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late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of manioc or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Pirenche* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 22–23) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 21–22; Latcham, 1926, pp. 292–93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Guicurta, 1852, p. 93), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Río Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 139), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 135). Manuring was apparently not practiced. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an axe- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Rascofan, 1863, p. 182); a pole (used in pairs in Chiloé) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 241

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or minga system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or parcialidad, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibbles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Moesbach, 1938, pp. 138–43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the sheaves in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent times threshing with use of horses came in. 243 47%

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222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the uncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñones, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta frontal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñones in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Catín, lists nearly 80 (Mösbach, 1936, pp. 30-31, 37-108). These included: Roots, and tubers—Sisto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), lawt (*Bipinchinum* sp.), huangul (*Dioscorea* sp.), gudu (*Geranium biplatu*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, utyu (*Aleophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—uqyrile (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luma*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. empetrifolia*, and others), boldo (*Boldea fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), pecmo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), lupin (*Lagenaria vasa*), kowill (*Lardizabala biternata*), dolu (*Maytenus-pseudomacrocarpa chilensis*), mulel (*Blepharodon*), utyu (*Gevuin spinosus*), mulium (*Hagenia rubra*), apples (feral; post-Columbian, of course), and others; "tamboots" (*Gaultheria antifuca*); seeds—Sangu (*Podocarpus andina*), and lawn, lauko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); salts, particles of paulo (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and grasses—gwaiula (*Gralaia peruviana*), pinen (*Mirasbo latus*) (in Mösbach, 1936, p. 108, leaves eaten as European wet salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—Durillaea utile (giant kelp), Ulva lactuca (sea-lettuce), U. latissima. Catín (in Mösbach, 1936, p. 30) lists as security foods recorded to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to salts and algae above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Tuyu (*Brassica campestris*), parba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), parba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. aquatica*), cardo, trubiro (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance; there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famine proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from new statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 106) and Catín (in Mösbach, 1936, p. 30), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Fire-hunt game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

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Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, 2.24
not easily pursued.

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama*
guanicoe), the huemul or guemul (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the puda
(*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou
(*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bustards (*Tachyeres sedentarius*), parrots,
doves, finches, geese, swans, and others.

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal
took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also
used in hunting partridges (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1866, pp. 33, 34).
The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow
(cf. bolas under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the
17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon.
Its use is first recorded in Ranchos; the bolas was apparently absent
earlier (McCafferty, 1933, pp. 45-46).

Snares (*lazada*, *wada*) of several kinds were employed for trapping
birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature.
Cobo describes a multiple immobile or bolas snare (*Europaeo?*): slip
nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which
was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Monbeck,
1938, pp. 39-37). Clap-snares, spring-pole and trailing-pole snares,
pole and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not
mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and
were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the 2.21
Mapuche-Huilliche were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was
common in Chile (Cobo, 1890, 13-6); (Brown, 1900, p. 31; Molina,
1959 b, pp. 470-71; Lozo, 1959-61, 1 [illegible]), but whether among the
Mapuche-Huilliche in particular is not clear. Neither hens nor ch-
ickens were kept. Tamed guanaco were common to the south of the
area.

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long
hair, the *kilter*; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter
hair, the *thagua* (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 49-50). The dog was used in
hunting.

The llama (*chillemapu*, *chilemapu*, *Lama glama*) was imported from
the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the *huerta* region
where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 5 head and the cacique
15 to 20 (Gulcrown, 1935, p. 93). With the introduction of mules
and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still
kept toward the end of the 19th century among the Huilliche (Jarnicki,
1848, p. 222), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly
for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a ceremonial
function in the kula-pitra, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its

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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic Mapuche-Huilliche culture (McCafferty, 1935, p. 44).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1879 b, p. 497) for the second third of the 18th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland Mapuche-Huilliche living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), pargos (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: lion mussels (*Brachydontes* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paratanus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., *Unionida*, and others). Ambiliaus or sea-urchins (*Pucrus*) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of sinews (*Bradypus episcopalis*), and, later, of hemp; punches and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 180); tykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of brushes, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 98). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Pelech, 1932, s. v. *chedio*; Hosmer, 1930, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was baked in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot ashes, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical mullet (Ovalle, 1888, 10: 108; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *ulur*, and parched, or *mitilu*. From the first was made a bread, *bilillo*, in the form of flat cakes, or *tortillas*, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of thrown dumpling was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1908, p. 362 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of hempseed, tuna, mango, and bacon. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 700.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sun-dried or smoked to make *charki*, or jerked meat.

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Honey, oil, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plants salted were substituted. The oil made from seed seals was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Levillier, 1926, p. 261).

A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or hodge were the most common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and greens, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was quill, parboiled lungs of an animal or slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

Eating.—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) beer drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 302), but not all. (Cf. Marappa, 1948, p. 291.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used as meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the Bilgnada-Dulldula ate sitting on the ground.

The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:102, 103).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Settlements.—The Bilgnada-Dulldula lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:100-01) or of poisoning (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1608, p. 48) (and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest one. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marappa, 1948, p. 291) and had its own cacique. Some of the larger settlements or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade (Rodlo, cuaderno 1, 1916, p. 6; Martín de Loyola, 1903, p. 120; Tidalabo, 1904, p. 21).

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Dwellings.—Very often huts (tuba, tukul) (pl. 100, below) were located in unknown; thus locally or culturally various could be spied some distance off, and an eye could be kept on the Dinkas. More commonly, dwellings were substantially built of timber or cane basketwork, oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and with thatch roof reaching nearly or quite to the ground level (fig. 70). Dimensions varied, from 19 to 30 feet (5 to 9 m.) long by 16 to 19 feet (5 to 6 m.) wide, to 60 feet (20 m.) long by 40 feet (12 m.) wide, occasionally even larger. A sultan's dwelling observed by Smith (1933, p. 300) was estimated by him as about 140 feet (42 m.) long by 60 feet (9 m.) wide, with the ridge pole about 18 feet (5.5 m.) above ground. Marche de Lumeye's figures (1900, p. 136), 400 to 600 feet (120 to 200 m.) square, for dwellings in Gaston, appear too high, even though he explicitly states that he measured them around them.

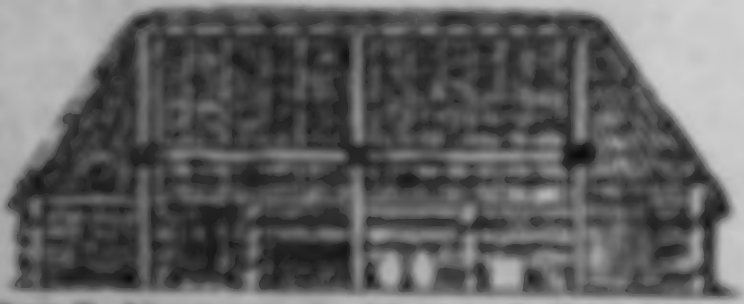

Figure 70.—Schematic cross section of the interior of a Bongandu dwelling, or atha. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 3.)

Around Imperial, Pedro de Valdivia (1901, p. 10; to Gay, 1846-47, 1:142) in 1901 found well-built dwellings of large planks, many of these plank houses being very big, with from 3 to 4 and 5 entrances. Plank houses, with grass roofs, were also in use in the late 19th century among the Fuegians of the Chilenos archipelago (Gusinde de Agüero, 1931, pp. 111-12). Very large shelters, with from 4 to 5 entrances, were also reported in 1920 in the Cornudos Gulf region, by Gusinde (1935, p. 40). In a single house there sometimes lived, according to Sem (1931, 50 ed), as many as 30 or 40 persons, though 20 to 25 was the more common number.

Most huts, however, as used in Magnolia territory, had only one or two entrances. There and windows were lacking. An opening or openings in the center of the roof served as smoke hole.

A small conical thatched hut was also used. In addition, women on the march would put up a temporary shelter against rain and hot sun by setting long sticks and covering them with two large leaves of grader (Dracaena arabica).

[illegible] The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or chambers opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by bins and cross-partitioned bins.

[illegible] Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the adopted plan, with no eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Bancroft, 1875-76, i, 1140; Lumholtz, 1902, p. 327; Charnay Ciudad, 1887, pp. 140-41; Mengarini, 1852, pp. 39-40; Morelands, 1906, pp. 175, 179-76.)

[illegible] Home furnishings.—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or pandas as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Skin and basketry receptacles served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding drinks. (For details on home furnishings, see especially Charnay Ancapie, 1887, pp. 39-40, 329-41.)

[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] Garments.—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the Mapuche-Huilliche men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the mahuil (poncho); of the women, the lepapa and the chill (Huilliche). Chamall, mahuil, and lepapa are apparently words of Araucanian origin; chiripa and chill, of Quechua.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, were drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of bloomer, with breechclout-wrinkle; his mahuil, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's lepapa was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall design, placed over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her chill, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the Mapuche-Huilliche are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and it is also seen on the same Araucanian or Spanish word to denote different garments.

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We can, nevertheless, trace back the chirpa among the Arawakian *Arawakiana* and *Magnoliophyllidae* to the first half of the 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, v.100; Smith, 1838, p. 194), the lupuna and shell to the second half of the 19th (Molina, 1782, p. 141), the maloch, the pandoc pepper, to the mid-17th. (Monardes, 1565, pp. 189-90, woodcut, p. 194; cf. Oviedo, 1526, 13:10); Benzoni, 1857,

Figure 72.—Chulupi tacana. Illustration of a pandoc (*Arawakiana*). (After Monardes, 1565, p. 194.)

p. 90.) The lupuna resembles in many respects the woman's garment described and figured by Monardes (ibid.). It is in Monardes (ibid.), too, that we get our earliest unmistakable record, not only in Chile but in South America, of the true pandoc (fig. 72). Macnab (1909; 1910, pp. 199-204) has presented strong evidence for his theory that the true pandoc or dinkard from the widely distributed *Arawakiana* *Magnoliophyllidae* formation, and has suggested that

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291 it was probably a modification of the sleeveless shirt to permit greater freedom of action on horseback.

As described by Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 230), the early *Huilliche* men of the Ancud region wore breeches, shirt, and cape, all of [llama] wool. The shirt, like the *Mapuche* type described by Góngora Marmolejo (1862, p. 2) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 39) as "without sleeves," was presumably the typical Andean rectangular sleeveless shirt. González de Nájera's description (ibid.) of the short breeches as a "paño revuelto" serving as a "pañete" and reaching to the midthigh is somewhat suggestive of the later chiripa. According to Marcgrav (loc. cit), the breeches reached to the knee. According to Brouwer (1892, p. 60), the early Chilotans wore breeches that flared at the bottom like a sailor's, and a mantle, but no shirt or coat.

Mapuche-Huilliche garments were mostly of woven llama wool. The pûnu, a small apronlike, leather pubic covering, was used by hockey-players and transvestites (Bascuñan, 1863, pp. 61, 107).

The *Huilliche* of the Ancud region were wearing pointed woolen caps or hoods when first encountered by the Spaniards (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 230; Ercilla, canto 36, 1910, p. 579). Elsewhere, however, as a general rule, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* went without hats. Both men and women used a woven woolen fillet (tari longo, trarûloqko) to bind the hair, caciques often using a silver band in place of it. Warriors frequently wore animal or bird heads or skins on the head. The cotton, silk, or woolen square worn like a turban, and the woman's beaded headgear, are not reported earlier than the 19th century.

The earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* ordinarily went barefoot. In the mid-17th century, low footgear ("caligae") were being used by men on festival occasions (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283). By the second half of the 18th century, natives of rank were using woolen boots and leather sandals (Molina, 1901, p. 148), which later became more common. The zumel (shumel), or "bota de potro," made of the hide from the leg of horse or cattle, softened and allowed to dry on the foot, was introduced, apparently from the Argentine Pampa, in the first half of the 19th century (de la Cruz, 1836, p. 33; Smith, 1855, pp. 323–324). It was used as a riding boot, the point of the boot being left open to allow the rider to grip the stirrup with his big toe. The tamango, pieces of sheepskin or cowhide with the hair side in, lashed on the feet and legs for crossing the Andean passes in the snow, was used, apparently by Indians, at least at the Uspallata Pass in *Pirunche* country (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:704, 899; on the earlier *Pehuenche* snowshoes, see infra, section on "*Pehuenche*," p. 760).

302 **Hair.**—References in the early sources to coiffure are scattered and vague. Brouwer (1892, p. 60) found the mainland *Huilliche* men with their hair cut short around the ears. (See also Góngora Marmolejo, 1862, p. 2, and Marcgrav's woodcut, 1648, p. 284.) Since at least the

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early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 122). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47). 302

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 148). Ovalle (1888, 12:161) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brouwer, 1892, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (rena) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:206–7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50, 52.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. colú; cf. Medina, 1882, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 15). 304 302

Bodily adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in peace time, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 439, 445), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Headmen formerly wore large silver earrings. 301

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of llancas (llaqka), tupu pins, bracelets, and ear pendants. The llancas were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the llancas. The tupu (from Quechua) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

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301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tupil) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 482 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chiloteans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 10, 1917, p. 349, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together [258] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and [B24] caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluria paniculata*, according to Molina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

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p. 66; Cooper, 1917, pp. 198–99; cf. Lothrop, 1932, pl. 21, *c–d*, and fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank balsa.) 501

Dugouts (huampo, wampu (L. de Valdivia, 1887, huampu), canoe) were according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Toltén with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Such dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 89) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, in Lothrop, 1932, pl. 18, *b*.)

Balsas of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Toltén River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa María and Mocha.

Other "balsas," apparently rafts proper, made of *Pupa* sp. or of "cypress" (*Libocedrus chilensis*) or "laurel" (*Laurelia aromatica*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa María and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the *Mapuche-Huilliche* region.

Sails are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877–78, 1:175), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friederici, 1907, p. 74). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early *Mapuche-Huilliche* watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1932, p. 245, pl. 21, *b*) describes and figures a [European type?] two-piece oar with crutchless rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chiloéan plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Looser, 1934). [177]

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from plant fibers. Some of those more commonly recorded are: The lego, made of *Chusquea*, of very fine weave; the chaiwo, made of voqui (*Bapuia trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the lepú (fig. 74, *left*), of *Chusquea*, of flat round platter form; the kilko (fig. 74, *right*), of *Lapageria rosea*, a large basket; the yule, of bejuco. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 241–244.) 285

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from ñocha (*Greigia landbeckii*) or maikacha (*Cyperus rigidus*), were used in the making of rope, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (pilua), and baskets (figs. 75, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 244–248.) 283

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well developed at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi- 286

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FIGURE 78.—Araucanian basketry techniques. *Left:* Linear basketry tray. *Right:* Kicho basket. (After Claude Joseph, 1932, figs. 36, 38, 5.)

286

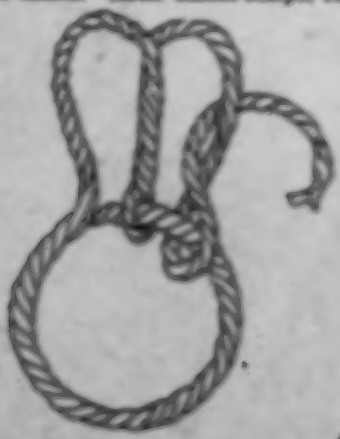

FIGURE 79.—An Araucanian pillow carrying bag. *Top:* The bag. *Below:* The top border braid. (After Claude Joseph, 1932, fig. 44.)

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twined. Dog-hair weaving was early reported (Goicueta, 1852, p. 96) among the *Chono*, but not among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The Chilotans made mantles from the bark of *Aristotelia magui*, woven in some manner (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 224). Cotton weaving was absent. Spinning and weaving were women's work. 286

Wool, after being sheared, washed, dried, and combed, was spun on a wooden spindle, pointed at both ends. The wool was wound 283

[286]

FIGURE 76.—Flax carrying bag. Detail of the side-wall of the bag. (After Claude Joseph, 1921, fig. 45.)

round the left arm, tie end twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand and fastened to the spindle, and the spindle was also twirled with the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

For weaving (fig. 77; pl. 156, *top, right*) a two-barred loom (witral) was used, usually vertical for larger pieces of cloth, but stretched on the ground horizontally for belts and fillets. Molina (1901, p. 122) mentions a second kind of loom, "not very unlike that used in Europe," but gives no other details. 286

The woven products were used mainly as clothing and adornment, but also as bedclothes and saddle-blankets. Some of the products

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some of the products

286 [531] were of uniform color; others were in varicolored stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, still animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

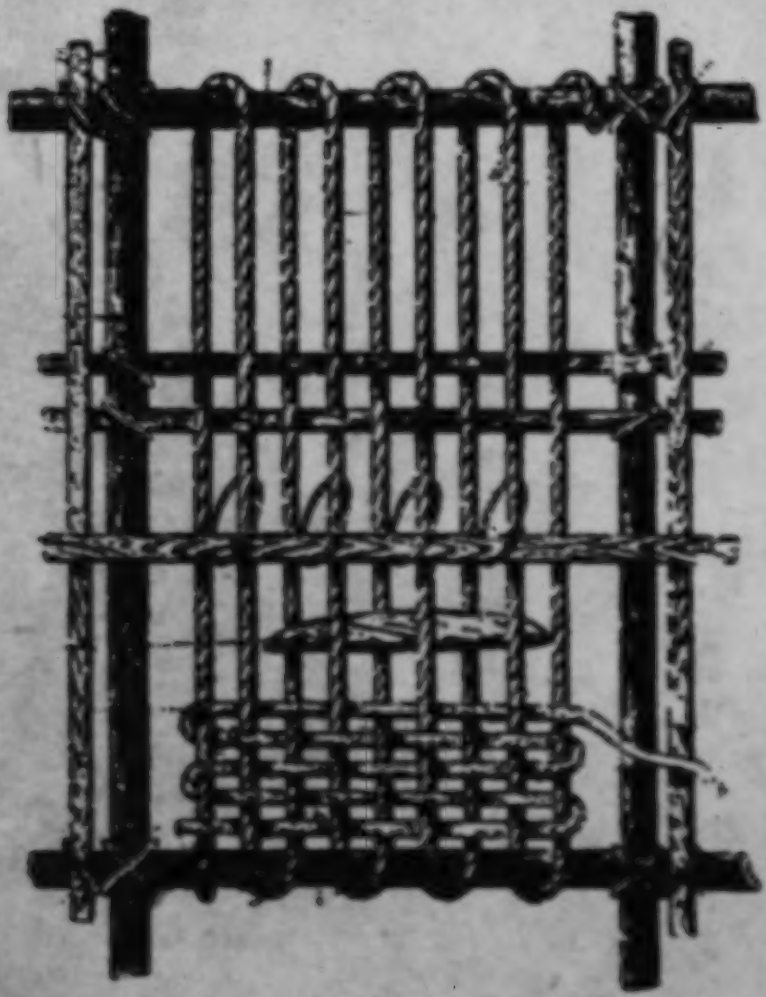

FIGURE 77.—Mapuche loom. (After Claude Joseph, 1928 a, p. 998.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Joseph, 1928 a; Guevara Silva, 1939, 2:263–71; Mosbach, 1936, pp. 218–20; Lowie, 1927, pp. 8–9; for illustrations, Oyarzún and Latcham, 1908.)

[412] Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

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Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 233–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286 386 [937]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (in Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 238; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 184, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 184, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bolled pitchers with one or two handles, the *kitra matawe* (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrave, 1648, Ill. p. 204) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular body, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 445 323

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323 Except for some geometric
[391] designs on some of the archaeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on technique and types, cf.: Latcham, 1938 b, pp. 47-56, 185-219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:347-62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43-48.)

324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone axes, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

326 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chronicles (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. six; Merino de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 120; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46-47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:139).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McCafferty, 1933, pp. 36-40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835-36, p. 396) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1931, p. 608). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1930 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:379-83.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (*ñuma*, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (*wentru*, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Otta (*anales* 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Pinuche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

were made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coerulea*) at one point and letting it smoulder (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 98). Lighted bundles of Chagual were used as torches (bible).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (*mulwel*), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 359-61); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 355, fig. 32). Sacks (*ullu*) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (*yaguas*) for holding purified grain. (Cf. for further details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 180), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on Araucanian-Huilliche incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1908, I: 338, II: 102), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking spurts. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred sex but exclusivity was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter *tuku* (mother) while she called him *pulcli* ("son," q. v.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept embodying the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Menéndez, 1908, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hollowell (1942, p. 480) by Colin Rumipulli is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "so could quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except Ranger's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with drunkenness. The prospective groom either personally or through go-between entered into negotiations with the father or other relative

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584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (feather), food, chicha, and beer, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other older relatives, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1920-24, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling at all to live with her abductor (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1938, p. 201). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:638).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

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other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Marino de Lovera, 1865, p. 134), 20 (Baeuchsen, 1863, p. 432; Brouwer, 1902, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 28:46; 29:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Mayorga (1646, p. 281), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Cota (in Moesbach, 1930, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Baeuchsen, 1863, p. 432; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:180). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of lienzos (llaqhua) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

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father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mother), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1932-34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, touching, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to gift, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "Se virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877-78, 1:240). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under hillocks, pillows, pulpit, windows, wakes.

The lugu.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the lugu (rugu, ulgu, cungu; also ulpu) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The lugu is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. ulgu; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 66; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:108; Febres, 1882, s.v. ulgu; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo y Goyeneche, 1875, p. 180); gente, progenie, familia, gens, ulgu, cunzu (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 388, 2:949-41); casa (not santa), family (Febres, 1882, p. 134)—all words denoting or connoting kinship groups. Apart from honorific adoption of newbies into a lugu with imposition of a lugu name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:388; 2:941; cf. Smith, 1883, pp. 280-82) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any lugu members were members of any given ulgu, and consequently no evidence that the lugu constituted a true ulu.

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Each lineage had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillar (cf. Inka under Religion, p. 747), stone, grass, Elan pebble, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, dove, tiger, puma, Inca, condor, snake, mountain ridge, bone, foot, fox, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Lanchem (1922 b, p. 31). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the lineage name and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the lineage name. The latter gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the Sasa lineage, he would call his sons according to circumstances, "white Sasa," "black Sasa," "running Sasa," "woodland shade" (where Sasa can be omitted), etc. (Herwinth, 1922, 2-34).

According to Herwinth (1922, 2-34), sons derived their lineage names from their father's lineage. Pilla Joel (1927, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers sons and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same stage (= lineage). Lanchem, however, (1922 b, pp. 33-35) states that his own comparisons of names of sons and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the lineage element of the names, whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's lineage. According to Carvalho i Gayosoto (1878, p. 188), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the lineage name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Pilla Joel (1927, p. 8) and Guerrero Silva (1930, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Bonilla, 1871-72, 1:186; Herwinth, 1922, 2-34—neither very clear on this point.)

Members of a given lineage had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and aided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the lineage spouses to the lineage members is not clear. According to Bonilla (1871-72, 1:4), many "Dragon" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual encounters of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Pelleur, the spouses was believed to "preside over one particular sect or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the sect went to live with its spouse (1892, p. 114).

Kinship Behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, sexual

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(6.0) One point should out: The role Nimuda is [illegible] ing to Mirandola (1985, 1.194), which was of greater utility was the fact was between ancestral souls and ancestral explorer; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his ancestral souls in all things. There is no record of battle-threatened joking relationship among his.

(6.1) Kinship terminology—The kinship terminology of the Mayanda-Dulbida is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type 1.6, except under Marriage; brother as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Malinowski, 1965). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the last decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1882) list of 1606 and Polavar (1882) of 1701, and Hernandez's (1882) of 1777 with Gaspar Silva's (1896, pp. 34-37; 1898, pp. 34-40; 1903, pp. 191-94) and Pilar Juan's (1910).

[illegible]

(6.2) Political structure—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards as much of the extrapolitical structure of the Mayanda-Dulbida that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There (6.3) were no precedents over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mayanda-Dulbida in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Obedience or "chiefs" were their manners through lavish treatment, chosen for its predictability and for accuracy of memory (Gaspar Silva, 1898, pp. 270-74).

Separate military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the eldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative nearest the office said the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was weak or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

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in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, [illegible] p. 302), no one can's was subject to any other one; according to Martín de Loyola (1903, p. 140), the heads of the mudzhlin were subject to the head of the unit which the mudzhlin constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of Mapuche-Huilliche political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more lineages (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of *ulmenes*. (Aranchi, 1940, p. 331; cf. Martín de Loyola, 1903, pp. 139, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, a. v.) defined *ulmen* (Araucanian) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeza de parentesco, el que es como ulmen, o indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, I:137) states that the "*ulmenes*," who with the "*toquies*" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un ulmen que le reconozcan mas de los de su linaje." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The facts we have seen best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting *mudzhlin* and *aretu* respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier economic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see tribe under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adultery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other *ulmenes* had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, compensation was resorted to, with payment of strings of Indian, 15 such strings for one death. Marsyar (1948, p. 207) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—so is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbarit (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar Chiriguano treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 124, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 49–58.)

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Population social grouping—The modern Mapuche-Huilliche are divided into three loosely organized classes: the wealthy, the economically commoners, and the poorer people working on farms on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and nobles, commoners, and "slaves" and captives.

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status.

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term Rehuhuenia, "in mind do one-eyes," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, o.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term is. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (kondor), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Pérez José, 1910, 1-60, o.v. kondor; Mosebach, 1936, pp. 399-401). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Hernan, 1938, p. 209-10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 90; Barrientos, 1905, 2-90; Smith, 1938, pp. 399-40.)

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 19th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 133, 140; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 10-241); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1938, pp. 240-41; Rule Alden, 1902, pp. 11, 20; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 30-32; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 610-12; Mosebach, 1936, p. 102; McBride, 1936, pp. 200-02.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though some are clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its produce, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1938, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of this land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Rule Alden, 1902, p. 20; cf. Mosebach, 1936, p. 102), and kept separately the produce thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens

and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Bloomfield, Ibid.). There is no trace among the Amazonians of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Pampas of the northern Chile (Mulhods, 1939, pp. 399, 404).

Inheritance.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his wife, according to Carvalho (Goyanaba (1879, p. 161). When an elder man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came to together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Baverstock, 1900, 2:62); Molina, 1891, p. 132). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

Exchange.—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Polanco, 1882, s.v. Abbés; Baverstock, 1900, pp. 210-17; Smith, 1908, pp. 108, 209.) Baverstock states (1900, 2:79) that Barrow (Beads) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for services, and Molina (1891, p. 106) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (Scales) consisting of a horse or bridle as "two payments," an ox as "two payments," etc. Yet a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the Mojanda (Bolivia) among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the Pueblo for salt, harness, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling powder and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Martin de Lorenzo (1888, p. 130) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—ceremonially, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings thereto.

Labor.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, crossing rapids and forests, hunting, cutting wood, all work making, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The women's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and [illegible] baskets.

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving hammocks. 009

Some traces of sporadic cicatrices labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The Siboneyes-Guahibos served as Guacs or middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 58]

[illegible]

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A great way supposed to set all the food on table him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between his and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1909, p. 60). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to kneel; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "fiend," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Barrantes, 1883, 1:[illegible]; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, n. v. gayde; Guevara Silva, 1909, 1:[illegible]; Adler Del, including many greater insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. [illegible].)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the ceiba (ceba), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of dancing at the same time. (See also table adjacent supra under Ecuing p. [illegible]).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the [illegible] or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The Siboneyes-Guahibos were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of bitter quillaja, Quillaja saponaria, was used in place of soap to wash the body. Nevertheless, the women abundant, a common method of disposing of dirt being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep hair and nailing [illegible] clean. 575 [illegible]

[illegible]

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between Arawakan groups [illegible] was common. 701

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721 not, however, to sound territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was
[721] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only as long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 19th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before
[720] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1553, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn brushes, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1935, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (about 16 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorgus," in Ercilla, canto 20, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, p. 96, 3 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to Gonzáles de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95-96), about 25 palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

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knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick sealskin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. [567]
The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

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728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concurred in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canelos were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canelo planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, pp. 54, 56), Bascuñan (1863, p. 43), Rosales (1877–78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Ossa (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 253; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McClafferty, 1932, pp. 27–29.)

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.**—It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1932–34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latcham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Gusinde, 1936, pp. 561, 855, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

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feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche cradles.* (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [355]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guinda (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1936, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb kuftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1936, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [345] 842

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842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Hosse (1939, p. 249).

863 866 *Education.*—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily [262 304] from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Guinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children [276] (Hosse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 737.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan 762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awa, or awin rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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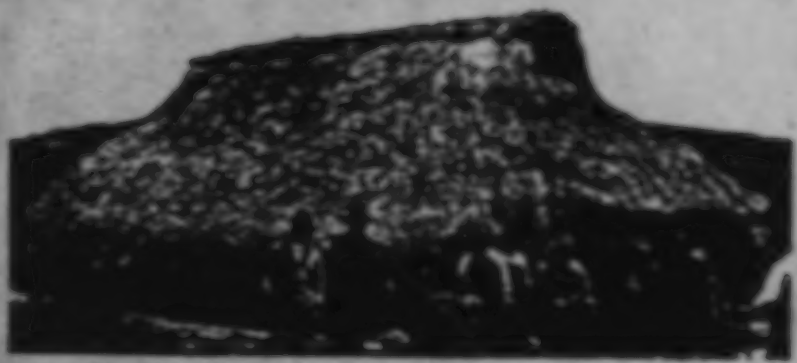

Plate 105.—Aboriginal stones, bone, and textiles. Top (left): Cross [illegible]. Top (right): Bone, or medal's holder. Bottom: Alaskan Grandma, or hide. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

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PLATE 104.—[illegible] pottery. *Left:* *Mapuche* coiling technique in pottery making. *Right:* Types of modern *Mapuche* pottery. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, figs. 16, 20.)

[p. 734 B]

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PLATE 166.—Araucanian Indians and Araucanian masks. *Top:* Mounted *Araucanians.* (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom:* Modern *Mapuche masks.* (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 28.)

[p. 734 c]

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Plate 135.—Amerindian Indians. Top left: Algonkin female dancer. Top right: Eskimo woman sewing. (Courtesy Cleveland Museum, Ohio.) Bottom: Algonkin girl. (After Lescarbot, 1617, opp. p. 1.)

[p. 734 D]

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764 blood spontaneous or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; entertaining the viewers and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Dringo* wisteria wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicks, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicks, death tents to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicks Shrines and *varaches*; much feasting and chicks drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own ; wind ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. *Adornments* and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or *chiks*. An alternative method, reported by Gonzales de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[783] Since as early at least as the second half of the 19th century (Cervello i Gayamendes, 1879, p. 140; McChaffery, 1922, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached headcloth implanted upright in the ground. In the *Hualfiche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, top, left) (Smith, 1855, p. 300; Moesbach, 1938, p. 686).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 785–86; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[785] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pelli (pelli, pelli), am, alwe, lolch, ainil. Such differences of meaning

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774 on the composition would say entirely are not clearly distinguishable from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In *Febrés* (1882) and *Havestadt* (1883, 1.400), one also encounters a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Lenthan (1822 b, p. 361) pelló is never used, nor is ulwa ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of ulwa is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Huilliche* believed man to have two or more "souls."

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Figure 78.—*Mapuche graves, with horse skin and meat.* (After Smith, 1855, p. 175.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, to the island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life, although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

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thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Hrdlička, 1928, p. 90). Other beliefs were that ensiquos after death dwelt in volcanoes or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanoes; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead ensiquos could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

FIGURE 90.—Mapuche grave, with upright bases and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (*ollén*: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and promoted as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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533 Special Songs Lists

compiled for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119-21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122-24; 1912, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15-22) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Scrutella, 1938, pp. 76-77; cf. Félix José, 1910, 1:62, s. v. hanco) look more European.

538

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pilullca) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 12 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of Chusquea sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kullcul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Inkowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of Chusquea sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Slocum, 1920, p. 196), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281-82; Félix José, 1910, 1:180; Inkowitz, 1935, p. 208)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Barcuñan (1883, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45-46), and use of masks (pl. 155, bottom) of wood and of cancio leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234-36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawin. This consisted primarily

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of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The bowl was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking bouts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new manganilla for chicha making, marriages, births, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

Figure 81.—Mapuche hockey sticks and ball. (After Mansfeld, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with knobbed) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (kolun, ulu, palinua) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of Chaqueno sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 195–206.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

a ball game, pelota, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

The two most important games of chance were the bone game (Spanish, Sisa, Sis) played with 8 to 12 bones, each painted black on one side, the bones themselves being "called for" when thrown; and bolas, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pelota, and among the modern Arawakans, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

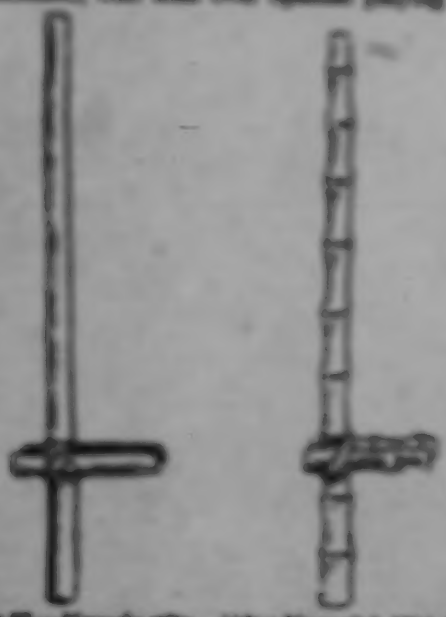

Figure 65.—Mapuche clubs. (After Mansfeld, 1914, fig. 5)

records of gambling in Guayana (1943, p. 61), Orville (1838, 12:102), and Rouaix (1877–79, 1:169–70) suggest that Arawakan gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the Mapuche are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:542, 749–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Sisita (fig. 66), mentioned as early as the middle 16th century by Falcón (1862, s. v. thentinahue; cf. Mansfeld, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:330), may be native. Havestadt (1752, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Mason-Bird, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the Arawakans. Rochefort (1665, p. 383) mentions smoking as part of the dancers' ceremonial; Barbosa (1867, p. 300), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See sources of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Herrmann (1909, 1:340) reports the ceremonial fumigation of healing stones with tobacco smoke, and (1:402) the use of tobacco as the agriculture rite; Oliveira (1874, p. 400) and Carvalho (Seymour (1879, p. 180), fumigation by the dancers. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Modern type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 370). The native name for tobacco is *pecum* (Félix José, 1910, 1:200), *pitrin* (Lenz, 1909–10, 2:410), *pitiuin* (Febres, 1882), *pecun* (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Sacred pety* does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no smoking or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked *mamillaos* (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 370, 380).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 756).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the Arawakans from the time of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Martín de Loyola, Ojea, González de Nájera, and Barcena, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:156) some of the Arawakans drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1911, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, *Araucaria* nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the women's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

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RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillan cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were *ñanchen* (master of men) and *ñanmapun* (master of the land). Another form of address was *chau* (father), but he was ceremonially addressed as *ray chau* (king father) and *ray kuche* (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man *ñanchen*," "Young Woman *ñanchen*," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces *ñanchen* (*ñanmapun*)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanoes and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public
782 *ñillatun*, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the *ñillatun*, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 302–10;

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1911, pp. 230–45; 1935, 1:438–48; Hesse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 371–94; Robbin Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 9–30.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called wet pin, an elder man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicks for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia magni*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 63); the erection of the llaollaui, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 64); repeated consecration of the sacrifice, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia magni* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ñllatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e.g., Hesse, 1939, pp. 105–10; see also infra under Shamanism, p. 790.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ñllatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the kanchotun rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this kanchotun rite is performed as part of the ñllatun rites, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ñllatun "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 390).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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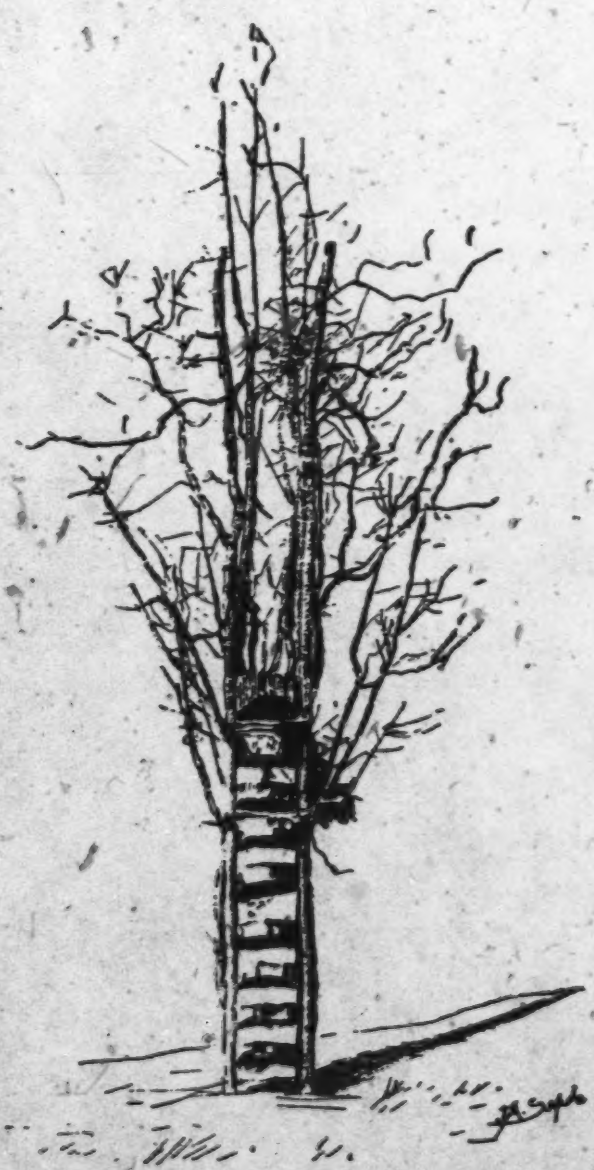

FIGURE 83.—A *Mapuche* rewe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillañ or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

FIGURE 84.—A *Mapuche* llaqilhual. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 239.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Fathers Adeodato da Bologna and Octaviano de Nizza (Félix José, 1910, pp. 252–56) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 45–46) and Smith (1855, p. 273), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

> They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . They also call him Guenu-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Buta-gen, the great being [gen, "master"]; Thalcava, the Thunderer; Vilvemvoe, the Creator of all; Vilpepilvoe, the Omnipotent; Mollgelu, the Eternal; Avnolu, the Infinite, &c . . . . He is the great Toqui of the invisible world . . . . [Molina, 1901, p. 188, cf. 1878 a, p. 245.]

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776 177 Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it. Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvoe (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names: Pepilfóe, Barbará, 1879, p. 161; Filpepilfoe, Milanesio, 1898, p. 41) and Vilvemvoe are pretty surely of Christian origin. But others, such as Guenu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227, Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gen (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man," Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Ouènetrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864, pp. 82, 145; Cuchauentrú, "great man," Mansilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta huentrú, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen, Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of ɣonechen, infra), have a more aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 139, 178–79), Milanesio (1898, pp. 41–42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113–14), Mansilla (1877, 2:32), Cox (1863, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp 82, 145–48, 237), Barbará (1879, pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:259), De la Cruz (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767–68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Pégüenche*" observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114), who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the *Araucanians* over many years:

> These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches Toquichen, which signifies governor of the people . . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche* ɣonéchen, "master of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians* as Geunetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 139), Gne-che (Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), Gúnechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 169, "great Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche* ɣonémapun, "master of the land," and variants, with reyne mapu (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Bona-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *gillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ñenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [753]

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776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(*a*) *Wekufû.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufû (huecúvu, güecubu, and variants). Wekufû, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ŋenéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufû. Rites in connection with wekufû, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufû away.

774 (*b*) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufû] (whirlwind [wekufû]), Anchimallen arəmko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ŋen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante"
[781] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(*c*) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

789 (*d*) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

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disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird [illegible]ing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

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788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
[778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

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war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos: Félix

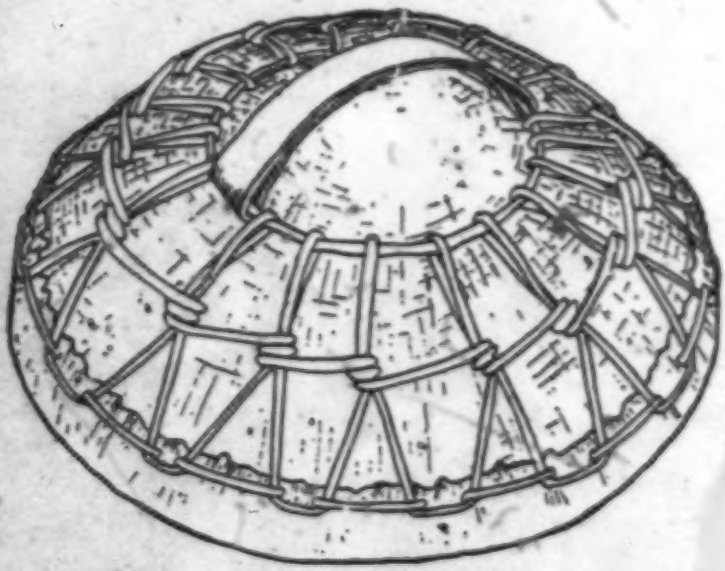

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufú (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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756 claimed to derive her power directly from ₐPuélchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intervede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ₐillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Hosse have presented data showing clearly that, [illegible] least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively [illegible] the ₐillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

756 754 The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a p[illegible]n, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

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aboriginal elements and and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the trey trey flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:2). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, trey trey and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did trey trey raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:209).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'on and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 749), Chourfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 98–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Scuntella, 1928.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 82), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillán or wekufú. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 334 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 834 757

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Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [282] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

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Picunche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bio-Bio River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence. 000 177

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138). 312 342

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marifio de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho. 441

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. 291

Mound burials are found archaeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139). 172 764

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Marifio de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory. 131 101

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including those latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901) 113

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Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Mustarè (1871) 1869–70, Manzilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:154) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:281, 282) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

[221] [224]

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and
302 arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bola de petro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:282) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Manzilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

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ling their bodies to disease (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:255; Cox, 1863, p. 176). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:45; cf. Falkner, 1835, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 286). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large tables occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "cacíques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 2:99–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 56), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a huga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 120–22), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for cramp they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of potrified urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 626 627 629

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1880, p. 29, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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Argentina Araucanians

more to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Puhuenche*" of the Collon-Cura, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapi region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic core, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Verde (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 219–20) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of alcove in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short retreats for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, foot running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern California, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

Among the *Puhuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Pöppig, 1835–36, 1:293).

Argentine *Araucanian* shamans (see supra, p. 762) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1896, pp. 38, 46, 53; Pöppig, 1835–36, 1:294–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1896, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

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Pehuenche

the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufú. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41). 771

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44). 778

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Marino de Lovera (1865), 1563–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance. 113

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources. 131

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Marino de Lovera (1865, p. 288) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement 262

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repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877-78, 1:222, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Merino de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cultivan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y sebadas [European? or the native *Avenacoice* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y son muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:197). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877-78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coloes" (Chaquos sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the Ona one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—hold, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Moguehe-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Merino de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other unreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Moguehe-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canese Pace

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa Húmida, or the eastern section, and the Espinal del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended elementary and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1580 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open conflicts with the Indians who ruled the plains.

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Patagonian in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its northern neighbors the Puelche (Gualeo) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the Guaycurú. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the Araucanians of Chile, whose language they also spoke (map 1, No. 10). The Araucanians are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America.

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 600 miles (1,000 km.) from their origi-

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167 nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*.
197 Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is
197 today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples,
144 who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
144 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
144 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

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lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 101
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 144
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Auracanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the 177
conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [133]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

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167 peoples who were eastern neighbors of the *Araucanians*. In 1658, they were still masters of their own destiny, for various persons who made statements in the aforementioned criminal proceedings knew only their own language, whereas 100 years later they all spoke *Araucanian*, and only the old people still remembered their ancient tongue. This is what we are told by Father Havestadt, a Jesuit missionary who, in 1750, visited Malargüé, the principal center of these ancient people. After that date, the *Puelche* de Cuyo disappeared as an ethnic entity, to be transformed into a mere subdivision of the *Araucanized Pehuenche*.

The second expansion was to the east. Documents point to its presence north of the Pampean region in 1708. In this same year, at a meeting of Indians of different origins held at Las Pulgas near what is called today Villa Mercedes, on the Río Quinto, some Indian chiefs who were not yet *Araucanized* had brought to the council "Aucáes Indians or Indians of the War of Chile." At that period, the *Araucanians* on the eastern side of the Andes were known as *Aucá* (*Araucanian* for enemy, traitor, or contrary), or "uprisen."

A year later, in 1709, they were also found in the region east of the Pampa. It is stated in an official document that one of the expeditions that went south from Buenos Aires every year in search of salt had met with a great number of *Aucá* who were taking large herds of cattle and horses toward Chile. Some weeks later, at the meeting of the "Cabildo" de Buenos Aires, held on February 10, 1710, it was stated that a great number of the *Aucá* Indians from the Chilean Cordillera went to the plains to steal cattle.

At first, these visitors limited themselves to exercising their influence upon the pre-*Araucanian Pampa* of the plains and to carrying off the wild cattle. But soon they attacked the Spanish settlements and committed all kinds of depredations against stock farmers in the vicinity of Buenos Aires. In 1715, the presence of *Serrano* is noted. *Serrano* was the common term for the Indians of the Cordillera, that is, the *Araucanized Pehuenche*. Ten years later, it was suggested that an expedition be sent from Buenos Aires "in order that the *Aucáes* and *Serranos* who inhabited the vicinity of the city be driven out." Thus, we can establish 1725 as the approximate date in which the *Araucanians* were definitely established in the great plains.

Once these *Araucanians* were established among the primitive *Pampa* they were the most dynamic element, and rapidly became the dominant one. That is why the Englishman, Father Thomas Falkner, could state in his well-known "Description of Patagonia" (1774) that his experience as missionary in the Jesuit settlements south of Buenos Aires showed that the *Araucanian* language "was the most generally understood" among the Indian populations of the plains.

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In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Pehuenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea. 167

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places. 101 622

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Pehuenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S. 181

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampista* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine 184

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184 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a 144 "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

101 131 175

THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] Those differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobio, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobio they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

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101 interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians
131 between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today
175 comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

175 The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

669 But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which
[366] he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted
[366] until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

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[114] 5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo sucedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood 669
and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío.

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures. 177

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception 114
of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious [797]
Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 10-14, 63-65, *passim*). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

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114 men, they thought of the Indians as wild savages who blindly resisted the sweet yoke of Christianity and Spanish dominion. For this reason they seldom inquired into the possibility of Indian method; rather, Indian resistance was madness. Another weakness inherent in the chronicles is the factor of cultural change. At any given moment the chroniclers made their notations in the belief that what they saw was and had been thus from the beginning of time. Only when contemporaries gave information which contradicted their own observations did they give evidence of change, but without attempting to explain it.

000 It is seldom wise to take an interpretive fact, as disclosed by one of the chroniclers, at its face value. When we are told, for instance, that the Spaniards lost a given battle because the Indians outnumbered them it is entirely unlikely that the chronicler is telling us the whole truth. We have every reason to doubt him because we already know that the Spaniards, with or without Indian allies, had an enormous talent for winning military victories with inferior numbers. At no time was it normal for Spanish forces to outnumber the enemy anywhere in the Indies. Why, then, did the Indians win not only the battle in question, but a majority of their engagements? The suggestions are several: perhaps the Indians, in their own right, had become superior strategists; perhaps they had improved their own weapons to a point which offset the Spanish advantages of gunpowder and horse; perhaps they had developed a creed for life which made resistance both possible and meaningful. Our questioning of an apparently reliable fact leads us to recognition of a neglected factor, the potentiality of early Araucanian culture. By following these suggestions through and corroborating them with associated evidence, we may well come to an understanding of that particular battle which is far superior to that entertained by the chronicler. More importantly, when the battle is multiplied by 1000 and the conditions of Spanish defeat remain relatively constant, significant conclusions concerning Araucanian culture are inescapable.

114 By the passing of the first generation of Conquistadores the war had become institutionalized, and observers began to think and write about it historically. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several histories of Chile and its Araucanian War were written which contained a relative abundance of passages describing Indian life. These writers, like their predecessors in the sixteenth century, did not take into account the factor of cultural change, and their judgments were almost entirely based upon the present in which they observed and wrote. Nor did they, with few exceptions, have the opportunity of consulting the major chronicles of the sixteenth century. Most of those manuscripts were sent to Spain for publication, but a good many of them were intentionally or innocently shuttled off to a dark repository to await the dawn of modern historiography on Chilean historians.

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There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw 114
an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position 177
and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning 175
of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

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175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms 177 and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly 726 amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined 669 to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olagerría, p. 20.
12 Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

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Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on developement of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

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723 colonists, and friars could work great wonders if the Indians would but submit. When they first settled Santiago the Spaniards proved that they could provide their living with their own hands, but full barns and producing mines were impossible of realization without Indian labor.[17] Because of this, the Spaniards always hungered for peace, and, through past experience in the Indies, expected it to follow each victory over the Indians.[18] This was the great error of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Whenever the Indians found it advantageous to themselves to live in peace — whether because of famine or disease or military weakness — they willingly surrendered themselves to service in the encomienda, there to repair their fortunes and to watch. The Spaniards, hopeful that this was indeed the dawn of a new day, almost invariably sought immediate expansion of their mining and agricultural activities. With a quickening of economic activity, military vigilance declined to a point which invited rebellion. The Araucanians honored such invitations without fail.[19]

Spanish military strategy was also based upon the gnawing hunger for peace. From past experience the invaders knew that peace would follow the defeat and usurpation of a central authority. In the absence of a central Araucanian authority the only alternative was to instill fear by demonstration of military supremacy, and so the Spaniards constantly sought a definitive battle which, when won, would convince the Araucanians of the futility of resistance. Some civilians differed, advising an Indian policy founded upon kind treatment and remission of
725 personal service, but their voices were seldom heard. Recognizing the Spaniards' willingness to do battle, the Araucanians always chose their own battle sites where the terrain could be used to advantage, where the horse, as a military instrument, could be rendered less effective, and where their own strategies could be best effected. With monotonous regularity the Spaniards, always seeking the big victory, sent an army to defeat a rumored gathering of Indians, which rumor was usually broadcast by the Indians themselves. Upon arrival the Spaniards found

17 It should be kept in mind that campaigns and settlements were private financial ventures, and very expensive ones. See Governor Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza's complaint in Morandaje, p. 90.

18 This was Valdivia's experience in Santiago; the Indians tired of "running like beasts" and submitted to reduction (Valdivia to King, Sept. 4, 1545, Gay, I, p. 61).

19 This technique of dissembling was practiced widely, both in Spanish towns and on the frontiers. The Indians were so skilled that the Spanish were never able to tell whether they really meant to keep the peace or not. Either way, there was nothing the Spanish could do but accept, driven as they were by the economic imperatives of their way of life. The Indians seem to have understood this perfectly. The granting of ceremonial peace in critical areas as a part of wider strategy became common. Revolts were well planned: the chiefs had the White women divided among themselves in advance; the gold that had been dug for the Whites during peace was thrown into the nearest river, or used to ransom Indian hostages; bloody revenge was visited upon the erstwhile masters. See Morandaje, pp. 58-59, 125; Nájera, pp. 46-47, 48.

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themselves surrounded and outmanoeuvred, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20]

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous en-gromo in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of reinforcement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability.

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spaniards. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 37ff., 49, 101, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could see no the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that some polished particular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being only for the rank. Discrimination against creoles was a common source of dissension in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many protégés in his train. The dissatisfaction with which he heaped rare commendations to his protégés friends amongst the Indian creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chileans knew the identity of their fathers, and then knowingly inquired, "*Es qué es acaso igual entre hijos de puta?*" (Mármolejo, p. 88). Núñez (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born to war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chronicles ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between creole and peninsular to be simply name.

21 Mármolejo simply states that among those who placed Valdivia's downfall was a young native named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 30). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term *paracaso* invariably means a friendly and allied Indian from the south. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become so expeditious in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1878) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 (Ovando, pp. 33-34; Núñez, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Lenthem, "La superioridad guerrera de los Araucanos: sus armas y métodos militares" (Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 33, no. 39, 1915, pp. 123-[illegible]). While this study is valuable for purely military effects, it does not attempt to

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important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of stares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[23]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[24] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

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explore or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the factor of Indian bravery. Another weakness in the author's uncritical use of Pedro Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1551, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Ostensibly because it was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escobar for rewriting. As a true courtier, he shifted emphasis to flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise took liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revisions it was probably revised by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently discovered in Spain by Hurtado in suit for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was irked at publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In consideration he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Nájera remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more victorious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). See Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, vol. 2, pp. 282-288).

23 Mariño, pp. 44-49, 85, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 697, 1946) is in error when he concludes that the Indians mastered European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

24 Gherardi, p. 34.

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of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[26]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian backwoods. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless race, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[27]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[28] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defensive military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish encroachment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter servitude on foot.[29]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed; the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force generated by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

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25 Marmolejo, pp. 46-47, 47-48. There are few representations of armor such descriptions.

26 Núñez, pp. 42, 110-114. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Núñez, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xarquemada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 289); Xarquemada to King, Jan. 28, 1611 and Jan. 30, 1612 (idem, pp. 247, 259-267); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1612 (idem, p. 267).

28 Núñez, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move down on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their mediocrities, keeping their good steeds hidden for use after the war whether (idem, p. 120).

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(68) Jesuit conquest ancient Indian dialect with incipient nationalism. This conflict produced a political undertaker which in itself constituted loyalty to the cause of Araucanian independence. Centralization of politico-military authority was achieved to a point where successful resistance was possible, but did not develop to a stage where the Spaniards could defeat and usurp it.

(69) The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed "el estado." This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to infer the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's usage of "el estado indiano" was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

(70) It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of making temporary hostile and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he operated the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders raised a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the recipient of the estado had to refresh alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

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29 Ercilla, p. 33. The area included the Indian localities of Tucapel, Lonquilla, Cayeu, Marigueño, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In actuality, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or actually one of them.

30 Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (2 vols., Santiago, 1918). Historians and ethnographers date as far back as possible to see this point as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in other instances the practice is not mentioned, but the only one in which it has been put more concretely to hold is quoted. Everyone knows that there is much work to do, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it exists.

31 Mercadillo, pp. 32-33. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were incapable of organizing military efforts on a large scale through arrangement involving the chiefs. This strong view seems unlikely because the Incas were held on the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the earlier Araucanians, who were not Araucanians. This could the Inca invasions have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the expulsion of Spanish domination, without which it could have had no meaning.

32 Mera, pp. 42-43.

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organization.[illegible] There she developed a type of Indian secretary who supplied her [illegible] with weapons and served for a specified length of time or a percentage of the [illegible] pay.[illegible]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the [illegible] [illegible] could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they sent [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] rather than control, and subjugation was seen often found to the order of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Arauanians. The region between the Dubis and Tebida Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *barangays*; they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the islands). Each barangay had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least at time of war, a principal chief, or *raqan*. It was customary for the chiefs to define plans for war in a parliamentary juncture in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[illegible] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial raqans is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held in both quality states and to secure authority. When disagreement occurred between raqans, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[illegible]

Gonzalez Pérez, writing around 1720, describes a further development of this general scheme. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called barangays, but they resembled further north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Arauania is more satisfactory to the growth of Arauanian strength and confidence. In Pérez' description each barangay had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *raqan-gulmen* (commander), a *gulmen-gulmen* (field commander), and a *gulgul-gulmen* (diplomatic counsel). While these officers exercised absolute authority in their positions within the provinces, they were inferior to a *raqan-general* who apparently exhibited a measure of authority over the whole of Arauania. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A
[3] general war could be called for only by the raqan-general, and at his own discre-
[4] tion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *cruzes*. Only the raqan-general could dispatch the cruzes, and in the cruzes of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a cruz was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the council, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional raqan. An messenger he sent his *gulgul-gulmen* to the other barangays, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this case the warring chiefs said from

[illegible]

[illegible] Bernales, pp. [illegible]. Lenhos, the prehistoric chiefs, pp. [illegible], considers this or the or another Mapuche military organization, even though it is from regional chiefs, a century after the Spaniards arrived. Pérez also no know of the existence Mapuche, the could appear to be an entirely sophisticated organization.

[illegible] Alen, pp. [illegible], [illegible] "Relacion de Los de Valdivia," [illegible] Alen, II, pp. [illegible].

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of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques. 631 721

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition. 769 787

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a 771 177 727 [266]

42 Gerónimo Pizarro, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Mascuelpin, p. 172; Méjan, p. 49; also see Lastarria, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was betrothed by Maulicán, a powerful chieftain 144

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he war most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 30).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

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of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebeldes de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Las aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival. [164]

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53]
266 In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones,
727 most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was
534 forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish cul-
727 ture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had
[534] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced
121 the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

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which is so basic to cultural history; the other to divert study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by a [illegible]storian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the sixteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled done so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest portions of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their coveted liberty.[62]

University of California
Berkeley, California

61 One such problem is suggested by the sources. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planting in the valleys, the Araucanians moved their fields to impenetrable sierras. It may be that lower yields in the mountains created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Julián de Bastida to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1563 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olaverría, pp. 36-38; Marmolejo, pp. 76-77; Nájera, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62 Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1664 the casualty figures, as Latcham reports them, were 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La expedicion guerrera de los Araucanos," p. 58).

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Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON[1]
University of Illinois

121 128 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 131 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These [197] cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

114 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

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114 ical material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Hallowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Collío, and tentatively concluded that the

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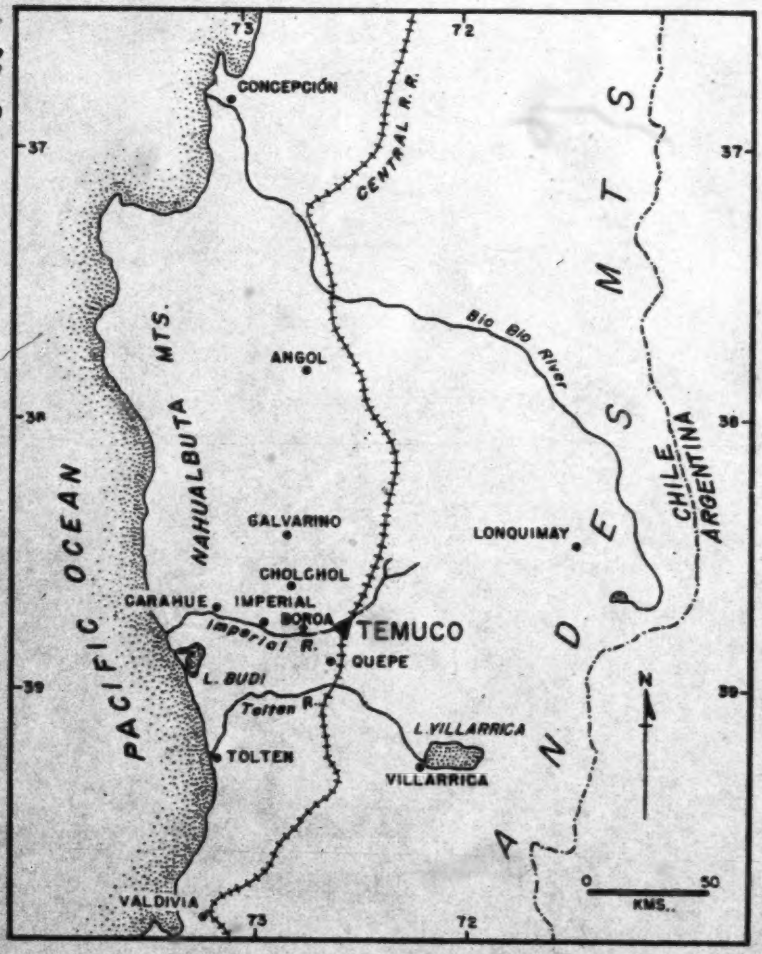

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

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present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

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121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913,
114 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of
611 Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
601 time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

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Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

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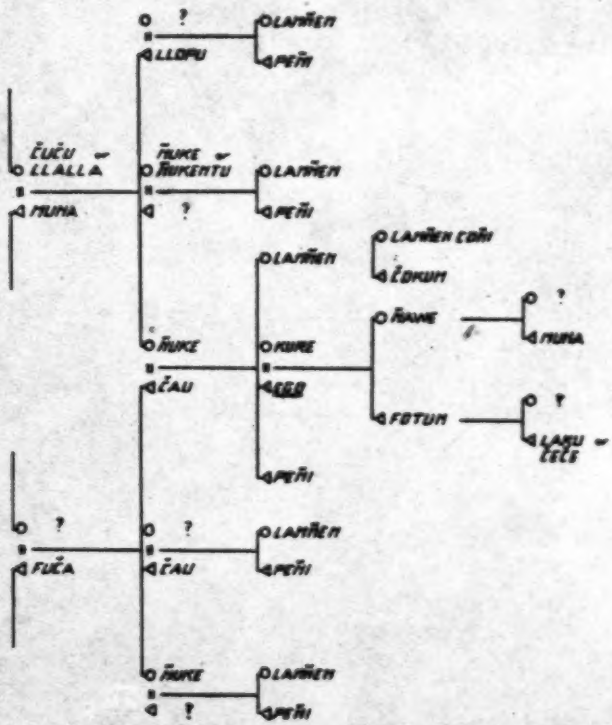

DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lamñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

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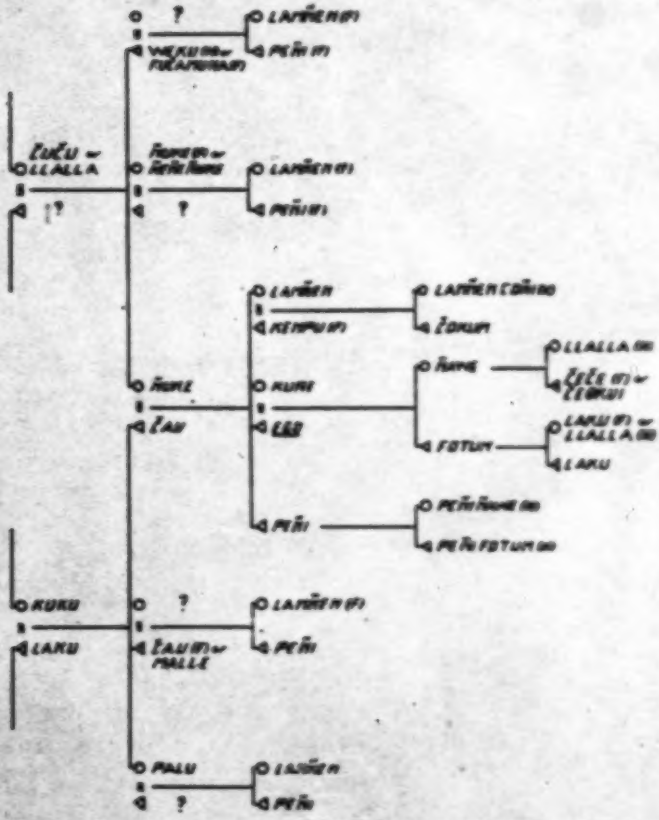

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*kurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*kunpu*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

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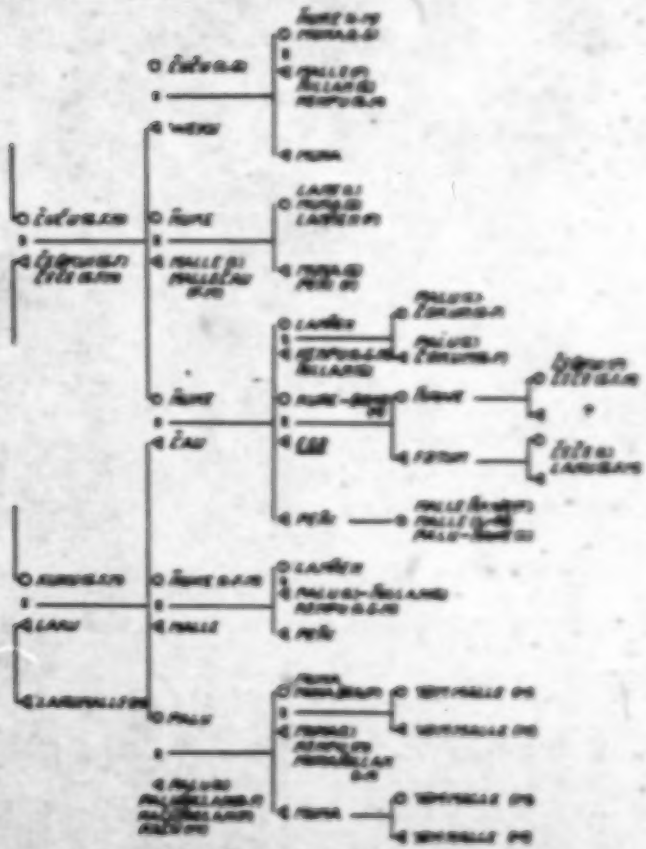

Diagram 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Mondaca (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124; Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

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Bouwer 1992:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[9] 595 601 611

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 283) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for Mofi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the Mofi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kawa*) for Wife. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 695

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *mofi chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his Wife upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that consensual polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the levirational obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llepu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llepu* relationship was an avunculate one, and recalled unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avunculate role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lawe*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lawe* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lawe* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[9]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453-54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Choichol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SC4 Araucanians SC4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and brush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 961 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevertheless, patrilineality and patrilocality generally appear very strong in later times. [64]

Let us turn now from features related to patrilineality to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 2 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1920), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Mondaca (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Chokilali; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Mondaca at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle. Wife/Husband marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward Iroquoian of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that Mother/Da is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational Wife/Da marriage. There are in- 601

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601 directions in Kimberley that there were corresponding changes in the dual-moiety, header as Mulbi(Dei) were called "brother" and "sister." However, Lawlor and Gurvan recorded a cousin term (mene) for Mulbi(Dei), again suggesting an uncertainness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the official terms on Epi's genealogies are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is unclear whether the "alternate" terms may distinctive localized uses or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in term from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions north of Cerrito Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880-82, all contributed to further unbuilding of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

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601 591 602 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier aggregate settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more immediate) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that Felilla and Felilelfa were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive kinship material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting apart the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the officials in question reflect the new situation. In the case of Felilla, there was a change from a term which described him as the husband of the personal name (pulu) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (fallun). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has plaidhand the personal name," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the aggregately organized Mapuche society.

601 592 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that Mulbi(Dei) and Mulbi(Delfa) could have been the same person as either Fu or Felly. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with Wilelfa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mardin de Lavalle 1903 [in Ellis] 126; Guevara Silva 1911: 48), and Wilelfa marriage is part of oral history. Even if Wilelfa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 708), it is nevertheless collected in the female speaking

terms collected by Vallois. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the Wili-Ula marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the Wili-Ula because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interhuman bonds. Both of these reasons are possible antecedents of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unprecedented warfare and contingent social and economic disorders.

The change from merging to Hawaiian merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1761 (Diagram 2), when Vallois recorded a difference in terms used for parental sons on the one hand, and Ma and Mali on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change affects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the Ambaru became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of which moves through Batch and down wells. Secondary polygyny, if not encouraged by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough boldness to have affected the structure of the system.

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern.

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-sending in which some wives had separate dwellings and spatial perspectives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely secondary in type. The secondary type seems to have been a spatial feature which depended on the husband and the fact that two partners married sisters from another household.

Generation

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved gift-exchange, authorized cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha terminology is presently found there is a terminological distribution of Mali and Malifu, which implies differences of status, rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expansion of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Vallois's data.

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of equating generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the emergent patri-forms now embedded in the Omaha system.

Sisters

From a pattern in which Mo, FoSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting sororate endogamy—there developed a system of bilocus-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilineal and patrilocal.

Cross-generation Marriage

In Diagram 2 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a sister term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the universal cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Faron.

Levirate and Sororate

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become vestigential only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and consequent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that serial polygyny rather than homogeneous serial marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Chokiñi. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) BrdeSe called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Chokiñi there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad zones which cross through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 6 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and eastern parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

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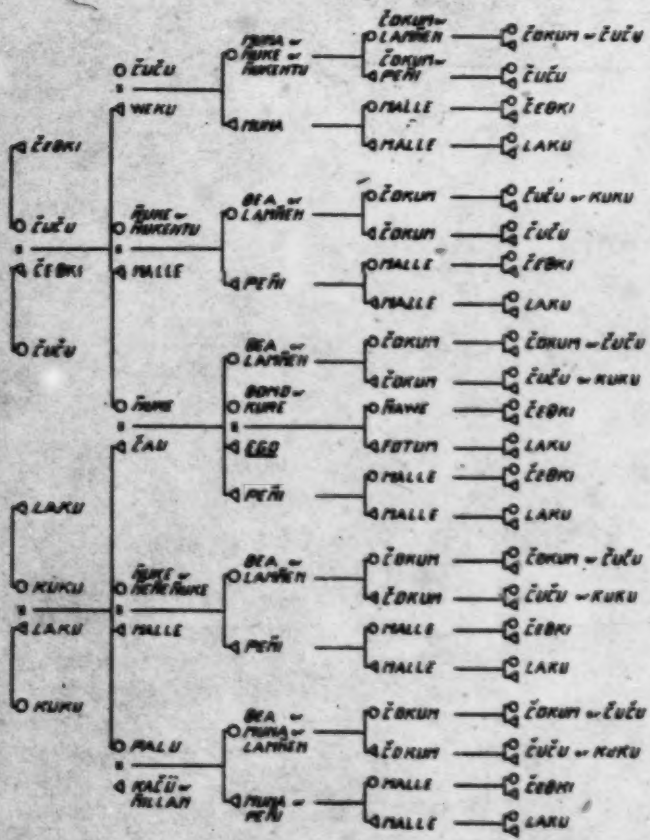

DIAGRAM 4. Araucanian kinship terminology from Cautín Province, Chile, 1953. Field data.

terms obtained in 1953 in the provinces of Cautín and Malleco, in the following regions: (1) southeast of Temuco, (2) west of Quepe, (3) the general region around Toltén, (4) south of Villarrica, (5) Lonquimay, and (6) Isla Huapi, Lago Budi.

The results, as recorded in the diagram, are fairly uniform. Wherever more than one term is listed for the same relative they are alternates in common use.

On Ego's generation we see that parallel-cousins are classed with siblings and that cross-cousins are still differentiated by the *muna* term. *Muna*, however, is sometimes used in combination with a brother or sister term, indicating the closeness felt in this relationship. Older and younger siblings and cousins are differentiated by using the qualifiers *unan* or *inan* when specificity is de-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [543] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

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174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

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601 .582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *θomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 601 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. 174 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [177]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pseu-

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

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[3] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonomy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonomy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which bore a superficial resemblance to teknonomy. 601 [551]

[4] *Ñuñu* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñoño* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñoño* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chochoi* and *fuchoi* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[5] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientes." Given the Araucanian kinship designations, there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamüen*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[6] MoSi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 102–111, Latcham 1924).

[7] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persistía la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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[title page]

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ARAUCANIAN PARALLELS TO THE OMAHA KINSHIP PATTERN

121 (*Introductory note:* At the Poughkeepsie meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1929 I presented the following paper. I never published it, mainly because I obtained the information from a single informant and hoped that I might later substantiate and elaborate my original notes. Such an opportunity never arose. But during the subsequent years no one else, so far as I can discover has reported the occurrence of the Omaha kinship structure among the Araucanians.[1] However, now, when attention is being increasingly focused upon all things South American, it seems worth while to place my information on record. The immediate stimulus to publication came from Dr. Murdock who, in a discussion following a lecture he gave before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in December, 1942, remarked that in his survey of social organizations and kinship patterns throughout the world, he was struck by the absence of the Omaha pattern in South America, although he suspected its presence among the Araucanians. Its absence in South America seemed significant because of its presence in the other four major areas of the world from which he selected his sample. I hope that the publication of the following paper, even at this late date, may ultimately lead to a final settlement of the question.)

114 In the current number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Dr. Lesser has brought a very important problem to a focus.[2] He demonstrates the fairly consistent association

[1] See Donald D. Brand, *A Brief History of Araucanian Studies* (New Mexican Anthropologist, V, 1941), pp. 2, 19–52.

[2] A. Lesser, *Kinship Origins in the Light of some Distributions* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST), 31, 1929), pp. 710–730.

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114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of [582] marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any [591 published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect [604] to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

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[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

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114 [611] [587] sation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wéko* = mother's brother) and *ñáke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-ntu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wéko* are always *ñáke*. The children of a *ñáke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*pálu*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*tcóhom;* no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*hotát*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *harún* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *harún* by a man is *hémpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *harún* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

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VOLUME 135 (WHOLE VOLUME)

ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE AND ITS CULTURAL BACKGROUND

(With 80 Plates)

By
SISTER M. INEZ HILGER
Benedictine Sister, St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minn.

(Publication 4297)

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FOREWORD

In this day when the vogue in ethnology is to stress theory and far-reaching comparisons, it is refreshing to find a study that is essentially descriptive. With characteristic energy Sister Inez has gathered a wealth of detailed facts concerning all aspects of child life, biological and sociological, which should serve as a mine of source material for future workers.

Essentially she has followed the same methods as used in her two previous monographs on the child life of the Chippewa and the Arapaho, but in this instance she has stressed even more the cultural matrix which to such a large extent has determined the practices connected with the development and socialization of the child.

The approach technically has not been that of the psychologist, but a wealth of psychological material emerges.

The abundance of direct quotes from informants and the frequent recounting of personal experiences give to the narrative an intimacy that not only makes it entertaining reading but imparts a human quality which adds to its value as a sociological and psychological document.

Considering the importance of the Araucanians, there are not too many accounts available in the English language, and no other study concerning child life.

Although acculturated through more than four centuries of contact with European civilization, the Araucanians have retained their identity, their language, and a great deal of their aboriginal culture.

This study of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, using the development and training of the child as a method of approach, actually gives an excellent picture of Araucanian ethnology in general as it is today.

M. W. Stirling
Director, Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucania" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molmari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

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124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

104 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

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pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language.

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapuche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians.

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field.

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Cofiaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Cofiaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Frauenhäusl (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenufanco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

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128 Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Coñaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

114 The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

129 A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

130 The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to many persons for assistance in the present study. Foremost among these are the Araucanians themselves, for without their willing and intelligent cooperation this work could not have been carried out. Special thanks are due to the men, women, and children of Alepúe, Chile, for the cordial welcome to the Araucanian country they gave me and my field assistant. To the children of Alepúe school, I express special heartfelt thanks for genial helpfulness in collecting plants, writing stories, and demonstrating games. They will find their names in the "List of Informants."

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Monsignor Guido Beck and the Capuchin Fathers—especially the late Father Sigifredo—and to the Capuchin Brothers of the Araucanian country of Chile for their generous assistance and the many courtesies shown me during the months of fieldwork. To the Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Heart under the leadership of Mother Mikleta, the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Cross under Mother Romualda, and the Misioneras Catequistas under Mother Josephina, I owe a debt of gratitude for their interest and friendship. Especially do I express deep and sincere appreciation to Sisters Gerena and Sapientia of Alepúe, Sisters Youcundiana, Carola, and Magdalena of Coñaripe, Sisters Waltrudis and Miguelina of Panguipulli, and Mothers Josephina and Teresita of Boroa, for their generous hospitality, untiring efforts in selecting and contacting informants, assistance in checking information, and services rendered as interpreters.

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of the Universidad de Concepción; Carlos Oliver Schneider, Director of the Museo de Concepción; and Elena de Cerda, Curator of the Museo Araucano de Temuco.

I am indebted, too, to Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., of the Universidad Católica de Santiago, the late Beatrice Bergan of the United States Embassy in Santiago, and the late Raquel Tajeda Lawrence, a native of Chile, for investigations made, while I was still in the United States, as to the feasibility of making the study; to Mother Cornelia and her Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary at Villa María Academy, Dr. and Mrs. John Bäuerle, and Dr. and Mrs. Luis Asenjo, all of Santiago, for assistance and gracious hospitality during the month's preliminary work in contact making and in museum and library studies in Santiago.

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Molinari (San Martín de los Andes and Buenos Aires); Federico Graef, geologist and surveyor (San Martín de los Andes); Emelio Frey (Bariloche); Jaime F. Wood (Estancia Huechahue); Víctor Muller and Enrique Korn (Buenos Aires); Horácio Fernandez Beachtedt (Río Negro); and to Dr. Alberto Anciano and Ig. Alexandro Cané (Museo de Bariloche).

To Margaret Mondloch, my field assistant in both Chile and Argentina, I owe the greatest debt of all for her intelligent and gracious help in planning fieldwork and making contacts, and for her untiring and unselfish work in taking and transcribing field notes. The success of the study is in no small degree due to her alertness, patience, and perseverance.

To Mother Rosamond Pratschner, Prioress of St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minn., I am indebted for granting leave-of-absence from my duties of teaching for the duration of the fieldwork in Chile, and for encouragement of the study from its very beginning; to Mother Richarda Peters, subsequent Prioress, for leave-of-absence for the research in Argentina. The writer is also indebted to Dr. Alfred Métraux, Director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Paris, for his supporting interest, especially during the fieldwork, and for his letters of introduction to persons in key positions in Chile; to Dr. Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, for valuable leads, particularly in connection with the study of the mental development, behavior, and play life of the child; to Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for letters to customs officers, police, and transportation authorities in the South American countries visited regarding accessories for the study; and to Wilson D. Wallis of the University of Minnesota and the late Father John M. Cooper of Catholic University for their unfailing interest and advice.

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SISTER M. INEZ HILGER
Benedictine Sister

St. Benedict's Convent,
St. Joseph, Minn.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

CHILE

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Alepúe area

María Calfín and her husband
Francisco Canúlaf and his mother
Gregorio Canúlaf and his mother
Pancho Canúlaf
Rosario Huenun de Canúlaf
Andrés Elicio Huenun
Francisca Pulquillanca de Huenun
Lorenza Huenun de Llenlaf
Alberto Llenlaf
Antonia Llenlaf Martín de Llenlaf
Arturo Llenlaf and an old uncle
Arturo Llenlaf
Augustina Llenlaf and her mother
Benjamín Llenlaf and his parents
Dolores Llenlaf
Dolores Llenlaf and her mother
Elías Llenlaf
Elvira Quilapan and her father
Esmeralda Llenlaf
Hortensia Llenlaf and her mother
Isolina Llenlaf
Juan Llenlaf (30 years old)
Juan Llenlaf (10 years old)
Justino Quilapan Llenlaf
Manuela Llenlaf and her grandmother
María Llenlaf Nahuelquen de Llenlaf
Marcelina Pichún de Llenlaf
Pablo Llenlaf and his grandmother
Rosario Llenlaf
Rosario Llenlaf
Salustiano Llenlaf
Teresa Llenlaf
Victoriano Llenlaf
Zenobio Llenlaf

Ignacio Adolfo Lienlaf Matías
Pedro Martín
Clara Pichún
Pedro Pichún
Louisa Lienlaf de Quilapan
Osvaldo Quilapan and his father
Avelino Raipán
José Raipán and his parents

Pangquilli area

Delfina Anchiu
Domingo Huenun
Teresa Huetra de Huenun

Cañarip area

Erminia Huenullanka Antumilia
Elías Antumilia
Josefine Llankafilo Antukeo de Antumilia
Carlos Huenullanka
Carmela Antumilia de Huenullanka
Francisco Huenullanka
Emilia Millanao de Huenullan
Manuel Huenullan
Margarita Arkapán de Huenullan
Manuel Antumilia Pumalef

Boroa area

Andrés Sae de Calfil
Juan Tuechi
Carmel Astul Llankinau
Juana Llankinau
Antonio Pehuen
Francisca Ancan de Pehuen
Lindo Sae

ARGENTINA

Trenquel

Florentino Rosa (Chilean Araucanian, 34 years in Argentina)
Antonio Cayún
Matilde Cayún

Cleola Curuhuinca
Lorenza Curuhuinca de Epulef
María Curuhuinca de Quinchawal
José Morales
Juan Quinchawal

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Quiloquina

José Santo Arango
Edwina Chesquepan and her two sisters
Victoria Choquipan
Cikela Curuhuinca
Francisco Curuhuinca
Teorinda Curuhuinca
Mercedes Komolai de Cheokipan
Matéa Lefin

Pilpil

Sofía Arango
Rosa Arango
Pedro Curuhuinca
Kolupan
Juana Naipan
Petrona Naipan
Manuela Vera

Lago Lolog

Cesario Navarete

Collón Curá (San Ignacio)

Francisco Namunkurá

Malleo

Cinovia Herrera de Rañanco
Emederio Ñamkeful
Francisco Ñamkeful (Chilean Araucanian, 25 years in Argentina)
Manuel Pañefilu

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PART I
THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE

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PART I. THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE[1]

INTRODUCTION

175 The recorded history of the Araucanians of Chile begins with the Inca invasion of their territory, probably about 1448-1480. Their first recorded contact with Spaniards was with a Spanish army that penetrated their country in 1536. From then on, until the last half of the past century, Araucanians and, at first Spanish, then Chileans, fought each other. Old Araucanians today remember the last days of the struggle. An Alepio man gave the following account:

In 1860 when Joaquin Pérez was President of Chile, the Araucanians were still fighting the Chileans. This type of fighting was called malón—malón is a Spanish word (a surprise attack, as by American Indians). The Mapuche did great damage to Chileans: they stole animals from them, even cows; they captured girls and women, especially girls whom they admired, and then forced them to marry them; they stole land; they destroyed small villages—they set fire to the village of Imperial twice and completely destroyed Cabrito and other similar small villages. To put an end to these malones President Pérez ordered Colonel Rochel into our country. When Andrés Llanlel, the chief cacique in our area, heard this, he set out for Valdivia (Chilean military headquarters) to speak with the Colonel. He took José Martín with him as an interpreter. These two went along the coast [Pacific] on foot, as far as Los Molinos. Here they made two rafts from saplings and on them got as far as the island of Teja. From there they again went on foot until they reached the river Valdivia, across from Valdivia. They again made themselves rafts here and crossed the river to the town of Valdivia. The river is very wide here. As they were leaving the rafts, they were taken prisoner and brought before the Colonel. The Colonel treated them as traitors. José Martín defended Andrés and said that they had come to negotiate for peace and not for war. The Colonel had received orders to exterminate all Araucanians from Valdivia northward to the province of Arauco. To convince the Colonel of his good will, Andrés got on his knees and took an oath that he would tell all Mapuche under him that they must put an end to these malones. The Colonel then gave him three months of grace. Andrés was to return to the Mapuche and tell them to end their attacks. Andrés returned. He talked to the caciques. Some would not agree with him; they said that he had turned traitor to his people and land. In Imperial the Mapuche beat him to the extent that even his head had three gashes; they, too, called him a traitor. He stayed there until he could go to his relatives in Quesle, and later back to Alepio. After some days he was well enough to return to Valdivia. Here

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the history of the Araucanians as herein given is based on Cooper (1946, pp. [illegible]).

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175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the new sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Llaidol was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him land these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

[3] The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile)
174 when the Spaniards first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's western place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 88). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Molmén, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Trouwen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Calafquén, Caliquipén, Pelehue, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirihueico. From nearly all parts of the province snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (9,340 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,070 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

152 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

[4] Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean cen-

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Fig. 1.—Map of the region in Chile to which the present study has made its contribution and of the Province of Cuyo and the northern part of the Province of Neuquén, Argentina. Dots mark the sites of Chile and Patagonia, only Santiago.

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161 thorities give numbers varying from 50,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Huapi on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mulfin che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the sons of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepín area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepín area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

162 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as puro Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[9] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[9] Schmidt (1929, pp. 63-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Pehuenche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepín, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepín] and in Tolten, Pangipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Pangipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucaria grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucaria grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucaria also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called them of Alepín area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Pangipulli and Cellaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a source of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigfrido, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pehuenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

FERTILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[97] groups she is familiar. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives, mainly to have children, had no child? Surely not all these women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[98] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists know what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it so soon, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Collanqui-ene a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with herbs.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 702) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover by revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She caused the testicles of their lover to a heated pot, as we said before.

[99] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviewed the sterile women and then gave them to drink. The medicinal preparation she drinks of is given to the women. Following this the women can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the last cacique of Collanqui-ene died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[100] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

[illegible]

[101] In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

[102] The number of children in families in areas under my observation

Hb: Bilger E-5 (1945-1952) 1957
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married from 3 to 11. One informant had 8 children (3 boys and 5 girls); another, 11, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 50-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 23; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 5 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PERINATAL PERIOD

[illegible]

An unmarried mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months, a girl, but does then that." The day of delivery is not remembered, even approximately. "The [painting of a human-like] wooden bar used to get wood, but baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One women born who enjoys dancing from Chiboro dance gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her room."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why also treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

[illegible]

An unmarried expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced in any women today," said the interpreter, a non-Fanteman herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Fanteman women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap-weed in which egg had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1908, p. 193) notes that Gaboda has

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different ghost exorcisments. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had washed the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much concerned and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man loses his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ceremonies [tribal religious ceremonies] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was waning, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of Impala plum and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God made."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (ranüm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat
797 field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pasturelands in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[747]

(See legend on opposite page.)

[p 12 (A)]

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Araucanian cradle (Alapin): 1, Front view. (Notice thatched wall of ruka.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[A 12 (B)]

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Infant and small children: 1. Baby strapped to cradle (Boroa). 2. Mother nursing her 2-year-old boy. (Notice smoldering fireplace in foreground.) (Coñaripe.) 3. Boy in diaper (Alepúe.)

[p.12(c)]

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[415]

Small children (Alepúe): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) a, Shoes lacking, this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 2, A child and its grandmother.

[p 12(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Small children: a, Boy playing cities [marbles] (Colombia); b, "The [illegible] shows your shoes" game of the [illegible] (Illinois); c, Little girl [illegible] [illegible] (Colombia).

[p.12(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Small children (Alacaluf): *a*, "We just put dressed up to have our picture taken." (Columbia.) *b*, Older girl: "Ah, you photographed me!" Mother: "This little girl does not want to wear her dress." (Alacaluf.) *c*, Two little girls from an orphan home (Alacaluf).

[p.12(F)]

19: Hilger [illegible] (1946-1952) 1957
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and her mother. Usually a midwife is present also, and on occasion some of the woman's relatives and women friends. Any woman who is a nearby neighbor can always be called on to assist, if needed. A medid is not present but is called in if the mother or child takes sick.

Until very recently, midwifery was practiced exclusively by women; at the time of the present study several middle-aged men in Alepín were doing so, one being assisted by his wife. "Both he and his wife were present last week when my sister's child was born. That man certainly knows how to deliver a baby!" A midwife is called dawchalu or dawu kimlelmkutrafu; there is no word for a male obstetrician, an indication that midwifery for men is not an old custom.

To quote one of the men who assists at deliveries: "My part in helping is to examine the woman to make certain that the baby is in the right position, especially that the head is lying in the right position, for that is important. If it is, then all goes well and fast. When the first four of my children were born, I had a man deliver each—we call him a partero; we have no Mapuche name for such a man. I lost three four children; each died when about two months old. I watched that man deliver these children. Because these four died as infants, I determined my wife myself of the next children. There were four more midwifery all lived." A Pangipulli woman was amazed when asked if men assisted at deliveries: "What are you thinking about? It is always a woman who does so, a sensible woman, one who knows how!" Her husband interjected: "If a family is so poor that it cannot pay the midwife what she asks for a delivery, then the woman's husband will deliver his wife. Only then will any man help."

In some areas the midwife is paid for her services. In Alepín she asks for 50 pesos (one U. S. dollar); if the woman is a relative, she accepts no pay. In Collipulpe even the midwife receives no pay; her compensation is the privilege of calling each child that she delivers "my child." "And later on when the child is old enough to comprehend, its mother will say to it, if the midwife happens to come around, 'This is your mother.' This pleases the midwife; it is done in grateful recognition."

It is a custom for all members of a family to stay around home when anyone in the family is sick; it is for this reason that a woman's children are present when she gives birth to a child—their mother is thought of as being sick. Teachers related instances when a relative or a neighbor of a family requested that children be allowed to leave school and go home because there was sickness in their family. The day following, the children would tell of the birth of a brother or a

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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sister. Informants thought it would be cruel to send the children away from their mother while she is giving birth. Said a Colorado mother: "Strangers are not allowed at the birth. But most certainly all the children should be there, now when their mama is sick. She is never away from her family, and why should not all her children be there when she gives birth to one of their brothers or sisters? In any event, the baby is being born in their house. Where should they go?" Quoting a Pangaipulli father, "Certainly, the children are all present at a birth. Where else should they go? They belong in the same room with their mother!" All boys and girls in a school in Alaqlu said they had been present at a birth, except some who were too young when a birth occurred to remember it.

The expectant mother drinks a cooled herbal decoction of leaves, grass, and roots of colmitrillo when she begins to have labor pains. This maintains good blood circulation. The ingredients are boiled for only a short time. Cooper notes that Gusinde gives a variety of medicinal plants used to facilitate birth (1946, p. 729).

According to an Alaqlu woman the pains of labor can be lessened if the midwife prides everyone present, including the children, with a smile. Hence, as soon as labor begins, she wind, people gathering in the house are pridded and they sing appropriate songs. After the baby is born, there is beating of drums and the people dance. Other informants said this was not the usual thing.

No informant had heard that letting a live lizard slide down the body of the expectant mother facilitated birth, something believed by the Blackfoot (from author's unpublished field notes). No one knew of any animal associated with birth.

Informants knew of no established remedy to alleviate labor pains. Cooper mentions Dabers chrysanthus as being used to ease these or deaden pain (1946, p. 729). "Sometimes the child comes soon; sometimes not for a long time, in which case the woman suffers much. We have no remedy for these pains. The mother must bear them. Labor pains usually begin at night, and by morning the baby is born. A child that is born at dawn or before the middle of the forenoon will be healthy and will grow to maturity. If it is born in the afternoon or evening, it usually dies—but births seldom occur at those times of the day."

Formerly women knelt while giving birth. This is in agreement with Cooper's sources also (1946, p. 729). Today most women kneel though an occasional one lies on her back. She hands on something that can be discarded, such as a piece of threadbare homespun cloth or a worn-down sheep pelt. Generally she leaves herself by gripping

two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. In *Pangipulli* were the women not infrequently children a rope suspended from the rafters of the rukas. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of these present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—stands behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still hot sick," she is given a decoction made by boiling alvarero stalk, fleece, *mapuinorta*, and hartlfrown, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings some with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of *quinquilin*, a plant found in brooks.

Some midwives, "wise ones," have how to assist at difficult deliveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 191). Quoting a Cologne informant: "If a child is not born within four days after birth pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will bail flowers and bitumen her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she shows it well and cuts off fingernails of it clean, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known remedies have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a exorcism. (Cf. pp. 119-120 for performance of exorcism.)

During the general study an *Alacamelue* midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife mixed water, vegetable oil, wine of these present, and some which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive.

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a bath or sleep is daughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

845 substantial meal prepared for the family and those who assisted at the birth. Neither mother nor child is fumigated.

The Chilean law obliges the father to record the birth of his child at a government office in the province in which the child is born.

STILLBIRTHS

"My fifth child was born dead. It was harvest time, and I believe I worked too hard in the fields and caused the baby to put itself into a wrong position, and that is why it was born dead. My seventh child was stillborn too. But why it was so born, I do not know. Maybe it would have lived if I had had the help of someone. When it was about to be born, there was no one at home except my little boy—he was only a baby himself. I had no one to send for help. I was so sick that I thought I must die. I cooked some flaxseed and drank a liter of it. Then the child was born; but it was dead. I have often thought that when children grow up they need to be told how much their mothers suffered giving them birth."

BABY, CARE

846 In Colastiqui even the midwife or another woman present (the woman herself, if she is alone when the birth occurs) cuts the umbilical cord a handsbreadth from the navel. In Alagula even the measure is three times the distance from tip of thumb to its first joint. The cord is cut with a knife—formerly one of flint.

The woman who cuts the cord drains the fluid from the section adhering to the navel (away from the navel) "until it [the cord] is as thin as a string," and then either coils it (clockwise) around the navel so that all of it will rest flat upon the baby's body, or piles it into a little lump alongside the navel. Then she covers it with a small wad of wool and puts on top of this a patch made of leaves. In Alagula even the cord is generally greased to keep it from sticking to the body. Very recently several women had used commercial talcum powder in place of grease. All is kept in position by a band, similar to a man's belt, tied around the baby's body.

At intervals the mother peeks under the band to see if the cord has dried and fallen off. Ordinarily it does so within 10 days. Should it be oozing, she cleans it and treats it as before. If it does not drop off within another 10 days, a preparation is applied of ashes of wood mixed with scrapings off the smoke end of a cornsnak. The cornsnak is dried once the fire until almost scorched. If no cornsnak is at hand, the powdered scrapings off the edge of a piece of pottery are

39: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1917
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more recently, the powdered sesqui-oxide of the broken edge of an iron bottle are used. The salves must be those of either bulgar or pelli. Those of pilli must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing."

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an *Alapido* mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the rules. The most recent one I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the rules] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the rules]. The cord must never be thrown out of the rules. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the rules when it is dark." A *Ximinag-in* woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another *Ximinag-in* woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our rules. I kept them inside the rules, however."

A 60-year-old *Cellelipe* woman had not heard of the belief of the *Alapido* women. She had kept the cords of her children in the rules because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to *Pangipulli* informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under thatchers. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child pale at first," a belief held by the *Chiquyen*. When told of the *Arauканian* custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and carrying it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

BEGINNINGS, PLACENTA, CORD.

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homespun woolen cloth, and ties it to the cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers

Dr. Rüger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SCA Araucanian SCA
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[illegible] down her throat—this will cause her to vomit the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either before the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This is true for all areas except Pangipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants have that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka. "Yet that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Pangipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chagüe. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chagüe because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a veil. "I am sure if one were to born, the midwife would use all the skill she knew it is with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

[illegible] SIGNS OF [illegible] SIGHT

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the ojo of a ghost. Quoting a Pangipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps a woman deliver her child squeezes the ojo of a ghost we call Sandalia [antimalaria]* into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it, at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The ghost grows in deep ground."

* When translated, Sandalia means to keep from being a blind person. The order was made to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Cautín identified a specimen the Pangipulli informant brought as hardware. Pillo Juli Lepil, ed. [illegible] gives the botanical classification of hardware as Cruciferae [illegible]. Saadi, Ben. Cruciferae, Ind. the Spanish equivalent as mostaza. It is what you smelle in the plaster medicinals [illegible], and [illegible] is classified as Cruciferae [illegible].

[illegible] 19

[illegible]

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft area found between circles of old quila vest just around the baby's head to replica fashion. "That area was soft and down. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find way of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap."

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be overstimulated, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all.

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a question, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Pangipulli and Coñaripe cases a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or narrow or footlike it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of nose; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it carefully, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push the cheeks upward with her fingertips and the little hands over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the proprietors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to the head to round it. She will train the back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for the head. However, if the head lodges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have slowly formed heads. The heads of Chileans often lodge in the back."

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the hawk-parrot. The hawk-parrot's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward

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like this [running her thumb and first finger down the ridge of the nose and then stretching the nostrils wide open with the fingers]. She says to the child, 'You must have a nice nose like the landseria.'"

Babies are often born with a dense growth of hair on forehead and sides of face, from temples to ear lobes. By the time the child enters school, it has disappeared, but a few hairlets, a characteristic of Araucanians in all areas—one not desired by them—remains. (Cf. p. 61.)

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

For a few hours following delivery—probably two—the mother lies quietly on her back, "she must not stir in the least." Then she walks to the family's bathing place, either a river or lake or the Pacific, and there wades directly into deep water. "This brings about good blood circulation." "All the Mapuche women in Cobquipe still do that," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "Chileans around here say these women are crazy, but the Mapuche women say that they feel better if they take this cold bath."

In many instances still the midwife, or one of the other women who was present at the delivery, dips the infant into the water where the mother is taking her bath. "This bath hardens the child to the hardships of life," said a mother. "It makes the child early to physical endurance. Formerly the Mapuche could resist sickness; they were a strong people because of it. Where they are no longer given this bath after birth, the Mapuche are a weak people." No informant knew of an instance where the mother while bathing herself bathed her child, also, in a stream or in the sea after birth. "Maybe it was done a long, long time ago." Cooper's sources say it was (1946, p. 731).

Today a substitute for the baby's first bath in a body of cold water is dipping the infant into a dish of cold water or, as the Chileans do, laying it on one's lap and dashing cold water on its back and front. The midwife or one of the women who has attended the birth will do so. Generally fresh cold water is used; rarely, a decoction. The belief prevails that the cold bath is conducive to the child's good health and well-being. The dish used is one carved from a tree trunk.

The mother bathes the child frequently during infancy and childhood; many do so daily. It is dipped into a body of water, if one is near the house, or it is stood up in a dish in the rain and cold water is splashed against it. An occasional mother today uses lukewarm water or a decoction, something she learned from non-Araucanians.

A Cobquipe mother had seen a non-Araucanian mother bathe a child

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in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 846
babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One pierc- 304
ing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have theirs pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful."

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small [301]
earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs.

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304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, 3). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. 863
A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupülwe. When speaking Span- 854
ish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is [426]
never lent or borrowed. In Alepúe area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Panguipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it.

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, 1.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of collihue because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

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854 The bandless cradle was not used in Alepúe area; in Boroa area it was used almost exclusively. Two Alepúe women examined with interest a bandless one pictured by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78) and discussed and evaluated it. "This setting [pointing to the backrest] is not what we make; we use a piece of wood for a backrest—two or three, if they are small ones. This is how a Mapuche cradle should look: [One woman drew two parallel lines and connected the upper ends with a line bent above each of the parallel lines.] We are wondering who made this cradle [illustrated in Cooper]; do you know?" Pangipulli informants said the bandless type was easily made. "You take two boards so wide [approximately 2 inches] for side pieces, or if you cannot find boards, chop two small straight limbs off a tree and peel them of bark. Use these for side pieces. Then find some small boards for the backrest, burn holes into the ends of them and also into the poles, and tie them all together with thongs."

Several cradles in use during the present study had parts fastened together with nails; all others, and also most museum specimens, were tied together with leather thongs or cords. Holes for tying had been burnt into the wood with hot irons. [284]

There are no standard measurements for a cradle other than that it should be big enough for a baby. An informant said that the length of the backrest should be the distance indicated between his hands (28 inches) and the width approximately half that distance. The entire length, he thought, should approximate 34 inches "for the cradle must have two feet on which to rest. There must be some distance below the baby's feet. When the baby has outgrown the cradle, the cradle is no longer used. It is generally not used after the baby walks, but I tied my babies to theirs even then, for I knew then where they were—they could not get out my sight."

A cradle is not made ceremonially; no part of it is ornamented; no toys are attached to it. It is padded with either a piece of sheep pelt with wool side toward the baby or a piece of worn-down chamall; both are soft. Lashings are passed through knitted loops attached to the framework of the cradle or through perforations along the edges of the pelt or chamall, in which case the pelt or chamall is securely fastened to the framework. Lashings are woven bands, and only one band is used in lacing a baby to its cradle. In general, one end of the lashing is fastened to the first loop at the head end of the cradle, and is then passed through a loop at a time, alternating from side to side, until the foot end is reached. Here it is fastened into the last loop, and any unused lashing is tucked under the lacing somewhere. A baby is swaddled before being tied to its cradleboard. If it is to sleep, its arms

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are laid to its sides before it is swaddled. In its waking hours, its arms and hands are free. 954

The cradleboard serves several purposes, one of which is to insure correct posture as the child grows. Quoting an Alepite woman: "When a child is in its cradle its legs and arms are straight down. It is because of this that the Mapuche have those straight legs and erect backs; seldom is there one that has bowed or bent legs. Too many Mapuche today want to do away with cradleboards and follow those stupid Chilean customs." A Coñaripe father thought a child was too confined when tied to its cradle: "My three oldest children were each tied to a cradleboard. But when my three youngest children were babies, there were enough older ones to tend to them and carry them around. Anyway, I do not think a child develops well when it does not have its freedom of movement."

A baby in its cradle relieves the mother of its care while she is busy. "A mother who weaves has the baby in its cradle right close to her; the baby watches her weave them." "Whenever a baby cries, it is tied to its cradle and set against the wall. From here it can see other persons, and see what they are doing. Babies seem to like it, for they are quiet then." A baby that gets restless or seems tired will have its arms brought out from under its swaddling bands.

Furthermore, even a young child can be assigned to tending a baby, if the baby is on its cradleboard. The child will play with the baby, talk to it, or rock it, by moving the weight of the cradle alternately from one foot to the other. An 8-year-old boy tended a neighbor's baby in its cradleboard by rocking it and saying "chuf" as each foot of the cradle hit the ground. "I do not want the baby to begin crying," he said. A grandmother was seen doing so for mere enjoyment. Occasionally she stopped rocking, and talked to the baby.

A cradleboard provides a place for the baby's daytime naps. If the baby falls asleep in its cradle, the cradle is laid on the floor and the canopy erected over the baby's face. At night the baby sleeps out of its cradle with its mother. "That is the place for a baby at night; certainly not in the cradle!"

Also, the cradleboard provides a means of transporting the baby on its mother's back when she walks a short distance, "like to the neighbors." Most women carry a cradled baby by slipping each arm through a loop, the ends of which are fastened to the cradle; several women carried one suspended from the forehead by means of a band. If long distances have to be traveled, the mother rides horseback and places the cradle in horizontal position on the saddle in front of herself.

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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "ssi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle taps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tss." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gush" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

534 A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow 535
with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, 835
sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not 856
designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, 852
express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and 855
evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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855 Coñaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the ñamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may drench along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [561] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ñelñi). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi alwewñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

863 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, grillo (kuniñ kuniñ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small home-made 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

865 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

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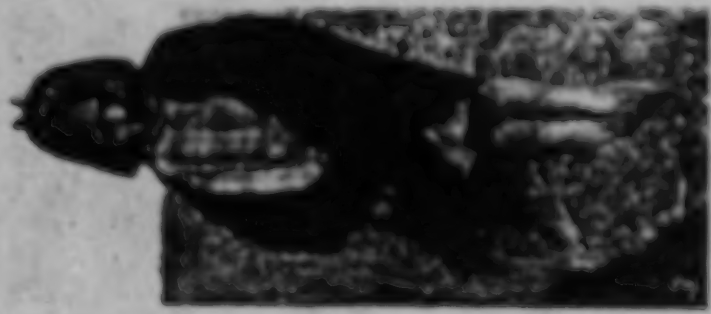

Older children: (1) "Tom-tom" [illegible] (2) "Girl's school" [illegible] (3) "Boys' school" [illegible]

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[492]

[p. 31(N)]

[illegible] 1, 2. [illegible] on the way to Mehuin." (Alonso) 3. A boy [illegible] 4. "Here, near Tirúa, the Indian of [illegible]

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Adopts schoolchildren: A, Boys on their way home from school. (Note homemade bag, now being used as satchel.) B, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a schoolchild). C, Lunch time at school. (Note wooden bowls of bags.)

[b-26/2]

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[p. 240]

[illegible] Dillgrey E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

DC4 Aeroclubdana DC4

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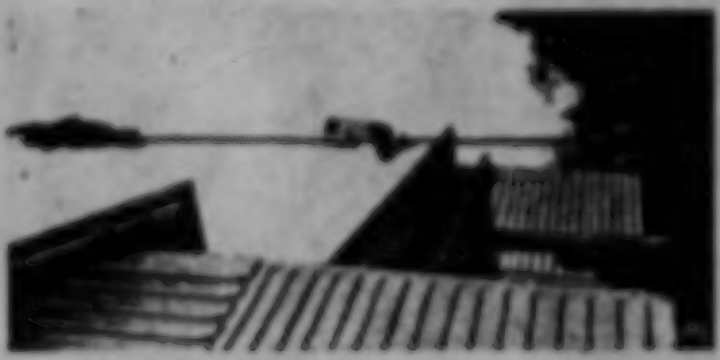

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[p.100P]

FIG. 10.—Machi, Chile. (1) Machi in ceremonial dress, with drum and rattle. (2) Machi in ceremonial dress, with drum and rattle. (3) Machi in ceremonial dress, with drum and rattle.

[redacted]

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 103-104). The shawl used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtless diaper as were girls. After that he wore his shawl like a man's chilipa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an unclothed child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were barefooted and bareheaded. [29]

FEEDING, WEANING

Before the baby's first vomiting, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pulls a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of palm or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of palm. The leaf is heated over the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. [53]

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of ají in water gruel from flowing water, usually a spring. The drinks of this mixture two or three times and she nurses her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby fat. [54]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each sparking and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a medicine (a decomposition concoction) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

[illegible] I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and hold decoctions for it."

A child is always weaned until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom weaned when older than two years. (Pt. 3, c.) It is weaned that is the conditioned, resting in its mother's arms, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then laid to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still swaddled in the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 20-month-old boy became bellicose. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a goat cow. "We put this in a bottle with a nipple. One can buy these in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."

The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods. "We more foods that everyone else uses. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, cereals (made of cooked wheat), corn pottage, and later eaten. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child will lose mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister or house while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother does not use a repellent, such as a papaya or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's sources, the child was weaned when all its teeth were out, or a year after its birth, or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (Cooper, p. 770).

Only an unweaned child sucks its fingers. Two instances came to the writer's notice: one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

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ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alegale, Pangelipulli, and Cellelipe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and in neighboring area of Lidco. In Alegale area three pairs were born between 1930 and 1948. §15

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with sand (1946, p. 722). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alegale and Pangelipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (Catholics and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Cellelipe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alegale] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two months ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary powers. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

SPOUSES, RELATIONSHIPS

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both sons and women had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." §35

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian unknown whose daughter was away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not necessary for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from §38

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[115] an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the house of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother bears the censure of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her house," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to have a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's house." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced by such, and added, "I told them at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. When I feared her happened, my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

MOTHERLESS CHILDREN, SEX RATIOS, INFANTICIDE

[116] Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

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were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). 847

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 845

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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously
[845] noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cofaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed
848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Cofaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen.
145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three
153 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cofaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted
736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor-
593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in
A Chilean orphanage.

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a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepúe boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 597 593

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 597

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 357

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

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NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 With rare exceptions, it was the father who named his child. The name was selected in several ways: Either the father selected it and talked his choice over with the mother of the child and then bestowed the name unceremonially by merely saying that this was the child's name; or a close relative, such as the grandmother or uncle, said that a child should be called by a certain name and then the father bestowed it, again unceremonially; or the name of someone outside the extended family, possibly, known as a *l'aku* (namesake), was selected, and his name was given the child at the *l'akutun* (naming feast). In rare instances the *l'aku* bestowed the name also. More often a boy's name is bestowed at a *l'akutun* than that of a girl. There are both masculine and feminine names.

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man had named his children unceremonially. He said that his grandmother came to his ruka on each day that one of his children was born and asked him to give the child the Araucanian name that she suggested and that he did so: "When my first child, a son, was born, she told me to call him Rayenllapka (flower magic stone—magic stone used by machi). I gave him this name on the day he was born. We had no ceremony or celebration of any kind. I merely said that Rayenllapka would be the boy's name. When the second son was born, she told me to call him Mellilapka (four magic stones). So I called him that several days after his birth. She asked me to give my daughter the name of her mother, and I did so."

When a child is given its name at a *l'akutun*, the *l'aku* either announces that he will do so or the father of the child invites him to do so. The following are essential elements of a *l'akutun*: the father notifies the *l'aku* of his desire to use the *l'aku's* name and gets his permission to do so; the *l'aku* furnishes a slaughtered lamb or sheep for the feast; either the *l'aku* or the father provides an alcoholic beverage—formerly it was *muday*, today it is chicha; families of relatives and friends are invited; the *l'aku* holds the child in his arms while the father declares that the child will have the *l'aku's* name; the *l'aku* then asks God to protect the child during its life; the day ends in much drinking. An informant described the *l'akutun* thus: "If a father wants to give his little son the name of an old man, he sends a messenger to the old man to tell him that he would like to take his name for his son. If the old man consents, a day is set for the naming. The father provides chicha (formerly it was *muday*) and the

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old man daughters a sheep. Others are invited. If the old man is rich, he may give the child a horse or a heifer as a gift, and from then on he will continue to give the boy gifts until he is two or three years old. The father ensures the boy by saying to those present that this old man gives his name to the boy. The old man then takes the boy in his arms and says, 'God care for you. During the remainder of my life, you will be my l'ahu. I am your father.' Then the father of the child answers for the child, 'I will be your l'ahu. I will be your child.' Then the wife of the old man, if she is there, says, 'I will be your mother. Come to me if ever you are in need.' Then the old man and the father shake hands. From then on that person and the child call each other l'ahu. The feast ends with much drinking of chicha. A l'ahutun is made so that the name of a grandfather or great-grandfather or some other person will not be lost."

553

There was no set age at which a child was named. Generally, however, it was given a name when less than two years of age; often it was named shortly after birth.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 729-731), the naming feast followed the period of the mother's seclusion after delivery. At the feast a white lamb was sacrificed, at least in more recent years. Some of the blood was sprinkled in the four cardinal directions and the remainder poured into the hole in the ground where the umbilical cord had been deposited. South of Tolten, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. Informants of the present study had no knowledge of these customs, except that of the naming feast itself.

Sometimes a boy's name was changed; very rarely, a girl's. If a noted cacique came on a visit, "such as the cacique from the Pacific coast or Lonquilay or Pitrulquén," a father might change the name of a young son to that of the cacique, especially if the cacique was also well known because of his oratorical abilities. If a father disliked a young son's name, he might give him a new name. "A boy near here was called Antilmen until he was five or six years old. His father disliked this name and changed it to Kolkolhuin." It also happened that a relative who had been away for a long time came for an unexpected visit. He would walk into a ruka and say, "I want this boy as my namesake. I want the boy to have my name." And from then on "the boy will have this relative's name and he loses his other name." If a boy wishes to have his name changed to that of a relative, the father confers with the relative about it. If all is agreeable, the change will be made at a naming feast held in the boy's home. On rare

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553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matías family did so; its name was Calfin, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfin men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

552 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, ciga, cunga; also cipa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kumpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly 556 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (built red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Pinquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaykinaggai (what falls from above); Pinatrayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquilhuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinaggai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

550 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Pangaipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Loykon after my father who had been named Loykon after his grandfather whose name was Loykonfanco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

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of a kuga name and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name (Cooper, 1946, p. 723). Informants reasoned that if the kuga existed in the early days, it might possibly exist today in what was known to them as the kumpén, since kumpén meant a group of families related by blood ties, such as the Lienlaf in Alepúe and the Tripailef in Puringue; but that not always was the given name one compounded with the name of the kumpén. "For example, in one family here [Alepúe] brothers were named Huaiuse, Marilaf, Manque, Pencru, Lefin, and Chowe, and their sister's name was Cumitra. The relationship name—probably the kumpén you are asking about—was Lienlaf—that is, they belonged to the Lienlaf people in this area. I know it, because I belong to the same family. These families go way back to the time before we fought the Spanish. Today the names of these six brothers are surnames. The children of each use their father's Mapuche name as their surname. The brothers have all been baptized, and when they sign their names now, they write their baptismal name first and add to it their Mapuche given name, but not Lienlaf." 551

For 700 families in Panguipulli area, on the contrary, names contain the word pun, an abbreviation of puma (lion). Among them are the Kuripún (black lion), the Limpún (light of sun lion), the Aillapún (nine lions), the Kiñapún (three lions). The names of another group of related families, also in Panguipulli area, end in llaqha (blue stone with magic). "My grandfather's name ended in llaqha. So did three of his cousins whose names were Wenullaqha (power from above blue stone with magic), Melillaqha (four blue stones with magic), and Rayenllaqha (flower blue stone with magic). Félix José (1907, p. 30) lists as members of the kumpén of llaqha, which he translates as finely colored bead, such names as Chiwullaqha (foggy finely colored bead), Purrullaqha (spotted finely colored bead), Anlall (proud finely colored bead), Kuñll (finely colored bead that warms), and Malhell (finely colored bead of condor). Informants believed the last three to have ended at one time in llaqha, also. (Cf. also kiqa, under "Marriage," p. 129.)

A non-Araucanian interpreter of Panguipulli was bewildered at the information regarding the kumpén. She had often attempted to trace names in baptismal records for adult Araucanians who needed an official statement of their ancestry in order to lay claim to land. Quoting her: "It is impossible to do so. There is no similarity between the names of parents, grandparents, or other relatives to indicate that they are related to the child, or even to each other." A 70-year-old Cañeripe man was certain that similarity in names had nothing to do

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SA with the kumpén. "Else, why was my father's father's name Nahuelco, my father's name Willahuanco, and my name Pillañelfun?"

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine. Neither prefixes nor suffixes indicate gender. Women's names have no relationship to the kumpén. Some names, both feminine and masculine, lend themselves to translation; others do not. Feminine names that have meanings are Llanquirai (witchcraft stone with flower), Lefuai (running), Pinolu (hummingbird), Huaiquipán (enclosed fire). Feminine names that do not lend themselves to translation are Pudunai, Llefilai, Pinolu'a. "Clearly, anyone seeing these names will know that they are feminine names; they have the sense of femininity in them." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733), the name of a female child could not be mentioned lest it die. Informants of the present study had not heard of this custom.

The following names are those of parents of the first 10 persons baptized at Misión de Pangipulli in 1903 and whose names are recorded in its Libro de Bautismos de Indígenas (Anonymous, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1-3). The first name in each pair is the father's; the second, the mother's: Huichanao and Calfuran; Aburto and Nahuel; Calfiqueu and Ayllinpán; Huilipan and Marquil; Lefuinan and Huentoab; Lefuinan and Huentoab; Malupán and Nahuel; Trutrui and Anculen; Trutrui and Pudipan; Anculen and Nebiguir. The following pairs of given names (surnames omitted) are those of the parents of the last 10 children baptized in 1947: Huaiña and Huenufanco; Sandoval and Allinpán; Limonfanco and Lenfuman; Antiao and Pichilef; Nanuncura and Ancoli; Cupulef and Calter; Huaiquipán and Colupán; Trufifanco and Melinao; Colipán and Canucul; Anurao and Canucul. It is interesting to note that each parent has an Araucanian name recorded as a surname; in 1903 no parent had a surname. Nearly all the given names of parents are Araucanian; those of children are Christian.

SURNAMES

As noted previously, Araucanians had no surnames in the early days. Surnames were introduced by the Capuchin Fathers in order to make baptismal records permanent files to which Araucanians could refer in later years. The Fathers were certain that in due time the Araucanians would come under Chilean law regarding land and inheritance and that accurate information as to dates of births and to parentage would then be essential. This has proved to be true.

In more recent years, too, teachers have had to give surnames of

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schoolchildren in order to fill in reports demanded by the Chilean department of education. The following given names of men are today surnames of school children in Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas. Meanings follow. If names lend themselves to translation—some cannot be translated "any more than you can translate John or Joseph." Calfilmanda (blue gulls), Pailliñanca, Cacia, Caniucura (? stone), Calfiñupura (blue fox), Huaitra, Huaicha, Huaquillo (herd of snakes), Catrillo (cutting snakes), Nawadillo (running snakes), Huyhual, Catrihual, Huaiquipán (leaves of the lion), Marillo (ten snakes), Maripán (ten lions), Mañipán, Marihuan (ten guanacos), Calfihuan (guanacos), Nancupán (eagle lion), Nawadal, Pailliñan, Pailliñanca (the back of the eagle). 551

At present schoolchildren and adults frequently follow the Spanish custom of including the mother's name in their surname, as do Chileans.

NICKNAMES

A nickname (Mañachen) is attached to an individual because of an atypical physical trait, a unique similarity to something, or an unusual or amusing event associated with the individual. Nicknames today are both Araucanian and Spanish. Quoting informants: "A boy who lived near us had a hernia; so I nicknamed him Mañiñ (hernia), something he resented. That was when we were boys. Maybe I was punished, for now that I am married one of my children was born with a hernia and cleft palate." "My father gave me the nickname Kuche (old woman)," said a teen-age girl; "he said I acted like my grandmother."

Teachers told of nicknames of school boys and girls. "Many girls in the school and nearly all the boys have nicknames; some have several," said one teacher. "One boy is called Wekufü (devil); another Turdo (thrush); another Fidel (name of a small bird that lives near water). One of the girls is called Perdiz (partridge)." Children in another school enjoyed telling their own nicknames or embarrassing others by telling theirs. One boy was nicknamed Pelillí (the core of a tree) because he was tall and lanky; another, Chuzao (name of a bird) because he was a good whistler; another Sambo (from a story in a reader). One boy was called Ojo because he began every sentence, hesitatingly, with "ojo" when he was learning to read; another boy was dubbed Mercurio (mercury) because he was quick of action; another Diablo (devil) because of his mischievousness. A girl was called Zapatito (small shoe); another, Zorzal (a bird's name; also a crafty person). "Whenever we read about that bird, all the children

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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555 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mac Coa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mac Coa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Lamento (sighing of the lamb). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pinero because he was a diminutive person; another was called Minar because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS OF THE COMMUNITY

559 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous.
[98] (Pls. 10; 11, 1; 12, 1.)

983 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
680 and still are—emphasized to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful
999 and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
983 ruka, land, cows, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disease, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Collipulli] is rich if he has go to do sheep and more land than he needs for

Dr. Hilger E-9 (1948-1952) 1957
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pasturing them and for raising produce to ...had his family well. The 593
average family has go to go sheep and cattle ...gh land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepín area, one of
the wealthiest families owned two acres of ...land, some of which was
still forested. The father had selected the ...forested land and knew
his family would be given title to it so soon ...as he had cleared it of
trees.

Every person has the right to own land ...in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proposes to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another ...area has difficulty in ac-
quiring land there. If he can get no land, ...he has no pasture and
therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such ...a man's family obviously,
then, is poor; it has no status in the area ...fact it is only tolerated
there. Neighbors will give food to the family ...y whenever it is rumored 554
that it is sorely destitute, but it is always ...ped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area ...where his relatives live. [734]
One such family lived in Alepín area and ...e in Cañaripe area. The
Alepín family lived in the neighborhood ...f distant relatives, who,
in order to relieve themselves of feeding the ...family, gave it land for
a garden and several cows and sheep. The ...animals were grazed in
common chief's pasture. The father was ...e to buy wheat and an
occasional piece of clothing by selling in ...-Araucanian villages fish
that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavor- ...rable weather prevented
him from fishing, kind persons in the area ...ive the family assistance. [736]
The father of the Cañaripe family worked ...or cash anywhere in the
area where he could find work; his wife ...pplemented his earnings
by selling laundry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male ...embers, including small
boys, wore hats, and if any or all members ...re shoes. Hats and shoes
indicated to others that the family had ...just beyond those needed
for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were ...those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was ...mous quarrelling, and in
which a member was a third.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that ...t sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by ...husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His de...cisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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583 562 [74] head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.'"

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

19: Hilger E.-S (1966-1952) 1957
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should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so. 593 SL2

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distance; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at home; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepín informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had welts from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chilenos; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for them." 593 578 [624]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Elukan!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen 593

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the rubs that a child had made for either parent. "Magnificent fathers their children," said a non-Armenian herbalist, who had been to all rubs in Aleppo area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please or bossy. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 13-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter finished the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are devoted. All stay in the rubs, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in
799 a rubs recently," said a non-Armenian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age,
593 however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her
[604] much." Informants were not acquainted with the Bape, a special relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chao within the family circle. In general conversation

a man or woman may adhere to him, a man from whom assistance is sought.

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help wherever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by buying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The Fathers of Families." A Cubeciqo father told of a discussion held by "The Fathers of Families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and noted that he expected to be given a piece. "I want me to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family.

According to a ten-year-old Cubeciqo man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least six years younger than the old Cubeciqo man—had not heard of the custom. Two Alagda women, one 80 years of age, the other 48, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Aguacatecos today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for conjugal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a six-year-old man brought his 19-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolapsed bladder, to an herbalist. After seeing that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a ruka a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Aguacateco herbalist heard an eldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman to a second wife. Most boys in an Alagda school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

[illegible] 1950

[illegible] 1954

Chile

[illegible] were usually divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls love their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

[illegible]

A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with soap made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Wheels are relied on for drying.

Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Angostura make the traditional family hairbrush (*rama*) from *colle colle* or from *ciruo* (unidentified), plants that grow in Angostura; in Abapin *ocua*, *rama* were made from a coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, *ocua* long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this. 302 [301] [515]

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes." 832

Most girls seen were earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band inclined with a repeated design, or a flattened so-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned. 301

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and shoulder against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty. 56

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "These two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends." 572

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

657 [illegible] games were generally played together by children
678 of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are then formed and extend through adult life.

857 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and all they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. School-children told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver neckpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

151 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepín, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quale, Punta Corral, and Puerta Saawedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quotin— the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

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857 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same
576 courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñë fii penen" or "Kimñë pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche nen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

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PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [181]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Alepúe schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

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TEASING, QUARRELING, USING "BAD WORDS," TEMPER TANTRUMS

Teasing is a chief amusement of children: boys tease boys, girls tease girls, sisters tease sisters, and brothers tease brothers. Teasing is done about the ruka and during play hours at school. In a ruka, a 13-year-old girl teased her 11-year-old sister by pretending to strangle the sister's pullet. The younger sister objected and told her to drop the chicken. The mother finally gave the older girl a look, and the girl released the chicken. During noon recess several little girls ran back and forth past a group of older girls squatted in the shade of trees and at every passing each little girl pulled the hair of an older girl. Each older girl snatched at the hand of the little girl, and when successful slapped it.

Teasing not infrequently leads to quarreling, accompanied by hitting back and forth, sometimes with angry words. School boys said their quarrels usually began during games, such as playing ball or spinning tops. "We begin peacefully, but sometimes disagree and end up in a quarrel, sometimes in a fist fight. Then, if one of us is cornered so that he no longer has his freedom, his anger becomes fierce." A young boy was angered by three older boys and a fight resulted. He fought back with his fists for a while; then stood with his back against the school wall calling to the one who would not stop molesting him, "You are an ox!" The attacker took it with a grin, as though he still had the upper hand. One morning at school rollcall, three boys, aged 7 to 9, two of them brothers, were absent. Children in attendance were certain that the two brothers were giving the third boy a "licking" for having used their father's nickname when speaking of him, as the brothers had warned the boy three days previously that they were going to do so. The teacher also related that she had had repeated reports that children of two families quarreled on their way to and from school. When questioned, the children of one family said that the relatives of the other family had invited their father to a machitun merely to send sickness through him to one of their sisters. (There is a belief that all sickness comes through poisoning in some unknown or mysterious way; cf. p. 110.) Another teacher told of two girls—one a cousin that had been adopted by the family of the other—who got into a quarrel at home and in consequence would not walk to or from school together on the two following days.

Schoolgirls gave as the chief reason for quarrels among themselves being called "bad words"; none would write or speak the bad words. Their teacher noted that possibly it was an expression in Spanish, "cuncho de tu madre" (shellfish of your mother), one that is greatly

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resented. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. "Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused." 865

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper —she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not bear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

STEALING, INTOXICATION

An occasional child steals. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the thief. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stayed close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unbeknown to her, the teacher left the room. When 867

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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is
685 reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
273 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
276 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they
828 pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pora). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in 841
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence. 841

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

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ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing [388] is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *2*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed 302 it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepúe area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rüna (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (fatrowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

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sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, *c*; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of pilaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kepkenkina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [924] [145]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarükepko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and stated: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b). 301 [602]

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of a distinct style (fig. 4, 5). Boys sometimes wore them until early adolescence, "for when a boy began to be treated like a man, he wanted to look like one." In Pangipulli area, an occasional man wore them "because his grandfather, who was reared in Argentina, did so." No specimens of earrings in Museo Araucano de Temuco were labeled as having been worn by men. Whether feathers played a role in bodily adornment was not ascertained. Cooper's sources say they played a minor one (1946, p. 711).

Women wore silver pendants known as chawaitu. Chawaitu consisted of small plates decoratively incised and either with or without dangles of small silver disks. Those seen today are heirlooms, as are most personal ornaments. Since silver is expensive today and silversmiths are few in number, silver earrings of the old pattern are no longer being made, "anyway one can buy pretty ones in Chilean stores." Nose rings were not worn. A 50-year-old man had not seen men wear bracelets but had heard old persons say that formerly both men and women wore them. Women wear them today.

Men did not wear necklaces. According to Cooper's sources women wore necklaces of lipuca (linjca), stones of green and bluish-green color, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of seashells were used (1946, pp. 711-712). Women I saw wore two kinds of neck pieces: one, worn close to the neck called trarupel; another extending over the chest called trapelakucha. The owners said they were heirlooms. The trapelakucha consists of three strands of silver links attached to a plate (pls. 27; 55, 3). The plate consists of two engraved birds facing each other. To the lower ends of the three strands of links is attached a trapezoidal or half-moon-shaped plate incised with a decorative floral design. Generally disks dangle from this plate. Evidently there are standard measurements for the trapelakucha, for six specimens measured 11 inches in length, and the plate with two birds facing each other 4 to 4½ inches, horizontally.

Stickpins were used by women primarily to fasten shawls close to the neck. One type of stickpin (pl. 27, 4), the tapu or akucha tapu, has either a discoid or a spherical head. Heads of five specimens varied in diameter from 2½ to 6 inches. The length of the pin was 8 to 10 inches. Decorations along the edge on one discoid were dots, not quite perforated, and two lines that crossed at right angles at the center. Another type of stickpin (more often it is a safety pin) was the ʃkill. (Museo Araucano de Temuco specimens were labeled siqual.) A single strand of silver links is attached to it, to the last link of the strand a formée cross, and to the cross either several small disks or one large one with several dangles. The usual length of the ʃkill is 12 or 13 inches.

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A headband, called trarülojko, worn by women, has links of silver disks dangling from the section above the forehead and/or temples (pl. 55); disks number from 41 to 45. A trarülojko serves to keep the hair back and also as an ornament. The llɔfallɔfnɔtrowe (pl. 55, 2), a woven band with sections of silver studs, is merely ornamental. Total lengths of llɔfallɔfnɔtrowe varied from 27 to 35 inches. Unstudded sections are wound around bunches of hair. An occasional adult man or woman or young woman today wears a ring made from a 20-centavo Chilean coin; many young men wear them. 301

According to Cooper's sources there was not much face or body painting until more recent times, when face painting was not uncommon (1946, p. 711). During the present study young women were seen occasionally with cheeks slightly rouged; in general, these women had been employed in Chilean families. Aside from this, there was no body painting. 302

Brown is the accepted proper skin color. "It is the Mapuche color; Chileans could not be brown, if they wanted to be; neither could you, you were born white. Are the Mapuche in North America dark-skinned too?"

Every Araucanian man and woman is proud of a nose if it is like the bill of the bandurria, "like the nose of a Mapuche should be." It is like a Roman nose with a decided flare of the nostrils. (Cf. pls. 23, 24.) As previously stated (p. 20) no Araucanian is proud of a low hairline. Adults are known to pluck hairs in order to raise the hairline. The writer saw boys doing so to each other at school; girls also. Those who live in localities where Chileans predominate not infrequently shave the forehead to heighten the hairline. Non-Araucanian herbalists in all areas had been asked for depilatories to remove the hair on the forehead.

Instances such as the following indicated that informants were conscious of their personal appearance: A young man arranged to have a picture taken of himself, "but not until tomorrow." The next day he appeared well dressed except for a hat. He obtained a hat, which any man may borrow from the teacher when he must go where Chileans are, and posed for his picture, making certain that the hat was properly tilted and that the corners of a fancy handkerchief he had tucked into his breast pocket showed. He moved his feet about until they were in the desired position, looked into the camera, and said with satisfaction, "Bueno!" When he saw the picture (pl. 26, 3), he was pleased, but remarked that he looked rather well fed. On another occasion, wanting a picture of a kɔpam (dress worn by women), I asked a young woman to remove her apron so the kɔpam

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302 could be better seen—it being a warm day she had already removed her shawl. She resented the request, said something about modesty, scolded, straightened her apron, put on her shawl and pinned it properly (the kapam was nearly completely covered by now!), shooed away the children, posed, and said, "Bueno!" One day in Alepúe arch a man galloped along the Pacific beach on horseback to catch up with me to say that an airplane had come within five yards of the ground where he happened to be examining a fence; in fact, it was so close that he could see the man sitting in the cockpit—something he had not expected to happen in his lifetime. He was filled with surprise and excitement. His horse, with head high, snorted. The setting was perfect for a photograph. When asked to halt a moment to have his picture taken, he answered, "Nothing doing! Nothing doing! Not in this torn pants." (His pants at the knees showed four distinct layers of patches.) He swung his horse around, called once more with emphasis, "Not in this old pants!" and galloped away.

FRIENDSHIPS

572 Sincere and lasting friendships existed. Close friends were usually relatives. "I have noticed that always two women who are particular friends are related," said a non-Araucanian; "the same is true of men." A 21-year-old man wanted his 24-year-old distant relative in a photograph with himself. "He is my best friend," he remarked. "I ask him for things sometimes, and he gives them to me; he seldom asks me for anything, for he is richer than I am. We also ask to use each other's things. He and I are not like brothers; we are best friends. Everybody has a special friend." It was noted, however, that an occasional man and woman did not have a very close friend.

Occasionally in former times two unmarried men, or two married men and their families, gave expression to their mutual friendship in a get-together known as konchotun; if the expression of friendship was one between two women or a woman and a man, it was called mechatun. (Cf. also Cooper, 1946, pp. 727, 743.) Essential characteristics of both konchotun and mechatun were sincere mutual respect and the presentation of a lamb or sheep by one friend to the other followed by eating together an ample meal—not the lamb or sheep received as a gift, but one supplied by the recipient.

An informant described a konchotun between two men as follows: "This is done only where deep, deep friendship exists. A man will bring a lamb or a sheep to his friend as a gift. The friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own lambs or sheep and prepares

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it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572.
the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a kowchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a mechatun for you. There has been no mechatun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a kowchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the gilletun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality." 576

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and 577

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574 walk toward him, especially if the visitor has been invited or if there is a barking dog nearby. Should an unexpected visitor be approaching or an unexpected person be accompanying the invited visitor, the door of the ruka is closed and no one appears on the spot until all is in readiness within the ruka. Visitors, in such instances, linger at a little distance, awaiting the opening of the door and a call to enter, or they await the appearance of someone who will give a greeting of welcome. If neither of these happens within a reasonable time, the visitor may knock on the door. If there is no response, he leaves the place knowing that he is not welcome at that particular time. On one occasion my companions and I met no responsible[illegible] consequently left the place. When we were well on our way over the top of a hill, we saw the woman and her children leave the ruka for a bath in a river nearby. The following day we were met by the woman some distance from the ruka and given a hearty welcome, but no explanation was offered for the preceding day's silence. The woman had merely done the customary thing. On another occasion the interpreter wished to deliver some medicine at a ruka we were passing en route to another family. She walked up to the ruka and called the woman's name. When we were still some distance from the ruka, we had seen the woman and her two little girls enter it and close the door. When there was no response, the interpreter remarked that in all probability the ruka was not in order, and we walked on. On our way home the woman stood outside the open door and greeted us. We chatted a little in her yard, and then she invited us to enter her ruka. Low benches had been set and covered, and the little girls were in their best dresses.

When a visitor is expected at a ruka, either a sheep pelt or woven throw is placed on each low bench or low chair or on the floor, close to the fireplace. In a ruka to which we had been invited to observe the making of mote (wheat cooked with ashes, cf. pp. 208-209) the mother ordered a child to stretch a sheep pelt with a newly woven throw. "Certainly, child," the mother said, "we must give visitors our best; that is only being courteous!" One is seated only after he has shaken hands with everyone present, including anyone busy near the ruka or in the garden who comes in to shake hands and then returns to his work. Once seated, one inquires about the health and well-being of all the members of the family, and for the whereabouts of those not present. Similar questions are asked of the visitor. This done, one begins to tell the purpose of the visit. Never, under any circumstances, does one begin with one's business immediately upon being seated. We noticed that all men and women—in some instances

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other children, too—who came to the window to obtain candies never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' health before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the candidate requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the rules of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a lengthy talk with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A lengthy talk is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the gilatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 LDL [537]

A surprise courting, called ores, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An ores is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 180, 183). During a Santa Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Infantita Margarita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574 /

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized virtue in states (1946, pp. 705, 707). In nearly every rules visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba mate. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 705). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her rules and returned with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a rules and are invited to spend the night there. 574 43

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [535]

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57M a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a house, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ñilatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, 57M or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a chosgüno (type of blanket rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that chosgüno," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her account with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian 57M teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, /52
according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on §23
horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, B-9
"That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a [illegible]
gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are /52
proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "Indios," but as "Indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanian, especially of the /57
women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1957 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl §34

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§39 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

§34 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening to agreed: "As many as six families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

§37 Very rarely was a married woman unfaithful—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her cabin had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to the conversation."

[illegible], ANGER, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

§38 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and elderly sisters quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 18-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her oldest

brother over the ownership of a rake: "When my father died my brother took his place in our family; I was still small then. Before my mother died, a year ago, she gave me this rake—she and I were living in K; my brother had married and lived in his own rake. I have lived here since my mother died. And now my brother lays claim to the rake. He has repeatedly asked me recently to live with him and his family. I have told him that I will not come to live with him—his wife was bad-mannered. Since then he does not come to see me; nor does he talk to me; he passes me by on the road without a greeting."

Disinheritance spites were known to quarrel occasionally, but in general there was little discussion among them. Instances of prolonged quarreling between husband and wife existed in all areas, but were reported as of rare occurrence; usually the woman gives in; or occasional one does not. "The Mapuche woman is humble. She is obedient, even if her husband is quarrelsome," said a non-Araucanian.

Quarrels between two intoxicated men are frequent; often they end in freely fist fights. Such men will give each other black eyes, will bruise or cut each other's faces, and then on the following day will transact a joint business with a third man. "Neither one seems to mind the beating he got from the other," said the informant.

Prolonged family feuds seldom occur; one was known to exist during the present study. Short-lived quarrels between families, however, arise sporadically. One cause is neglecting to keep fences repaired to prevent cattle from breaking through and damaging crops. Quarrels between schoolchildren are sometimes taken up by their respective families. Jokes are taken and sometimes exchange hasty words. If feelings become strained, public opinion is sought. Because of a quarrel, a man closed up a fence, thereby shutting off a path used by schoolchildren. The father of the children asked the teacher: "Do you think that this is just? We have had a path through that man's land and another family's land and we had for years. No one has ever objected. And now this man does what no man ever should do: treat other people's children badly. Tell me, do you think he is fair?"

Anger is expressed by the father of a family more often than by any other person. He may vent his anger on both his wife and children, but more particularly his wife, in words or beatings.

An unappreciated person—adult or child—will say of or to another: "You stupid person" (pelu), or "You senseless person" (wehenu), or more rarely "You devil" (wekufu). Angry adults may call each other dog in Spanish, something quite evidently not of Mapuche origin since the Mapuche word for dog (trewa) is not used in anger.

578 "It would not cause the same." The expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants personal site to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are are words related to sex. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists opposing continuum between "[illegible]," "[illegible]," and "[illegible]," and, he wrote of all, "[illegible]." He denotes the reader (1948, p. [illegible]) to Garrison [illegible] (or a list including greater breadth).

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Aymarahuan, "[illegible] to all days." He spoke it to few cases in Aymarahuan. His wife and daughter [illegible] displeasure, in fact slight horror. He considered it an [illegible], "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that our Mapuche can say to another."

578 Mapuche is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Aymarahuan woman who was married 582 to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarrelling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, as the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Aymarahuan land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The Aymarahuan relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant claimed: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not upbraid anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

[illegible] Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fetish through witchcraft (pp. [illegible]), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous cacique (one of three chief[illegible] wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the cacique was accused of poisoning them.

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Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 50 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there." 762

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sons—almost without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a lasso and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he slammed the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat off other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat humans." 731 266

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THEFT, INTOXICATION

674 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the [685] Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when 273 in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

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tion of a ruka. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other 273
in these occupations. Mudai, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (funa ponü, pp. 208-209).

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and ruka-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the ñillatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the ñillatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, 867
chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, 868
and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason.

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

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867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back;
868 and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ñillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children." 828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders. 861

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

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861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the ñillatun and the machitun on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Stem ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

863 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious mien, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

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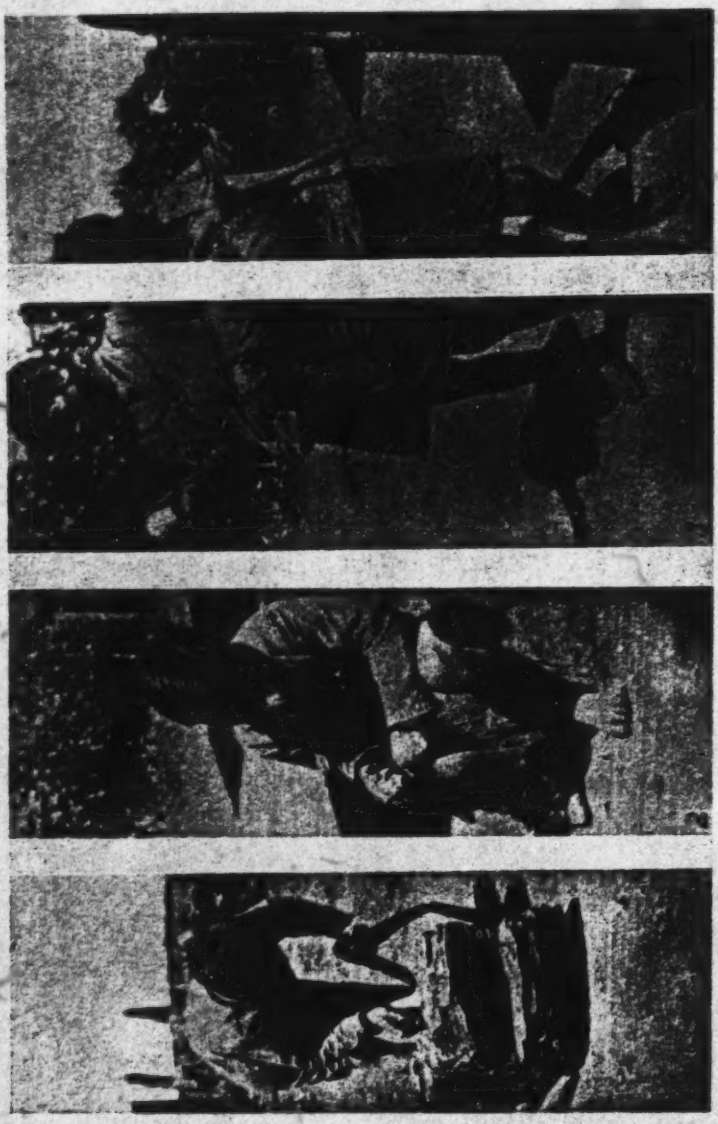

Aleple boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

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Making a top (continued): 1, Hammering a shingle nail into the tip of the top. 2, Filing away the head of the nail and giving the nail a dull point. 3, Twisting a cord to be used in spinning the top. (See plate 16 also for twisting of cord.)

[p. 76(B)]

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Spinning the top: 1. Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2. Spinning the top. 3. The boy has slid his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

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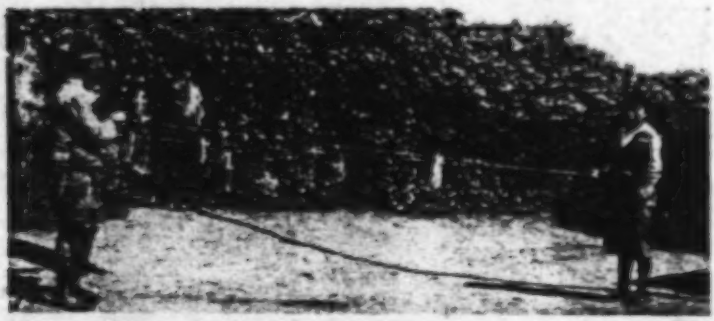

[417]

Tops (Alepúe): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3. Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(D)]

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Performing the dances of adults (Alepúe): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the waise. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the choike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their bashfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

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Alaguin boy making a fishnet of cochayuyo: 1. This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cochayuyo on him. 2. Dampening the cochayuyo with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3. The beginning of the knot. 4. The knot being built up by slipping the strand of cochayuyo under and through the tightened loops of the knot.

10: 10, p. 6

[P.7467]

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Making a fishhook (continued): 1, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the cockspur through a long-
2, Opening an end of a second strand of the cockspur to allow fastening its end. 3, The completed fishhook.
4, "Bones" in bamboo.

[p. 74(G)]

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Family groups: 1. An Hopin family and the children's national groups in the daughters in shell dress (second to Chilean home in Valdivia). Images on other and the left of the dress the home is wearing. Chile national dress and folk dancing on floor in the background. 2. The Colorado indigena family. 3. The Chin Chin indigena family (Tierra del Fuego).

[B 36.04]

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children too, and you must rear them. If you will train your children as I ordered you, you will have no trouble with them." The mother tells her all this."

Older boys and girls everywhere weight younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

[illegible]

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and punishments used are very simple-indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is diverted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "Tsitsi" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "tsitsiss." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his six-year-old sister, but dropped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing about by were repeatedly admonished by a "tsitsi" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "tsitsiss" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice, always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice.

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Adults interviewed had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for remembering lists of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were an [illegible] for reading a book;

[illegible] 1¢ pence for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for reading little turkeys; a guano, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pence for sending the postman; 5 Centavitos as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for sending the garden well; chocolate from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for reading little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a jeep for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for reading little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for sending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is reserved, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by admonition in stern tones, by scolding in angry tones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She ordered him to a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 12-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, on occasions: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the room and forbade them to eat anything until the next evening."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by admonitions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for calling themselves after their fathers had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one

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else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience. 861

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu- 871

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871 cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an older son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

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537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, 622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver 202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. At-

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tentive listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in oratorical fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used force, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in Alepúe could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numbers also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 802

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 754). The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Panguipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. [177]

TABLE 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Chile)*

1 kiñe	11 mari-kiñe	31 küla-mari-kiñe	102 pataka-epu
2 epu	12 mari-epu	40 meli-mari	199 pataka-hayllа-mari-hayllа
3 küla	13 mari-küla	50 kechu-mari	200 epu-pataka
4 meli	19 mari-hayllа	60 kayu-mari	300 küla-pataka
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	70 regle-mari	400 meli-pataka
6 kayü	21 epu-mari-kiñe	80 pura-mari	900 hayllа-pataka
7 regle	22 epu-mari-epu	90 hayllа-mari	999 hayllа-pataka-hayllа-mari-hayllа
8 pura	28 epu-mari-pura	99 hayllа-mari-hayllа	1000 mari-pataka
9 hayllа	29 epu-mari-hayllа	100 pataka	
10 mari	30 küla-mari	101 pataka-kiñe	

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802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antü). Antü is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Coñaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

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the ruka ("everybody knows the place") "where when the sun strikes it, we know it is a certain time of day." 805

When indoors, time was told by the location of sunrays at a given spot within the ruka. "In spite of the fact that there is no clock in any home of the 59 children in this school," noted a non-Araucanian teacher, "a child is seldom late to school. The children of one of the families unfailingly arrive just five minutes before the opening." During a visit in the ruka of these children, the writer complimented the mother on this. Promptly the 10-year-old daughter pointed to the edge of the hearthstone and said, "When the sunbeams strike there [they came through a crack in the door], we have to start for school; each day they come a little farther over this way." Shadows were not used in telling time.

On cloudy or rainy days time is not accurately known, but is merely guessed. The day we departed from Coñaripe was a cloudy one, and the boy who was to take our luggage by oxcart to a boat had to be sent for. He apoligized. "We did not think it was time to leave; it is so cloudy that the sun does not show even faintly." The day of departure from Alepúe was a rainy one, and the man who was accompanying us arrived 15 minutes before the time set for leaving. "With no sun shining, I could not tell the time; but I shall wait here for you," he remarked.

Hunger indicates an approximate time. The first meal of the day is customarily eaten as soon after rising as it can be prepared; others, when hunger indicates it; usually a second one is eaten late in the afternoon.

Divisions of the day are dawn; sunrise; forenoon, or not yet noon; noon, or sun is at the zenith, or the day is half gone; afternoon, or the day is passing, or the time between two lights; sunset; and dusk. Names for the divisions differ from area to area, as shown in table 2. (See table 8 for Argentine Araucanian names for divisions of the day.)

"In winter," said an informant, "we use the above words also, but the time between the parts of the day is shorter, since the days are shorter." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 754) the 24-hour day was divided into 10 or 12 parts. According to Moesbach there are about 15 divisions (1936, pp. 82-84).

The night is called pun (darkness); the moon at zenith, ranipun (the night divided). "A man may wake up and notice whether the night has passed ranipuŋ. Or a child may take sick, and its mother say, 'That child took sick after ranipuŋ.'" In general, with reference to time of night the moon has little significance.

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805 Days were not grouped into weeks. Even today, weekdays are seldom kept count of. Informants would ask, "What day of the week is today?" or "Is tomorrow Thursday? In San José they want fish on Thursday." When interviewed on Monday and asked to be interviewed on Wednesday, an informant would say, "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday—that will be the day after tomorrow; I shall be here."

A division of time from new moon to new moon was known as

TABLE 2.—*Divisions of the day and variations in the names of them (Chile)*

Divisions of day	Araucanian name	Area	As given by Félix José (1916)
Dawn	wintui	Alepúe	wün (vol. 2, p. 22)
Sunrise	chipanantü or malewanlü	Alepúe	wün'n (vol. 2, p. 26)
	pranpanantü	Panguipulli	
Forenoon, or not yet noon	puliwen	Alepúe	liwen (vol. 2, p. 233)
	liwen	Boroa	
Noon, or sun is at zenith, or one-half day is past	rañiñantü	All	
Afternoon, or day is passing	rupañantü	Alepúe	putrafuya, time between two lights (vol. 1, p. 190)
	putrafü	Boroa	
Sunset	konoantü (purple day)	Panguipulli and Boroa	
	amunantü (just a little sun)	Alepúe	
Dusk	poniantü or prapaiantü	Panguipulli	trafuyan (vol. 2, p. 29)

küyen—a word also used when speaking of the moon. Moons were noticed as they passed. "We say, 'A new moon has begun' as you say 'A new month has begun.'" But moons were seldom kept count of except by women who did so during the months of pregnancy to know the approximate time of delivery.

A new moon begins "when the moon looks like a thin sickle." Some one will see it and say, "Llenküyen" (a new moon is born). Full moon is spoken of as a halfway moon (rañiñküyen). It is called pillénküyen in Alepúe area; trunkuriküyen in Coñaripe area; aponküyen or pürkuyen according to Félix José (1916, vol. 2, p. 221). The moon

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at last quarter is called rupanküyen (the moon is withdrawing itself) 805
in Alepúe area and pishaiküyen in Coñaripe area.

Informants were not able to give names formerly applied to the span of time known as küyen; in fact, only one informant, a 42-year-old Alepúe area man, recalled ever hearing them spoken of; he could recall no names, however. A 76-year-old Coñaripe man said: "As the new moons were born, one after the other, we said—and still say—'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' and so on but we had no names for them." He expressed surprise at hearing that Araucanian names for them had been recorded by a traveler in 1861 (Treutler, 1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The informant, assisted by a 52-year-old man, translated the names as follows:

TABLE 3.—*Names of months according to Treutler (1861, vol. 1, p. 67), with translations by two Coñaripe men (Chile, 1946)*

Months	Araucanian names	Meanings
January	avun-cujen	moon of produce: seeds, fruits, fish, flesh
February ..	cogi-cujen	moon for harvesting
March	glor-cujen	moon for harvesting maize
April	rimu-cujen	moon for rūmū (*Oxalis lobata*)
May	inan-rimu-cujen	moon that follows rūmū
June	thor-cujen	moon of the foam (foam pertaining to water)
July	inathor-cujen	moon following the foam
August	huin-cujen	moon of the quakes
September..	pillel-cujen	moon wishing for things: for spring to come
October ...	heuel-cujen	moon of producing something to grow
November..	inan-heuel-cujen	moon following the one where producing begins
December ..	heevun-cujen	moon of new fruit

Treutler wrote (vol. 1, pp. 66-67): "The months they call in general moons, and there is nothing more common than to hear them say that they will do something or set an appointment in this or that moon." Félix José does not give names of months, or of küyen.

Seasons were taken notice of as they passed. Depending on the informant spoken to, there were two, four, five, or seven seasons. Names of seasons were recalled with difficulty. After some discussion, in which there was much disagreement, six Alepúe area men decided the following could be recorded as correct: "There are five seasons. The first season is pichi pepun [little to see]; it is the small spring. Then comes wün'n tripantu [beginning of the year]." The informant explained: "The year begins when the male swallows return and when many birds begin to pipe their songs. It is at that time, too, that three stars that lie in a row [Orion] appear; we call these stars willi wüfchitun or willi lloftun; the Chileans call them Tres Marías. Willi

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805 means south; wūfchitun and lloftun mean to lie in ambush. Later these stars tell us that fall is here. Then comes pukan (summer). Next comes kon'a pukem, which means about to enter winter. It introduces winter. And last of all comes pukem (winter)."

Two Maiquillahue women (Alepúe area also), 80 and 60 years of age, agreed that spring was called wün'n tripántu and winter pukem, but that summer should be called aŋtünen, and fall peuŋén. Other informants had heard of only two seasons, spring and fall: "After all there is one time in the year when seeds are sown and one time when the new ones are gathered. After the planting everything grows, and after the harvest the rains soak the earth for new planting."

Treutler recorded the words peuggen for spring, ucan for summer, gualug for fall, and puchem for winter (1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The following are according to Félix José (1916): Spring may be designated in four ways: wé tripantu (new year), wün'n tripantu (beginning of year), ellaka tripantu (the time of the year when days become longer), and pewüŋen (the time of buds) (vol. 1, p. 40; vol. 2, p. 301). Summer may be antütripantu or antüŋen (the time in which one feels keenly the heat of the sun) (vol. 2, p. 403). Walən is the period of the year in which fruit ripens; it may also be called waləŋman (about to harvest, or soon to have that which is eaten) (vol. 1, p. 244; vol. 2, p. 403). Fall is called both chomün (the drying and falling of flowers and leaves) and chomüŋen (vol. 1, p. 25; vol. 2, p. 267). Winter is pukem or pukemŋen (vol. 1, p. 188).

Equinoxes are taken notice of. "We know that planting time is near when the days begin to be longer than the nights. There is also a time after the harvest when nights begin to be longer than days, and we know that from then on we shall see the sun less often, and the weather will soon be more disagreeable."

There was no conventional way of keeping count of years. An important or unusual event was generally kept in mind and years reckoned from there on. Quoting a Panguipulli teacher: "I have often heard adults and children tell of an event as having happened before or after one of the earthquakes—there have been several severe and frightening earthquakes in this area in recent years."

Adults seldom knew their ages. One old woman gave as her age: "I am so old that I remember the days when there was no bridge over this river [Río Imperial in San José de Mariquina]." "I really do not know how old I am," said a man; "my oldest son says he is now 36." Since baptism and marriage certificates are often given to adults, the date of birth, as nearly as the officiating person could discover it, can be found on them. Not infrequent answers of adults

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Arapaho-custom. [171] 805

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewenunei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as makümewenunei. 821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pideñ, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather. [184]

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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821 the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the stores to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (runrun) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanín is white [snow-covered], and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every volcano and called each pillañ."

Schoolchildren knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alepúe woman in her forties called the morning star wïn yelfe. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called rəpïapeu, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alepúe woman called Orion wéluwitrau, a word which Félix José records as perhaps meaning the Southern Cross (1916, vol. 1, p. 251).

[787] An eclipse of the sun omened something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Coñaripe man noted that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we barely took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

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curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an arəmko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Arəmko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (piku), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willümapu), and west (konüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikukürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürəf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or nəqpa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Coñaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, 2-4, 6; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifəlka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ŋillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kullkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuŋkul, when no kullkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuŋkul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kullkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

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202 534 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hoping that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fūcha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fūcha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as choapino and lana. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring choapino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

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Informants and interpreters: 1, A Cañaripe family. (Note outdoor fireplace.) 2, Sister Gerona, an interpreter, and an Alapue informant. 3, Francisca Frauenderß, an interpreter (left), and Margaret Menthoch, field assistant (right). Young woman in center winnowing wheat. (Cañaripe.)

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Chilean Araucanians: 1, A Colorado family; 2, 3, Alacalufe men and women who welcomed the writer and his field assistant to the Araucanian country.

[p. 92(B)]

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Young men informants: 1, 2, Cohuripe man, side and front views. 3, Alapin man.

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Collarless Informants: 1, Sixteen-year-old boy; 2, 3, Two views of one of elder informants.

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Collaripe informants: 1, 2, Two views of one of chief informants, and 3, his daughter.

[p. 92(E)]

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Informants: 1, Domingo Hueuun, chief informant of Panguipulli. 2, Coñaripe man, more than 100 years old. (Note the ojotas, native footwear.) 3, One of Alepúe's finest young men.

[p. 92(F)]

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Paugnipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huenun's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

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Competitivt games of adults: 1, 2, The competitive game of chueca being played in the Province of Cautin. (Pictures were purchased in Temuco.) 3, Coñaripe men practicing futbal. 4, A rest period during the game.

[p. 92 (H)]

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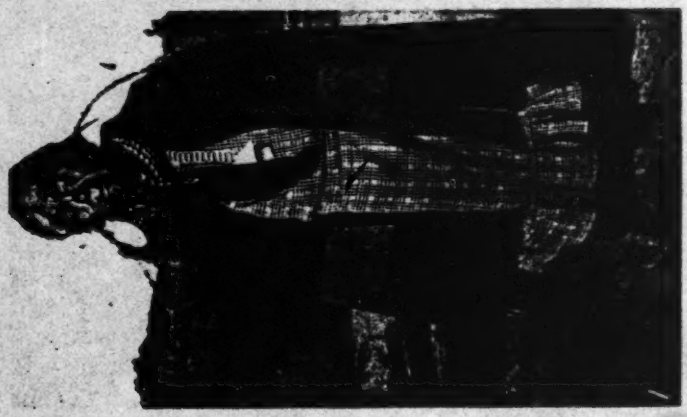

Older women: 1, A machi (Alepúe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coñaripe).

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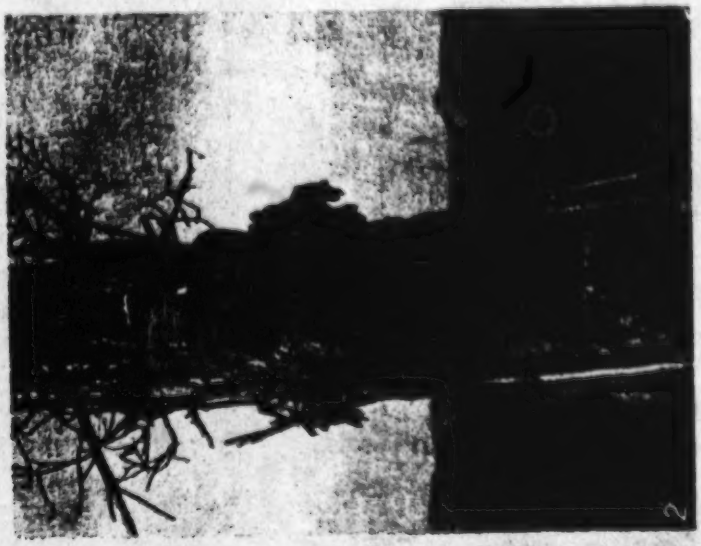

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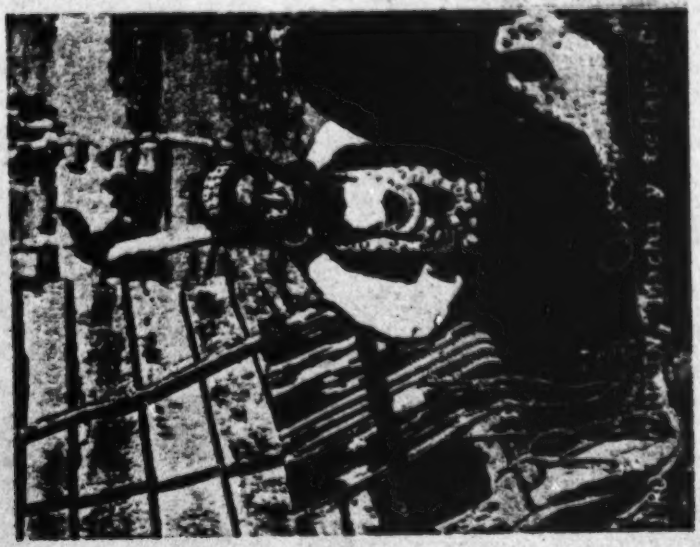

1, The machi, Province of Cautín, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

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Eye measurements (approximate) are used in selecting a tree from which oxcart wheels are to be made. "Any man who knows how to make a wheel knows that the tree minus the bark must make wheels large enough to keep the oxcart from hitting high spots in oxcart trails." An informant indicated by eye, on a table, the length and width of a bird trap. Two Alepúe men prepared bundles of cochayuyo for the market. Cochayuyo is an edible alga collected in shallow water on the shores of the Pacific. The length of each bundle (approximately 18 inches) was measured by eye; the thickness included what a man could hold between both hands when tips of thumbs and fingers met.

Chilean linear measurements now in use, "because we have to deal with Chileans," are the pulgada, measured by distance from tip of thumb to first knuckle (approximately an inch); the vara (approximately 34 inches); the meter (39.37 inches); and the darea (approximately 42 by 47 feet).

The diameter of logs sold to lumber camps is measured in pulgadas and paid for on this basis. Fences are erected and paid for on the basis of vara. "To make certain that I shall always know where I can find the length of a vara, I measured one off on the singletree of my oxcart." Something I noticed other men had also done. I saw one man lay a stick on the singletree of his oxcart where he had marked off a vara, mark the stick and use it in measuring a fence. Vara were also marked off on ax handles.

The meter serves as a basis for linear and surface measurements in many instances when dealing with Chileans. Orders for woven throws and chozpino and blankets to be sold in Chilean markets are given in meters. "But I do not always have a meter measure handy; I know that my winu is nearly a meter and I use it. Men usually know how many of their duke make a meter, and they then measure off in so many duke. My husband knows a meter is four of his füchi duke." A Chilean present at an interview remarked, "I know that from the earth to my belt, when I stand erect, measures a meter; but five of my complete hand stretches is also a meter." "Yes, five füchi duke," agreed an Araucanian. A darea, according to informants, is a measure used only at harvest time. "It is used in connection with a field of grain; it covers as much land as a man, who works conscientiously all day, can cut with a sickle. We never spoke of darea until the Spanish came here."

Quantity measures were pinches of various amounts and both single and joined handfuls. These were generally used in measuring herbs. Another measure was a cupliie implement made by cutting off the

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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversa-
[648] tion were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruins, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

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539 skunk then said, "Let us dart eight little sticks like we dart arrows. [These are darted toward a goal.] If you win, then I will take your poncho and let you have mine." The skunk won. But the fox who had forcibly taken the skunk's poncho by now threw it into the fire where it burned up. Then the skunk sat down and cried, and said, "My mother will spank me." Then three very young children came walking along and said to the skunk, "Don't cry; before long you will find a better poncho than you had." But that was not all: The fox then ordered one of the children to split wood, another to build the fire, and the third to put the olla on the fireplace. After the water boiled, the fox took the three children and put them into the olla. As soon as they were cooked, he ate them.

One of "the other kind" as told to a 14-year-old boy by his 80-year-old grandmother:

It was in ancient times. There was a very rich man who had many animals in his meadow—he was so rich that he could not count his animals. This rich man had two dogs. He thought of these dogs as his two sons: they understood all that they were told and they carried out his orders. These two dogs were accustomed to being sent to the meadows to bring home animals that were to be slaughtered. When the rich man was no longer satisfied to eat jerked meat, he sent his dogs to the meadows to fetch animals.

The following nonhistorical tale was told to a 12-year-old boy by his 34-year-old uncle; the uncle's grandfather had told it as having happened when he (the grandfather) was a child:

A puma had four cubs, and lay in her den with them. While lying there she heard some cries and whining. It was dogs she was hearing. The dogs were coming nearer the den. The cubs ran out and away. The puma, too, leaped out of the den and over a bank of quila. But the dogs chased her. Then the puma climbed up a tree and the cubs followed her. The owner of the dog came and cut down the tree. The dogs killed the puma and ate the little cubs.

The two following stories, told by Coñaripe men (33 and 34 years of age) are true historic events, so the informants said. Said one:

My grandparents told me that old Mapuche said that from very early times one could enter caves at one end of Lake Calafquén near here, walk underneath the lake, its full length, and then under the complete length of Lake Pilolil and come out at the other end of Lake Pilolil; that our people formerly hid under these lakes when their enemies came upon them—like they formerly did from what is now Argentina; they say that the entrance to the cave under Lake Pilolil can still be seen.

The other informant then took his turn:

There was an old lazy Mapuche man, but a very intelligent one. He fired off the rest of the people. One day he saw many Mapuche coming up the path. He hurried to the river nearby and stuck a sapling into the river bottom, a little distance from the bank. When the people came, he said, "A flood is coming!" The people moved on. When they had moved on a bit, he, behind their backs, moved the sapling farther from the bank toward the middle of the river, and

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a gilatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the gilatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the gilatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba mate. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiara or of Shipowil (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pilidin (whistle) (pl. 30, *1-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 30, *1*), the kultrung (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kultkull and the kaqkul (bagpipe) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pilidin, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pilidin, trutruka, and kultrung are used at the gilatun; the kultrung and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a kultrung rattle, a flute made of Chusquea sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 30, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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534 A very old pifalka owned by an informant (pl. 32, *f*) was of stone (today pifalka are often made of wood). It was approximately 4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and ½ inch thick and had one hole as a ventage. Through a perforation on each side, which the informant called ears, a cord was passed so that the pifalka could be suspended from the neck. Following the old custom, she noted, the cord should be made of the bark of either pelú, maqui, or totora. The bark is warmed over a fire, rubbed between the palms of the hands until soft, then boiled in water, cooled until lukewarm, and then pulled apart into strands. The following day the strands are rolled between the hands to the length needed by the person who is to use the pifalka. "It must be long enough to reach around the person's neck and part way down the chest." Today, more often a colored ribbon is used in place of the bark cord. A pifalka is sounded by holding it with ventage at the top, and blowing across the ventage, as one does in playing a flute.

An informant had made a trutruka by splitting lengthwise a stock of green quila, approximately 8 feet long, removing the pith, then tying two parts back into position with flocha and pulling over them the dried intestine of a horse. At the farther end he inserted and fastened securely a portion of the horn of an ox. "Without it there is no tone," he remarked. The other end, the one used for blowing, he cut off on a 1½-inch slant. When not in use, the trutruka is filled with water to keep it from shrinking. Two trutruka, collected in the Province of Cautin (Nos. 115 and 116, Museo Araucano de Temuco), are of split colihue bound together with vine and then overstripped with animal intestine. Each is an inch in diameter and approximately 9 feet long. A 6-inch section of the horn of an ox is attached at the farther end of each.

No kultrun was seen in the field. Specimen No. 372 in the Museo Araucano de Temuco, collected in Panguipulli and labeled "very old specimen," had been made by stretching the inner lining of a hide over a bowl of wood. It is 5 inches in depth, 13 inches in diameter at the opening and 8½ inches at the bottom. Another specimen (No. 438—according to the curator, a recent collection)—contains some articles which make of it a rattle, also. Its depth is 6 inches, diameter at hide end 18 inches and at the bottom 6 inches. Its 18-inch-long drumstick has one end wrapped about with red, white, and purple yarn.

The wada is a dried, hollowed-out gourd, "big enough to fit into a big hand," into which either seeds of coral or pebbles are put, and the gourd then covered with the inner hide of sheepskin.

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The kaqkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 90-91). 534
Félix José defines the kaqkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kaqkul (pl. 12, 1) that what they had made were kaqkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kaqkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kaqkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiesha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four voniagos, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 713 and 739). They are, respectively, 13 inches long and 2 inches wide, and 28 inches long and 25 inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepín man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepín man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the cueca to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours. 534 177

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueca, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—chuchu (chew) (pl. 17, 3 and 4). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gina, the cueculo, the waiso, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as dances; the chuchu, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the chuchu for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them. 535

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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as *pawas*. They are danced at the *ngillatun* and the *machitun*, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. [illegible]). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word *pawa*, Europeans know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the *ngillatun* and *machitun*, but we dance like they do at home or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as *pawa*."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the *pawa*, the *cueculo*, the *waina* (pl. 17, *r* and *s*), and the *marcha*, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the *pawa*. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canela leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative *cueculo*, *pawa*, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 798).

539 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so
539 when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I raise a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remember you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I sent from the north to this place. I was in a house of glass, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the smoke through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Paradise has for me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the smoke through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Paradise has for me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting
578 at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we have. There is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

[illegible]

[illegible]

During recess at school and at home children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call chalo (mount-blood). The "it" tags a child and calls "chalo." Then the chalo is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged.

Girls 14 to 18 years of age tossed from one to the other (antichelewe) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several beans had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 14 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 16, *c* and *f*). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 13-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 17–19). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 18-inch cube of bone in line with the grain. "I like bone best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he fitted it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed them down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (antichelewe) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Dance! Dance!" all boys, competitive past observers in the making of the top, called out. Younger boys had watched keenly every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 16, *c*). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord met between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twist itself. Cords released when their ends are clipped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "But do not use fibers, if you use very, it is too coarse and rough."

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Often boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Some boys competed one day; the winning top spun 90 seconds.

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Another competitive game played with tops is called juego al gallo (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, after alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy is dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to score. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called juego de los hoyitos (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made olla"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 15 meters apart, by a boy running on his head. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a hundredth of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

Angelo [illegible] 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of fútbol as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the grass to relax.

Until recently, boys in Angelo were played a competitive game with quoits known as rol hoyo; today, it is generally played only by young men and older men, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quoits were

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hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." 524
Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapizoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ⅛ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, noncompetitive and nonscoring, called pilota de cochayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepúe area. A ball of cochayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it together, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fiesta young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cochayuyo. 526

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526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then sat busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hocky sticks (weno) and balls (puli) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pullingue played against one from Carilingue in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magicoreligious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of futbol is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is an umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

525 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chupe. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

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opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; 524
only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with 857
sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, *1*).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (rumrum) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 524 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hstch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

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824 857 hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, zorzal, tordo, diuca, pitiu, and the tregle. The children knew that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The tregle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the tregle announces his coming. Those that hear the tregle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The tregle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The tregle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him trequell."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The zorzal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitiu sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only once. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls kərew, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The choroy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it raki—has a metallic cry; its cry is called traktrakün.

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING, SHOOTING

526 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 729).

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Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *2*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast. 526 492 [868]

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots. 526

HEALTH

OMENS OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the choñchoñ, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by 787

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787 many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñ flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

[753] 754 All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñ. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indígenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of
201 the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

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human beings. However, when walking, they did not touch the ground, but fly like birds. They said that they were sent by chau to say to me, "Carry out the ancient rites and cause gillatun to be convoked; he who forgets me shall be unhappy on earth and will not enter into my kingdom." Then they said to me, "You will have to suffer a mental disturbance for four days, so that you can learn to know the blessed land of heaven." After this I saw four old men who wore rainbow-colored clothes. They clothed me in the same colors and adorned me with leaves of canela. Then they led me to the four cardinal points of the earth, that is to the east, the north, the west, and the south. In the south I saw an old woman sitting down. She asked me with astonishment what I was doing on their earth. Those who accompanied me answered that chau had chosen me to adore him, that I would give continuity to the ancient rites. Then the four men and I returned by the way of the four cardinal points. My food was copihue flowers. The men selected for me the name of Ayón-kahnell, and as a banner, the flag of Chile. They told me to always use the banner when celebrating the rite. They told me that I must love my neighbor and cure him of his illness; and cure him, also, of evil that befalls him, because human beings are full of curable afflictions, which are the work of the devil, something which chau does not wish to be so. "For these cures," they said, "you must take the herbs of the land and give these to men to drink; chau has blessed these herbs; do not have any doubt in their efficacy." They then took leave of me, and I returned to my earth where I woke up.

Individuals sometime resent these compulsive dreams. "They may be incapacitated for two or three or more days after such a dream." The woman machi in Alepúe was said to have been sick two years. A 21-year-old man in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area) had had such a dream shortly before I arrived. "He does not want to be a machi," schoolchildren said. The mother of one of the schoolchildren volunteered, "But the spirit that told him to be one haunts and haunts him: sometimes the spirit throws him down and the young man is like dead. The spirit really makes him suffer. A few times the man has been sick near death. I hear he is now taking instructions from a machi." The interpreter had heard that the instructing machi had been at the man's home for some celebration and that shortly after that the man's brother had died; that it was now being said that the machi had caused his death. "That man's family," she added, "has become poor. Everything they own is being gradually converted into money. The machi insists in being paid in money for her instructions; recently they sold their cattle to do so."

Once a person has decided to be a machi he presents himself as a candidate to a practicing machi, usually an older one with much experience. Parents who notice unusual intelligence in one of their children may advise and urge it to become a machi, and finally place it with a machi to be instructed and trained.

Generally an adult candidate must spend two to three years with

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the machi, learning from him shamanistic skills, knowledge of the curative properties of plants, and other health restorative measures. Three nights preceding the inception of these formal instructions, the machi and candidate meet in secret sessions; this is the period of initiation. At dawn after the third night the machi gives the candidate his name and then all relatives of the candidate are invited to the initiation ceremony in conjunction with which a festive meal is served. Not all relatives join in the feast, however, because always it happens that one of those who attends or assists must die; this keeps some away. The candidate's father and brothers help to supply food and drink, including mudai. It is during this initiation ceremony that the rewe (pl. 30, *2*) is used. No rewe was seen in the field; some old informants had not seen one in their lifetime. One in the Casa de Araucanía in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago consists of five steps and a top platform. At the end of the years of instructions, "the new machi is given to the people." The most recently trained one in Panguipulli area had been presented to the people in 1936; she was then in her early twenties and had studied under a machi since her early childhood. "They slaughtered an animal and gave a feast. Over the new machi they raised a bow festooned with flowers and all around her were baskets of flowers."

A list of shamanistic skills or powers (pülə) was written down by an old Panguipulli man. He explained the first on his list, that is, licure üiyəm foro, to mean inflamed bone. "When using it," he continued, "the machi begs to find the location of sickness in a bone or tooth, or who knows what," and then added rather impatiently that the machi speaks to his invisible power in each pülə to get information regarding the sickness which he is curing, and "this is enough about the pülə of the machi; let us go on to something else!" He pushed his list toward the writer and sat by, mute. Additional names he had written down, the meanings of which he was not willing to give, were neculpillan, yiualmawida, licure malloldo, picumdo llaŋcacuralŋe, kulilpillañ, pillañdomo, pillañ wentru and kallfüpəllomeñ, antüwapinda, fuiikonmei üllcha, fuiikonmei weche, füimaillawen. (The last 10 are also found in Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, pp. 9, 64, 75, 98, 159, 181.)

It is believed that each machi can obtain or develop new skills from some invisible source in addition to those learned during the years of instructions. It is known that skills are enhanced by exchange of information between machi. "My mother-in-law told me that years ago 10 machi women met every year at a stream near Queule to exchange knowledge each had regarding herbs. Each beat her kultruŋ;

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one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (traue) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal. 756

Always in April the machi here (Coñaripe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a traue. My father will not allow us (adults) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 12 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and chest of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two canelo trees. These trees were decorated with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off the bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of bare skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yalwein. The machi stayed under this nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultrun and shook the wada, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihue are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like pelts and saplings, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the pelts be sold. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepúe area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepúe itself, a 70-year-old woman. In Panguipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Coñaripe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is 755

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755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indi-
[164] cated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihue stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalks of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultrun (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

(5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally,
755 however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are
778 of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llapka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llapka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Pangipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

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you. If you lay yourself upon the roof of the house, I shall see you. Even should you ascend nearly to heaven, still I shall see you.'" 755

(8) A prolonged inquiry into the cause of the sickness and the condition of the patient.

(9) Yelling by all present. "All persons who attend the machitun walk around the ruka and cry out with all their might. This is done to chase the spirits of sickness away." It is not a palm-to-mouth cry. "It is just yelling loud!"

(10) Performing the pawun (dance). "Everybody who has come to assist with his presence must dance."

(11) Rubbing the patient's body either with the plant or its extracted juice. The plant is heated over a fire until limp. Plants used are: Palqui; maiten del monte; laurel cumin; pudwe. "The machi used pudwe in rubbing my brother; I saw it," said a 14-year-old schoolgirl who had collected a specimen. "Yes," added the 7-year-old brother, "I remember when the machi rubbed me with it." Quilmay; chillim; chaura. "I saw my mother being rubbed down with chaura by a machi," said a 10-year-old girl. Ortiga menor; trafrafeli. "I saw the machi rub my mother with trafrafeli when she was sick," said a 12-year-old boy. "My mother looked at this [specimen] and said it was the same as that which the machi had used." Wautro. A 12-year-old boy who collected a specimen in an open space on hills noted, "I collected some of these plants for the machi in the same place last year [1945] when she treated my mother. The machi held the leaves close to the fire until they were soft, and then rubbed the sap on my mother. I saw her do this. I had forgotten what plant she had used, but my father told me yesterday. I showed him this one [specimen] and he said it is the correct one." Rumerillo; qihuawe; paico; fellidico (not identified; found in very wet places, usually floating on water); melon del diablo.

(12) Oral medication. Of plants for oral medication palil was the only one known to informants. The juice of its stem was mixed with a small quantity of water to make the patient vomit.

(13) Paying the machi, sometimes in advance, the customary or requested payments of money and four-footed animals. Araucanian informants thought that a machi was well paid for his treatment of the sick. "The machi who treated the sick woman whom you saw yesterday demanded five pesos and several heads of cattle in payment —and her family is a poor family, something the machi knows." In such cases relatives and friends who attend a machitun often contribute money to help defray the expense. "Chilenos have said to me that the machi sends sickness to people so that he will be called to make the machitun for which he will then be well paid."

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955 An occasional machi employs bloodletting. He makes a slight incision in the area of pain and lets blood flow. An occasional machi sucks the spirit of sickness out either through the skin of the area of pain or through a small abrasion made by him in the skin.

A Pangipulli woman in her thirties who had no faith in machi related the following:

My father, as a young man, was very curious. He went to attend a machitun. The machi, a woman, after sucking the sick person at the place of pain for a long time, drew from her mouth a long snake and put it into a pottery vessel. Then she asked, "Are there two brave young men present?" My father and another young man stepped forward. By this time she had tied a cover very securely over the opening of the vessel. She handed the vessel to the young men and told them to go to a place some distance from there, to build a fire there, and to burn the vessel with its contents. Under no conditions were they to look into that vessel; if they did so, the evil spirit of sickness would come out of it. The young men left with the vessel. When they were out of sight my father said, "Let us look in!" But the other man said, "Under no conditions will I look into that vessel"—he was very much afraid of it. Then my father hesitated, too. Instead of looking into it, my father dashed it against a stone and broke it. Both men ran away. After a short time they went back and examined everything carefully. They found the snake to be carbuncle, a Pueblo sign, so prepared as to look exactly like a snake's head at one end. Being wet with saliva, made it look gray like a snake. "It takes an intelligent, sly person to be a machi," my father has often said. "A stupid person could never be one." Another time, my father saw a machi going about in the woods stripping bark off trees; she was looking for herbs or worms. Many she discarded, but some she kept—probably unusual ones. Later, while treating a sick person, she produced these, pretending they were the result of her sucking. When I was still a child, my father told me and also his other children never to believe in the powers of the machi; that if we examined their performances, we would find them to be knaves. My father has reported to Chilean authorities the outrages he charged by the machi for their machitun. In consequence one machi was in prison until her fine was paid. If the machi had true power to injure another, this one would most certainly have injured my father. My father said no injury has ever been done to him.

The following is a complete account of a machitun as conducted in Alegale area:

Immediately in a rulca is sick; a man leaves from there with two horses. When he arrives at the machi's place, he gives him the rulca immediately, takes a bench, and sits down very close to the machi. (This is contrary to the custom which requires an invitation to be seated.) The two shake hands in a friendly way. The man then holds the machi straight in the face and begins to talk to him; he begs him to come to perform a machitun over his sick relative. The machi looks directly at the man, too, frown for a little while, and then turns away from him—but he is still listening. The man continues to talk using all the friendly words he knows, coaxing the machi to come with him; he uses expressions like these, "You are the only man who can help my sick relative. You

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must come to help." After such flattery the machi again faces him and listens to him. Then the machi gets ready and goes with him. Each mounts one of the horses the man brought, and the two ride along in silence. They arrive at the ruka of the sick person. Before entering, they erect a pole somewhat to the side of the door—a pole considerably higher than the door; usually it is a sapling of some kind that is handy. At the upper end of the pole, a white cloth [the machi's banner] is tied. Then the machi enters the ruka and sits in a place prepared for him. Next, everyone present that has the ability to speak well takes turns to sit alongside the machi and begs him to do all he can to cure the sick person—each does so singly. Each person tells the machi that he believes that he (the machi) is the only one who can help this family in its grief. All must ask for this: the father and the mother, every brother, even though there are six or more, and all persons present, even if there be twenty. The machi does not turn away from them, but faces each one and listens attentively. He says to each one, "With chau's (God's) help, we shall see what we can do." Then some person from outside the household, who speaks Mapuche well, acts as a liaison between the sick person and the machi. [The informant's brother had died during the previous year, 1945; since there was no nonrelative in attendance, the informant had acted as the liaison.] Above the head of the sick person, in line with the body, a symmetrically shaped top end of a canelo is planted; at the foot end, either laurel or maqui, depending on the choice of the machi. Along the full length of the patient are wooden dishes filled with a selection of twigs—the choice is again that of the performing machi. Always there is a variety; and always among them are twigs of several plants that have a very obnoxious odor and of one that grows in cruda. Persons present also hold armfuls of the twigs. All is now in readiness. The machi begins to beat his kultrung, and sings his first song. He sings four appropriate songs to four specific times at four different times. The wording of the songs is devilish; and no one but a machi is allowed to sing them. It is at this point that the machi goes into a trance. His entire body trembles; his face changes so that he no longer resembles himself, nor would he be known by others.—He looks like this until he goes out to the banner at the end of the machitun, when he again looks like himself.—From now on he knows nothing that happens until he returns to himself. It is for this reason that he needs the liaison: it is the duty of the liaison to take notice of all that happens and later to tell the machi about it. The machi now sings his second song and beats his kultrung, while he sits alongside the patient. At intervals, often during the ceremonies, he hops about the patient, first on his knees, then on his feet; and then he jumps even hot coals in the fireplace—he is hardened but does not burn his feet. Then he takes from the fireplace a burning stick of wood, like a small branch of a tree, and brandishes it in circles while walking around the outside of the ruka first and then around the ruka on the inside. After this he takes glowing coals from the fireplace and drops them on the ground wherever no one is standing. Some he drops some on the sheep pelts that cover the sick person. (The fur side is down, as always when a sheep pelt is used as covering.) Others stand by with brooms ready to sweep the hot coals off as soon as they are dropped on the pelts. Next, to intimidate the devil of sickness in the person, the machi takes a branch of canelo in one hand and a big knife in the other, and stands alongside the sick person. Then he takes his kultrung and sings a third song. In between the machi calls for certain specific twigs from those with armfuls of them, which these hand to him. And now

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comes the inner moment. The machi tells the people, through the Inlaca, how serious the condition of the sick person is; he tells that the sickness began at such a time, that it is now at its height, or will be then, or then. He then indicates who caused the sickness. He mentions no name but describes the person in any way, but he points with much emphasis in a direction and says, "That is the direction in which the one lives who is the cause of this sickness." Every one is amazed. After that, the machi tells whether the patient will recover or not. Sometimes what he says comes true; sometimes not. This conversation has taken about a half hour. Now he takes his wands and shakes it while he kneels at the side of the sick person. The sick person strips himself, or if too sick, is stripped of all his clothes. Then the machi rubs the body from head to foot with twigs while he sings his fourth song. All this takes about an hour. And this is sensational, especially if the machi is a man and the patient a woman, or vice versa. (I did not tell you this during yesterday's interview because I was ashamed of it as a practice of my people. But after I got home, I thought about it, and I decided that I should tell it. Once I saw a motion picture in which the Negroes of Africa knelt before their idol while a great thunderstorm was raging. I decided that since these people were willing to have their ways written up just as they are, and since the machitun is our way of doing, the truth should be told; and so now I have told it to you. But to continue:) The machi now rises from his knees and again talks to the Inlaca predicting that if the sick person has not improved in five—or maybe four—days, that he will not get well. Then he turns to all persons present and says to them that they must help him, so that the person will get well. After that he begs to where the pole with the banner is will come out of his trance.—While in his trance, he is like a man who is intoxicated; he loses his faculties of mind and says and does things that he knows nothing about when he comes to; others must tell them to him. He drinks nothing intoxicating at any time.—He now walks into the ruka and sits down near the Inlaca—he is like an ordinary man now; just like the other people sit down there. Now the Inlaca must tell him all that he (the machi) said while he was possessed by the devil.—I know all this because I have been the Inlaca several times. If it were not for the sake of my relatives who tell this of me as a lama, I would never attend a machitun; the whole thing is repulsive to my nature.—After the machi has heard all that the Inlaca has to tell, he says, "It is all very well." Then the head of the house will say to the machi, "If the person recovers, we shall pay you." This will be whatever they had decided to give him, maybe pan or pan or more pans. Very seldom does a machi specify the sum. This is true for all machi in the area (Alegria), except for one woman. If the patient does not recover, the machi is given only pa pans. This is to pay for his efforts, his time, and the distance he traveled. If the people have no money, they give him an animal. The machitun begins long before sunset, and lasts until nearly midnight. Some machi tell the people that quiet by their presence to sleep then, but one in Malquilahue will not let them sleep. If the people do sleep, they are awakened long before sunrise and the same ceremony is repeated; it usually ends after the sun is somewhat above the horizon. By the time it has ended a young colt has been slaughtered and meat and tortillas prepared. The machi and all those who helped are fed. Half of the colt, however, the machi takes with him and also at least two, if not three, big-eared tortillas. Then everyone leaves for home. One man accompanies the machi; there is no ceremonial horsebiting by the machi. The conversation is carried on between

the medic and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the medic is first mentioned, as I told you before. 755

VOCATIONS OF THE SICK BY MEDICINE MEN AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the medic, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health remedies by these are performed unceremoniously. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies and exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanian spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas, major herbs and infusions and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodsucking, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had thoughtful for six years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chalchalí. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cold as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my thoughts." In Adaqui a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and snake areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He cultured the hair in wine, and laid the wine on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, on the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 757

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 756 757

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. Wa Cumil, a curiner in a rain preparing an 757

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355 herbal decoction in the customary way; she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of herb that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the herb. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

357 Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, herbs, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be sold the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fat of one hand is crushed over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of harder plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held over the fire until limp. Then the outer layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

358 The following health remedies were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Central Range (Angolo area). The
357 Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Anillum. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its bark is used as food.)

Belle, found in growing fields. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist said a decoction of it is a sedative. Others had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or boil will have soothing effects.

——— *Cilitlin*, collected close to brooks in cedar places. Its juice is taken for stomach ailes.

——— *Cuchiri*, found in quarrelland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Figueria, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Fresia, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Gingen. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delayed menstruation.

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Maitre del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who is 78
bitten awakes, so that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will
feel that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well, 757
then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the maitre del monte into
his ears and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice
several times before his head feels better."

—— Rabdi. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Pulqui, found near creeks. Stems are overfull with its leaves. The juice of its
pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pulli, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomiting, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Pucilla, found in barren-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

—— Pulmo, collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the horse skin wherever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

Pilmpilla, found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little piece of cloth and held upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

Quilmoy, found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt is put into an aching ear.

Quilqui, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns. The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Ramon, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a boil or any swelling; reduces either.

—— Willi lanka, found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery. It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

—— Wuhuen. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also used as a love charm. Cf. p. 130.)

My inability to obtain Araucanian names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chilenos and is not part of the traditional Araucanian pharmacology.

Shalla, found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to relieve fever.

Tilano, found in dry run-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Tuhu del chorolongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally relieves fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alaple area are the nawala (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the pillahuilli (the informant would tell only that a laborante decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

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278 757 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Panguipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canelo. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

——— Cinchuñ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."

Helecho grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."

——— Karakuñ. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of karakuñ have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

——— Mañiñ. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that mañiñ hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with culén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.

Saúco del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanil, on the hot stones."

Toronjil. A decoction of it and culén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toronjil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

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No case of psychosis existed in Panguipulli area while I was there. 158
There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepúe area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Coñaripe area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruka close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruka. "He is scolding," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruka and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They listened to him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no plans for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruka and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boroa area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One man leaves home and wanders about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and incoherently; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. In- 595
formants recalled men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the sons of caciques, the machi, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married successive wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional one had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were [554]

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not able to pay the bride price, maintained a monogamous marriage (1946, p. 721).

Occasionally a woman resented her husband's marrying a second wife, either because she had a personal dislike for the other woman or was jealous of her, or because her husband neglected her, or it reflected on her capabilities. An instance was related where a man announced to his wife, who had borne him six children, that he was bringing home a second wife, a young woman. The young woman was brought in, and the neighborhood was feasted for a week. The two wives lived in separate ruka. The man ignored the first wife, and forbade her the customary jurisdiction over the second one. The non-Araucanian interpreter added: "The older one told me of her intense inner suffering because of this. When at the point of death, the husband came near her and immediately her resentment was roused, and she kept calling him, 'You devil.' The woman often said to me, 'I have suffered terribly.'" Instances were known where a woman found the situation of simultaneous wives exceedingly trying; sometimes so unbearable that she committed suicide by hanging herself. Usually, however, there was no difficulty about this.

Although at present monogamous marriages prevail, there were polygynous marriages in each area I visited. They are prohibited by Chilean law and are looked at askance by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. "Any man who has two wives today," said a 45-year-old Alepúe man, "is spoken of in derision as a cacique; to have two wives today is considered a disgrace." South of Boroa (Licán area) many men today have two wives; one has four.

Formerly, simultaneous wives were often sisters, possibly because of the custom of the sororate which was institutional but not obligatory. Today simultaneous wives in Licán are usually not sisters; no two of the Licán wives were. In Alepúe, they were: "Down near the Pacific lives a man, now older than 100 years, whose two wives were sisters; one is still living, the other died not long ago. A machi in Mehuin has three wives, two of whom are sisters." Many times wives were more distantly related. It was known that, in general, wives that were related lived more agreeably together than did others; exceptions, however, were spoken of.

Usually there is a considerable difference in the ages of the wives. The second wife of the 100-year-old man was younger than the children of his first wife.

More often than not each wife occupied—as they do today—a separate ruka; ruka in such cases were usually not far apart. If two or more lived in one, its fireplace was either shared by them or each

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had her own. A Boroa cacique's three wives lived in one long ruka and each had her own fireplace. In another Boroa ruka each of two wives occupied one-half of a long ruka, but used a common fireplace which was located in the middle of the ruka. Ruka were not divided by partitions—the fireplace was the dividing line. 595

Wives shared the household duties to a large extent, with consideration being shown to the one first married. It was she who acted as head wife, making all household arrangements and giving orders to the other wives. She had priority over them all in all things. In case of an argument, the younger ones were expected to keep still. "My grandfather used to say that his second and third wives were like maids to the first one." This did not mean, however, that the first wife did not participate in household duties.

Cooking was done by each wife in turn, if it was done for all families together—"that is, if it was done in one kettle. One wife prepared the forenoon meal and another the afternoon meal—we had only two meals each day formerly." Sometimes wives took turns by days. In some households each wife cooked for her own children—"it depended on what the oldest wife ordered." In such cases the husband took turns eating with his several wives and their children.

Each wife tended to her own children. She and her children were at home in the section of the ruka assigned to her. She kept this section clean and had all her belongings there. She did not feel at home in the sections occupied by the other wives, and would not take things from there for her use without the permission of the woman to whom they belonged. "If each wife feels at home only in her own section, fewer unpleasant happenings occur."

Polyandry, according to present informants, was never a part of the Araucanian culture. No instance was reported by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 721). Although Cooper's sources recorded it (1946, p. 722), my Araucanian informants emphatically denied that wife lending ever was practiced. The fact that the Araucanian language has no word for wife lending leads me to believe my informants. Two non-Araucanian women who know Araucanian family life intimately did not believe that wife or daughter lending to guests was practiced. "Hearing you say it is the first time I have heard it said about the Mapuche," said one. "I do not believe either that girls have sexual relationship with several men before they marry; an occasional one does, yes." Again this is not in agreement with Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722). The other non-Araucanian continued: "I am certain that these are not customs of the Mapuche. The marital life of married couples is very free. Exceptions such as Cooper's sources give

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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called fundomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 450). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticise them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

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The word kiña, my informants said, referred to lineage. Kiña persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not related to him.'" 613

The sororate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was older than his wife. "These I call ñillandomo; those younger than my wife, I call karum. I may marry all those called karum, but I may not marry one called ñillandomo. I respect every ñillandomo as if she were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today this is seldom done." 587

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protection for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén (near Cañeripe) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in Alepín three men were married that way within the last 10 years. Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took his wife and his four children into my house with my own family. Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that, for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our house with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry, either the sons leave home or she does so and marries. It seems that the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of as above. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my children."

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AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Coñaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fëtʼan ŋelu (a married one), or fëtʼa ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fëcha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as trenke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

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CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—for the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Alepín man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my eldest sister, and three men relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's home just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

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585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kapam [dress], a trarükopka [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelakucha [silver ornament with long danglers, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and mudai had been prepared for us there, also."

583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called ngapitun) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they

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will set her into the saddle and tie her feet to the stirrups or her legs to the horse so she cannot dismount to run away. Sometimes the girl yells and weeps out loud. Often a girl does not know whose wife she is to be. The man who carried her out of the ruka rides on her horse, back of the saddle, to prevent her escape. In this manner they bring her to the man's house. They guard her here for two or three nights. The man's father, and maybe several other men, will sleep alongside of each other across the door so that she cannot escape. In the daytime the man and one of the women accompany her if she leaves the ruka. I know one woman that was taken that way; they lived near here until a year ago. This woman resisted until she realized that it was of no avail. She then went willingly but asked that the women in the man's house would not maltreat her—women sometimes beat an unwilling girl. My mother told me that three of her friends died of heartache and grief because they were taken that way. One of them ran back to her family but her parents forced her to return to her husband. She ran away again, but hid in the woods, somewhere. Her parents found her there, and again forced her to return. When they heard some months later that she was dying of grief, they wanted her to come to her home to die; but she refused. She said that she would now sooner die among strangers than in the house in which she had been so badly treated."

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Elopements occurred when a man selected his own wife and courted her secretly and, fearing interference from parents on either side, arranged with the girl to meet him at night to go to his home with him. Sometimes the woman told her parents beforehand; usually she did not since she feared their anger. In the case of an elopement, the man's father paid the girl's father for the "damage" within a month or at least within a year. Quoting a 40-year-old informant: "To steal a wife was a simple affair. I stole mine, but she was willing to go with me. I did so because I did not have enough animals to buy her. I learned to know her the same year I stole her. I met her secretly and talked it over with her. A man found opportunities to talk to the woman he wished to marry. It had to be done secretly, never publicly, for men and women were not allowed to speak to each other openly or in public. She met me near a certain tree where I had tied my horse, the one I had brought for her to ride. I told her to meet me there when the moon was at zenith, and she did. Then we rode to my home." At this point the interpreter (non-Araucanian) asked the informant why he had been so surprised then when his daughter eloped with a young man recently, since he himself had stolen his own wife. To which he replied: "I have told my children

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that they should not follow my example in things that I have done badly; that now I am giving them a good example and that they should follow it." He added with emphasis: "I still maintain it was a disgraceful thing for my daughter to run away the way she did! I sent her to school for four years, yes, longer than that. The longer children attend school the worse they are!"

Occasionally a woman was—and still is—forced into marriage entirely against her will. Old women who had lived forced marriages spoke of them with visible emotions of bitterness toward parents, and often toward the husband. None would relate her experience. A non-Araucanian interpreter later related the following which she said was not unlike situations described to her on occasions by old women: "Seven years ago (1940) an 18-year-old girl ran into our house, breathless, about 7 o'clock one morning, saying she had run away from home, that a young man had just been at their house and that she was going to be sold to him; that he was to return one of the following days to get her. She begged to stay with us for protection. We gave her breakfast, and tried to calm and comfort her. She was not here an hour when her mother and younger sister were rapping at the door. The mother asked if her older daughter was with us, and if so, she wished to speak with her. The daughter said that she was filled with fear and did not wish to speak with her mother. But the mother would not relent. So we told the girl that we would stay with her while she talked to her mother, which we did. The mother was very angry. She scolded the girl in the Mapuche language for running away, and raised her hand to strike her. She promised me that she would not force the girl to marry, if she came home with her then. The girl said, 'This is not the truth; my mother is only saying it,' and would not leave. The mother and the younger sister then walked to one of our Mapuche neighbors and asked the man there to help them force the girl to return home (the girl's father had died some years before). But the neighbor said he refrained always from getting mixed up with other people's troubles. The mother, in a rage of anger, now yelled at both the neighbor and me that if the girl did not return to her home, she would fetch her relatives and they would break all the windows of our house. She continued threatening. She walked around the outside of our house, yelling in anger. She would not leave the place. I encouraged the girl then to return home with her mother, telling her that I would go with her to talk to her brothers. When we arrived near her home, I saw her two brothers plowing nearby. I walked to them and explained that their sister had left home because she was being forced into a marriage; that this was not the

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proper thing to do to a sister; brothers should protect a sister. They replied that the matter was all arranged, that she had been promised in marriage, and that she had nothing to say about it. I saw one of them push the girl into the ruka. Their relatives told me later that the girl was whipped after I left. A few days later we heard that the man had come and taken her away. I met the girl a few weeks ago, and she told me that she has suffered much, but that she is more contented now. She has four little boys." 583

Present-day marriages rarely follow the proper traditional pattern. If arrangements are made between the parents of a couple, "the young man usually pays for his wife with an ox or a horse"; but today a young man often does not have the means to pay the bride price, or he sees no necessity for doing so. Not infrequently his father agrees with him in this. So, a marriage is discussed secretly by the man and the woman. Usually the man's parents know about their son's plans, but the woman's parents do not. When an agreement has been reached between the man and the woman, the woman leaves her home for the man's home at night, unbeknown to her parents. Her parents generally resent this procedure. If they have not been asked about the bride price and no arrangement has been made regarding it, they will be angry and will not allow the girl's personal things and her animals to be transferred to the man's place. They will insist that the bride price be paid. In due time, then, but often not until after the birth of the first child, the man will pay the bride price, and then the woman's parents relent, and will send the woman's belongings and property to her, and will also invite her and her husband for a visit.

A non-Araucanian teacher related the following regarding present-day marriages: "Any marriage that is not an elopement, at the present time, is an exception. Here is a sample: Two weeks ago, the children in school seemed very depressed. I asked several of them if something had happened, and each time the answer was 'No; nothing.' Later I noticed that two of the older girls who were dusting a hallway and room together did so in silence, an unusual thing. When they had finished, they walked outdoors and sat on a woodpile, again in silence. I walked up to them, and asked, 'What has happened? Why is the entire school so silent and depressed? Why does no one tell me?' One of them then wept loud, while the other told me that they had both had a sister stolen by a lover the night before; that they had both slept with their sisters and that neither one had noticed the sister leave the bed or go away; their absence was noticed only in the morning when everybody got up. Neither girl had spoken to her parents about marrying, and consequently their parents felt very

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583 bad about it. The two young men were not related, but they must have agreed to get the girls at the same time. According to one girl's father the plans must have been made at a recent gillatun. He reasoned: 'It was the only opportunity that I know of that they had to do so.' Each girl had gone to the home of the man's parents. Enmity exists nearly always then between the girl's family and the man's family. Children of the families will quarrel on the way to and from school. When it is reported to me and I reprimand them for it, one group will say, 'Their family stole my sister.' Generally after a child is born to the young couple, or about to be born, the girl's mother relents; the girl may even be taken into her paternal home for delivery. Everyone gradually becomes reconciled. Before long the girl will ask for her property which usually consists of farm animals. When she receives it, some sort of feast is celebrated."

According to a non-Araucanian herbalist who had been in most of the Araucanian homes in the area, and who was a listener-in to the above, the girl's parents were not always annoyed with an elopement. She related the following as having been true on several occasions: "A young man and young woman agree to marry. Some night the man comes to get the woman. The woman leaves the ruka quietly and finds the place where the man with his horses is in hiding. She mounts a horse and the two ride to the man's home. Her parents, when they awake, act surprised and hurt, but this is merely a pretense. They do not go out to look for their daughter, for they know where she is. They show no friendliness toward the man, however, for they want him to pay the bride price. The couple lives as married. After some days, maybe two weeks, the young man goes to the home of the woman's parents to find out what payment is expected. Whatever her father demands, he must pay. The payment is always in animals. If the young man is rich, he may have to pay several animals, maybe a horse, an ox, a cow, and some sheep. After the payment is made, the woman sends word that she will visit her home. Her parents then prepare for her coming and invite relatives to a plentiful meal. In one locality in Coñaripe area a horse provided by the woman's parents must be consumed at this meal. After this the marriage is recognized as completed. The girl can now visit home as before."

Sometimes the girl, too, makes pretenses. To give the impression that she was being kidnapped but resisted, she bites the man's upper back and shoulders. The impressions of her teeth are pointed out as the result of her resistance. "Older people do not believe her; they recognize a sham when they see one."

An occasional girl goes of her own volition to the home of an un-

10: Hilger E-5 (194[illegible]952) 1957
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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his house to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home. 583

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the house of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his house the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his house, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A conch can be hired to prepare a drink which will cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Pillán José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Pillán José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pulipuli were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wolfbane has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 233); that pillhuen, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that billidoen (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 173); wenapwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 233); weñilainuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover concerned (p. 197). 952 279 [751]

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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, ADOPTION, INFIDELITY

Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were encountered where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred living with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a ceremonial one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Pangipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's breasts, something informants in other areas had not heard of. His informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, FRIENDS RELATIONSHIPS

In Cabralgue area, mother-in-law—son-in-law and father-in-law—daughter-in-law taboos existed. A ten-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alapulo and Pangipulli informants, including several older than 50,

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[illegible] that so-in-law taboos were enforced among them. "There are [illegible] not our customs; they are not now, and never were." [illegible]

According to Coltrelge informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not as severe as the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's rules and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's rules." A listening-in woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the rules of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the rules—after all there was no place she for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughter do the talking. But I really seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law."

A five-year-old Coltrelge area woman told of a screen of quilts that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quilts stretch near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her rules. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some regret, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An unmarried man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a [illegible]-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutized. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were en-

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60% chaded from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Cobquipe area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you not looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad rearing. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, ND ANDE

7% The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (quedungulu) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (quendulu). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 740-743, and Félix José, 1908, vol. 1, p. 38, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to quendulu for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, quendulu, who are in the middle of heaven and are mighteiest, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." Hueduquelu was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as *chau* (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 740). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "Hueduquelu sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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could speak no Spanish and he knew nothing of any Christian religion; 776
but if I did not obey him, he would say, 'Mankangka will punish you for that.'" A man, an assistant to the machipu who had a gilletun in Alaqula area, found, upon his return home from the gilletun, that cows had eaten his garden. "He was very angry about this. When, later in the season, the lack of rain and intense heat caused a potato failure, people said that it was because that man had been so angry immediately after the gilletun."

No informant had given much thought to the appearance of the Supreme Being. "I do not know what Chau looks like. Prophets [leaders in the gilletun] sometimes in dreams hear a voice like that of a man; sometimes they see a figure like a man; they say the voice is that of Chau, and the figure is Chau. Other prophets have told us that Chau cannot be seen. The people do not known what he looks like."

All informants were agreed that the Supreme Being had with Elnewill a woman, spoken of as wenumapu Kuke (wenumapu meaning heaven or explains above, and Kuke, mother). In relationship to her the Supreme Being is spoken of as wenumapu chau. Cooper's sources agree with this statement, and state also that these two had sons and daughters (1946, p. 707), something with which not all my informants agreed. An old Pangipulli informant had not heard of such children; "but we know that chau has with him a woman to whom we pray as if she were our mother: we ask her to ask chau to give us what we want. She is chau's mihuca or mapiu [wife or woman]." Alaqula informants, however, spoke of children. Quoting them: "In heaven there is God father, God mother, and their sons and daughters." "I remember my grandmother going to the brook each morning and saying prayers; they were prayers addressed to God father, to the mother in heaven, and to their sons and daughters." The Interpreter then questioned: "Already in the early days the Mapuche had the belief of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God?" To which the informant replied, "No, not like that; it is not the same—it is a family. We always thought of the people in heaven as being a family."

God is prayed to not only directly but also through intermediaries, "such as the women I just told about, and the deceased prophets." When an old Pangipulli man was asked who of these ranked first, he answered, "God is first and all the rest are equal. We can pray directly to God, but I usually address myself to the deceased prophets—they say that the deceased prophets are in the gilletun—and I ask them to intercede for me."

The location of the abode of the Supreme Being is not known; it is

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77% spirits of an wonnangu—a word used also when speaking of sky, celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the shade might be the place called gilfell, but an old Pangipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wonnangu," he insisted; "in gilfell are the deceased people, the old women who used to heat the kelong in the spheres, and other good persons. Filfell is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 166.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alapulo man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Collurique informant; "they prayed to Him in the spheres; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

[illegible]

78% Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the fireside or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put wine in an ulla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fvi, chau' [Dios, Cod], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. Inland boys and girls 11 to 13 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a [illegible] animal is slaughtered, the man doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for its [illegible] in the herd and flocks. "I now say before take the remaining blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Pangipulli area still throw a sprinkle of lentil or corn or a little piece of any prepared food [illegible] the fire before beginning a meal: "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alapulo informants.

[illegible] 145

The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Wilgus, [illegible], pp. [illegible]) and the Arapaho ([illegible], pp. [illegible]), is not part of the Araucanian culture.

[illegible]

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufu—"wekufu are beings resembling the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufu," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Aleyche man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a ruka outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and fourth from toward the ruka, and say, 'Wekufu, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufu himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place."

According to a Pangipulli woman, the food (probably blighted) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the clover overflowed, and there was a great flood. While the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say trees too raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill *ruca tree* in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called *kalakalilla*." An old man listening in had interjected, "Ruca tree is a place where a child was offered when the clover and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed, "No, no! The child was sacrificed. But far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be ruca tree. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw ruca tree, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, [illegible], p. [illegible] for other ruca tree flood stories.)

The abode of wekufu is not known. "It must be where people are," [illegible] the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufu works. Some say that the wekufu are in gilhel; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in Mirchanqui" ([illegible] of the, probably a word compounded so as to be equivalent of hell). According to [illegible] the following are in Mirchanqui: The ladies (there was a chorus of "ten ladies" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the quo-

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[illegible] tion was called); the machi that are also ladies, because these dealt with witchcraft; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's rules; the wekufü themselves.

THE GILLATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

[illegible] Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as gillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as lan ngatiwun (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our gillatun."

Until recent years the gillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An Alapde man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the gillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a gillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a gillatun at that time, too." Today, the gillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete gillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Mapulihuen (Alapde area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Colucipe] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next gillatun."

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Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a ŋillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Coñaripe man on whose land the ŋillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ŋillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Coñaripe, Llanchahue, Pucura, Pullinque, Tracapulli, Kayumapu, Koiweku, Koskos, Lonkon, Reweku, Kariline, Kikine, Karango, Huechulafken, Limai. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ŋillatun—one locality decides to hold a ŋillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Panguipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshuenco, Huitag, and Payahuinte. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration. 796

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepúe area this plot is in Maiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Coñaripe man: "The ŋillatun for Coñaripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ŋillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ŋillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out summons to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In Alepúe area, the cacique is the leader; in Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, he is a person known as ŋenpin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ŋillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The ŋenpin, according to Félix José (1916, vol. 1, pp. 55-56), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the ŋillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the ŋenpin as a class of priests although they do not ordinarily slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from 796 793 [202]

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796 his father. "The one in Collaripe is a man 50 years old; his father
793 was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people acclaimed him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

796 Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ñillatun before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ñillatun. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Whoever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called marew ekull. These tortillas are taken to the ñillatun and so are ollas filled with mudai. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ñillatun.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each man blowing his pifalka almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 32 for pifalka.) "Not long ago, when the ñillatun was held here [Collaripe], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifalka from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a hen; an occasional family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ñillatun."

All members of a family attend the ñillatun, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1946, in Collaripe, there were 500 to 600 men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even skeptical persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial mudai—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony." 796

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it." [604]

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following: [184]

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Coñaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura, "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Coñaripe grounds (fig. 2), four collihue are placed in the ground; in Alepún, one maqui tree. This place is called pewife (referring to the dancers). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the collihue, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last ngillatun the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with muday, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the collihue are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. 30, 1). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one in which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pucura had one trutruka in December, and Llaneloa had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the pewife. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her kultrug (pl. 30, 1), "sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her kultrug, and together they sing (informant sang in Araucu-

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nian): "You, who are above in heaven, give us all that is necessary as food. Give us wheat, corn, potatoes. Give us peas and quinoa. Give us luako kachu."

A fireplace upon which the sacrificial animals are to be consumed is prepared "like all other fireplaces are, but this one is considered sacred." Embers are kept glowing by a boy and a girl, between 7 and

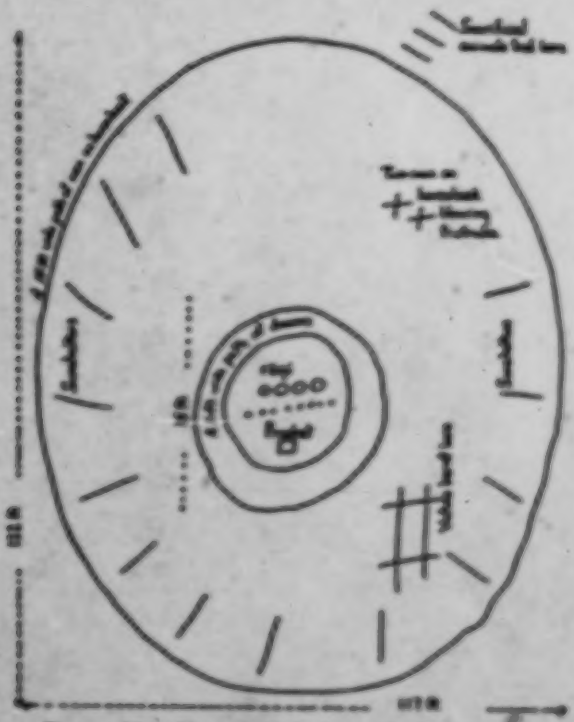

FIG. 2.—The ceremonial in Collaripe area. (Diagram drawn by a Collaripe informant.)

10 years of age—"they must be very innocent and guileless still"—who swing branches with leaves over the fire in a manner to make the smoke go heavenward. The Collaripe prophet chose two of his own children for the December ceremonial. The sheep and lambs to be offered are tied to poles at some distance from the grounds and are brought in as needed.

While the above preparations are being made, the families raise rare shelters in close proximity to each other and in an elliptical pattern

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about the parade as the center. Each men shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, 1), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

FIG. 5—The alliance in Alepin area. (Diagram drawn by an Alepin informant.)

30 to 50, depending on the number present—convert their horses and get into formation beyond the men shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the pavan about the parade and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the

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pərun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the pərufe barely move, while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifəlka, the machi beat their kultruŋ, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ŋillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the pərufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the pərufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the pərun until the küntron has ended.

A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four ŋillhue. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ŋillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ŋillatun."

After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

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tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenemapu fuake (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 30 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of mudai and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a colihue from the middle of the row at the purufe. With these in their hands both dance around the purufe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the purufe, each one carrying a vessel of mudai, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!"

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the purufe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 32, 3). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the mudai, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels.

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the gillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited.

The kanchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

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796 and might occur at any time (cf. pp. 62-63). Today it is performed at the ngillatun, rarely otherwise, and is an expression of sincere good will between people of two localities. "We had a konchitun at the December ngillatun for invited families from Pucura," said a Coñaripe informant; "these people now owe us a sheep and [laughing] we must hold a ngillatun in April to give them an opportunity to pay us back."

The following rather complete account of the manner of conducting the ngillatun in Alepín area was given by a 66-year-old man with a 47-year-old man collaborating. The diagram in figure 3 was drawn by them. Both were active participants in the ceremonial.

The cacique of Meliuin leads the ngillatun in our area, that is for Alepín, Chan Chan, Pellaco, and Maiquillahue. Our cacique (Alepín) holds second position; the cacique of Chan Chan, third; and a cacique from the other side of the Meliuin River, the fourth. Each brings with him a captain and a serpent, the captain taking precedence over the serpent. The two duties of the captain and serpent are, first, to inform the people in their respective localities that a ngillatun will be held and second, to assist in the performance of the ceremonies. The holy pampa is in Maiquillahue—it is a hundred meters square. [The interpreter thought it to be much larger. The informant continued somewhat vindictively:] Every year the owner of the holy pampa extends his fences a little farther into it and thereby increases the extent of the holy pampa.

The complete ngillatun consists of two separate gatherings. The first lasts one day. Its purpose is to tell why a ngillatun should be held and to set the date for the second meeting which is usually held two months later. The second gathering lasts at least two days—it begins early in the morning of one day and ends in the late afternoon the following day. If there is moonlight, the sacred dancing will be continued through the night between the days; if there is no moon, the caciques will not permit dancing at night.

A ngillatun is held either because the leading cacique decides that there shall be one or because one of the other three caciques asks him to hold one, or because people in a locality jointly go to their cacique and petition for one. Other reasons, in recent years, for holding a ngillatun were continuous unfavorable weather, or because our grain was not maturing as it should, or to avert the catastrophe of an earthquake. One can be held for any other reason for which the people may want one. The last ngillatun we had—the one in October [1946]—was for favorable weather.

The first gathering is held in the open, but the ngillatun itself is conducted in an enclosure made of saplings, with branches and leaves retained. The saplings are planted so as to slant toward the inside of the enclosure. In the center of the enclosure a rangal about 3 feet high is erected. Anyone who has the good will to do so may erect it. I recall one ngillatun at which the rangal was forgotten. On that occasion the ngillatun opened and there was no rangal. The man who had volunteered to get it, hurried out and got one.

After the rangal has been planted, the four lambs that have been brought for sacrifice are brought into the enclosure. These must be white female lambs; they are voluntary offerings by anyone who wishes to offer one; black lambs cannot be sacrificed. White or yellow lambs, about sixteen months to be exact, may also be sacrificed. If anyone brings a lamb of any other color, he is told that he may take it home again.

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The leading cacique makes a small incision close to the heart of one of the leaders, reaches in, and draws forth the pulsating heart. The heart is punctured then, and at each pulsation the leading cacique dips a sprig into the blood that squirts forth, and sprinkles it toward the ceiling. He continues this until the pulsations end. The bees are taken next, one at a time. The head of each one is chopped off and the leading cacique, holding the body in one hand, moves the each back and forth, sprinkling the ceiling with blood.

This done, the leading cacique addresses God Father in prayer—we call him chau—asking for the blessings of the particular intention for which the ceremony is being held. It includes a prayer asking that the people will be blessed with seasons of favorable weather and a good harvest, and that there will be no accidents. The same prayer is addressed to God Mother, asking her to ask God Father for these favors. Then they ask the sons and daughters of God Father and God Mother to intercede with God Father for the same favors. Next, they ask the deceased great caciques, Trumaimilu and Cabrafilel, to intercede also. These are two important caciques of long ago. They lived some distance apart and communicated with each other in dreams; they were not from Alepin area, but from somewhere else. After mentioning these two caciques, they mention in prayer the more important deceased caciques who lived in Alepin area. My grandfather is among those mentioned.—I still have his pillaba, and cherish it. I recall how fervently he recited these prayers.—At the close of the ceremony, they promise these caciques that in another year they will hold another ceremony. The leading cacique then prays to other deceased persons, whom he remembers as living with God in heaven, that they, too, intercede with God for the people.

Then a lamb is thrown on a large fire which is about 20 meters away from the enclosure, but within the area known as the holy people; the lamb is completely consumed there. [The interpreter remarked that it must produce an unbearable stench, to which the informant answered that the breezes from the Pacific carried it away.] Each sacrificial lamb is killed, its blood sprinkled, and the rest consumed by fire. The sacrifice of the lamb is the essential of each sacrificial act, as act repeated four times during each of the two days.

While the animals are being consumed by the fire, the leading cacique leaves a ketrawe. The men unwind their leaves and sticks, two abreast, very orderly around the outside of the enclosure and the fire. The women join hands and dance around the cacique to the beat of the ketrawe. Any man who brought a trumpeta blows it—usually there are two or three that have done so. This part of the ceremonial usually takes a half hour. Then the men dismount, do their leaves to the fences that are nearby, and walk to the enclosure in orderly formation, two and two, those from each healthy being led by their capitán. Then each man pairs up with a girl or woman, and all dance slowly. This dance is followed by a second dance which is done faster. Anyone who does not follow the formalities of the dance is corrected. If he does not improve, he is suspected of ridiculing it and is told to leave. No one is allowed to ridicule or laugh at anything. This ceremony has taken another half hour. Everyone now rests. All I have told you up to now is considered one complete sacrifice. The identical ceremony with sacrifices is repeated four times, a lamb being offered each time. Between these acts of sacrifice, time is taken out for a rest.

Each woman has brought with her, tied in a piece of cloth, something of everything she has planted or intends to plant—probably a handful of wheat, barley, corn, peas, flax, and two or three potatoes. She places these as her offering near the cacique. Later when the four sacrifices have been completed, these offerings

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are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the lees, and the lees are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you are what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no sinking among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the cacique who have left us, and who now are in from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla (about 12 inches in diameter) and a chalice of muday. At present the muday is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spit it into an olla and let it ferment into muday.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the ceremonial, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes muday to the same persons. The muday which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The muday are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the ceremony nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the ceremony the muday bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others bow, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a machuca (cf. pp. 70, 155). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 154); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medicine employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Pangipulli informants know that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called rewindu.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medicine used is the meat of any a-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried

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in the field. Children everywhere volunteered information which agreed with that already obtained from adults regarding fields that had been ruined by witchcraft. Quoting a 14-year-old Alpúe boy: "They will then search in the field for meat—it is usually wrapped in a rag and can be found. I have helped to look for such a little package. If they find the meat, they hang it over the edge of the fire in the ruka so that it will dry up. This will cause the one who buried it to dry up, also. Others stick it full of needles and lay it in the sun. The one who did the damage then feels the pain of the needles. Soon he begins to feel sick; and soon after that a terrible sickness will come over him which will give him the sensation of needles in his body. His entire body will tremble. If the sun shines, he will go out and stay in the hot sunshine" (something not done by sane persons). A 12-year-old boy, a listener-in, explained: "The kalku can use eggs in place of meat, if he wishes to; but usually meat is used. After the bewitched meat or eggs are in the field for several days, the wheat in that field either turns yellow or shrivels up. If they find the buried meat, they will hang it over the fire and cause the person who did the damage to shrivel up just like the wheat shriveled up. But if the one whose field was injured does not wish to take revenge, but is forgiving, he will throw the meat into a river—people can find out at the machitun who is responsible for the damage; for example, the machi will say that such and such a neighbor is. If the family wants to take revenge, however, it may then decide to hire a kalku to do injury to that neighbor by spoiling his wheat field." "I asked our neighbor, one day," said a non-Araucanian teacher, "why a certain man was losing weight perceptibly. He answered that the man had planted eggs or meat in somebody's wheat field, and that he was now reaping the result of his evil deed. He then told of an old woman near here who was burying eggs and meat in her brother-in-law's land and was caught in the act. The brother-in-law immediately dug up the meat and hung it over the fire. Then the woman took sick with asthma, and began to lose weight; she was sick for two years. By that time the man had gone to his brother (the husband of the woman) and threw the meat into the creek. As the meat took to shape slowly by absorbing water, the woman gradually got better, and finally got well. This happened six years ago [1940]." In Pangipulli area retaliation by shriveling the bewitched meat is not known. A common form of revenge there is to poke two sticks or eight angles through one of the eggs found in the field and then to hang the egg over the fire. In consequence the one who did the damage to the field will become blind or have an arm paralyzed.

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754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it
756 is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 119-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi awakes or dreams. "I know of no occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (Tellaqueft); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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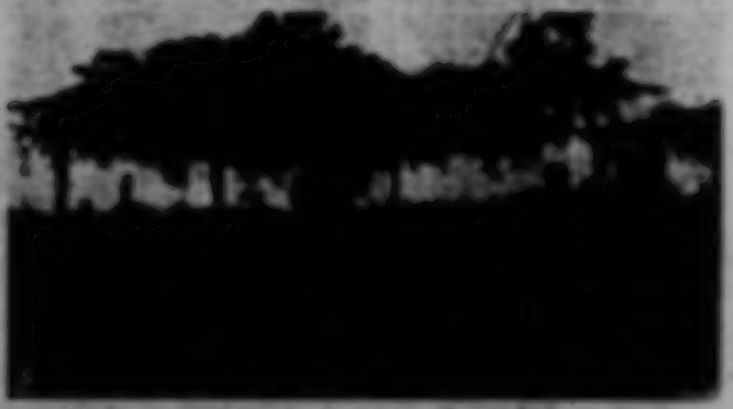

The offshore volcanoes concealed (Colombia) 1. Dark shadows caused by precipitation on the plume of the volcanoes. 2. Cloud of one of the volcanoes. 3. The spot on which the artificial satellite was launched.

[p. 154-N]

Flaked hammerstones: 1, Grenville (Province of Canada); 2 (Porter purchased in Toronto); 3, 4, 5 (Collection of Mr. Wallace); 6, 7, 8, Pendejos (Figures 4-8, 3/4 courtesy Miami Museum of Historic Science, Geologic Hall).

Fig. 3

Fig. 3 Hammerstones, Grenville (Canada), Pendejos (Cuba) and Miami Area (Florida)

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Radio: a, Concepción (1 mph) and b, Chillán (1 mm/min); c, Cerro el Roble (100 mm/min); d, Cerro Calán (Colombia).

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W7 and consequently hired a sorcerer to conjure. The sorcerer smoked, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—she got the answer. She said the cows will live. The sorcerer had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any signs of the sorcerer's witchcraft, and he answered, "Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a Diuqueñi sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so tame. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer."*

Omens

W7 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 109, 138), as do those that foretelle famine. A 70-year-old Pangipulli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the cultivated blossoms—normally only a few blossoms each year—the people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands unusually thin. Two years ago the cultivated all blossomed and that year was unusual plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?'" A non-Araucanian farmer-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the cultivated seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of these seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in greatly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Pangipulli it is a bad omen if a pome comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The omen holds true," he added, "If persons land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Pangipulli and Alepín owns a person who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chidoo sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH

Death can be expected in a place near which screamed calls of certain animals are heard. In Alapile area the cry of a few indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the grandchild (bird) or that of the grandsole (bird) is heard. The grandchild's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The Interpreter explained: "Lights or sight is found in a Mapuche rube only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is foretold by the screamed cries of an invisible bird known as chuchuli, which also foretells sickness (cf. pp. 199-201). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian Indian, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the chuchuli sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that check beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be invariably the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our ones were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant death has been brought about, however, in Pangipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean game hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he said he had in his game hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the rube of this Mapuche and drank from drinks to which the Mapuche had put the alum."

In Cobquipe it is believed that death will come upon a person who has his will photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the wool and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them.

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and have near the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a new or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake.

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a hood will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly were them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and sidepieces are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the woman's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." He hoped or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Angolo. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and grandmother. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right of his head,

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a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall send it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awa or awin rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

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on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even two, three, or more months, until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, and who drank toasts to the dead and placed gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; washing the body and dressing it in new clothes. 764

Of these conventions only a few exist today. In all areas informants remarked that the old customs regarding wakes and burials were dying out; that what one saw today was a mixture of traditional Araucanian customs and those of Chileans, except in families where the wishes of old relatives were still respected and consequently old customs were carried out.

The following generalized account of both traditional and present-day customs is based on statements made by my informants.

A wake formerly lasted until all relatives had arrived, or until sufficient food—tortillas, mutton, and mudai—had been provided to feed all those who were expected. This usually took two or three nights and the intervening days; at times, much longer, even a month. During this time, the body rested on a ladderlike frame with food and drink placed about the head, and the clothes and other personal belongings of the deceased placed about the body. Formerly, if the burial did not take place within a few days, the body was fastened to the ladderlike frame and the frame either set up erect, resting in crotches of two branches of trees that had been set in the floor of the ruka, or the head end of the frame was fastened to rafters, and the frame thus suspended. A body so suspended was called pilnai. Men, women, and young children were so treated. A baby's corpse was tied to its cradleboard and set up against the wall of the ruka, a custom which still prevails. "I saw several bodies so suspended," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "The odor was terrible." To which a listener-in added: "The stench was unbearable! But the people put up with it; we had no way of embalming a body. No, the blood was not withdrawn nor were herbs tied to the body. Do your people do that?" The pilnai is no longer a custom.

Today, in Coñaripe area, a body, including head and feet, is wrapped in a blanket or chamall and bound about with trarüwe, the woven material used for belts. Old informants gave this as an old custom. "Recently one of our schoolboys was so laid out," said a non-Araucanian teacher. "The boy's hat rested on his face; bottles of chicha, pans of fried chicken, stacks of tortillas, the boy's clothes, his pencils, writing tablets, and schoolbooks lay near him—mostly about his head. Not too long ago, I attended the wake of an old man. He,

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764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a trariwe. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Panguipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepúe area tortillas or bread [194] and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Coñaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a post at some distance from the ruka, but directly in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. Each evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 164).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Panguipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1896) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Coñaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepúe and Panguipulli areas, also, are two halves of a hewn-out log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called trolof. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in trolof are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"it is a touching thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a trolof."

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If a trolof is used as a coffin, the preliminaries to burial are usually traditional ones. The body is placed in one of the halves, and food is placed in the trolof about the head, and clothes and such personal belongings as a man's silver saddle ornaments are placed about the rest of the body. Doing this is called rokiftun (making provisions for a journey). "If it is a schoolboy we are burying, we put his books and pencils with him and anything else that was his. Now, as formerly, we bury with the body tortillas, toasted wheat, a little container with mudai, bread, meat, a small plate, and always some of the favorite foods of the dead person, possibly a watermelon. Formerly, at the grave, just before burial, the trolof was opened and all who had slaughtered an animal during the wake placed a small piece of kidney or liver near the body. We put the food there because the spirit of the departed wants to eat, too. No, the spirit of the food does not go to where the spirit of the person is, nor do we bring food to the grave after the burial, like you say the Chippewa of your country do, and most certainly we did not put food on the outside of the coffin. That would have been a stupid thing to do." Two little girls present at the interview volunteered: "Yes, and they do that today; they put some water and chicha in, too, sometimes." To which the informant responded: "Well, yes, these children saw that done a year ago for a young man, but it was done only because his mother was an old-timer and believed strictly in the old ways, and wanted it done."

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This done the other half of the trolof is placed in position and the two halves securely bound together with vine.

As recently as 1939, men on horseback rode around the outside of the ruka before the body was removed, "so that the spirit will leave the house joyfully. It was done in this area [Coñaripe] as long as the old men lived; all of our old men are dead now, and we shall probably no longer do it." The non-Araucanian teacher who attended the wake of the schoolboy (previously recounted) was advised on the day of the funeral, by one of those present, to walk to the cemetery while they prepared to bring the boy's body. "I did so," she said. "Soon I heard something going on at the ruka. I looked back and saw men on horseback galloping around it. Later they told me that they had carried out an old custom."

Formerly, the trolof was dragged to the place of burial by men; at the present time, a pair of oxen draws it. In the instance of the 12-year-old boy, the two halves of the trolof were borne to the cemetery on an oxcart drawn by a pair of oxen, while men followed carrying the body on a ladderlike frame on their shoulders, and relatives followed these men. Sometimes today, and always formerly, men on

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764 horseback galloped about such a procession until its arrival at the cemetery. Upon arriving at the cemetery a grave is dug by relatives—"it has always been a custom that relatives do so"—and the trolof is placed in it. Formerly the grave was so shallow that the top of the trolof showed above the ground. Today all burials are beneath the surface of the earth.

If the deceased was a man, his saddled horse—the horse that had been tied near his robe during the wake—was led to the place of burial, behind the body of the man. At the burial plot the saddle was laid on the trolof, the horse strangled, then stabbed, its blood caught and poured on the trolof, and its hide stripped off and laid aside to be placed over the burial. The meat was then divided among all those present. Next a sheep was strangled and laid alongside the trolof. "The spirit of the man needs these things for his travels. We do not believe this now, but we did believe it formerly. I saw all this done," said a 52-year-old Coñaripe man. His 76-year-old relative, a collaborator, added, "I have seen it done many times, here and elsewhere. That was one of our customs. One seldom sees it done now." If the deceased was a cacique, his horse was killed, and its blood poured into the trolof and set over it. The legs of the horse were also cut off and put into the trolof. Unless the entire animal was buried with the cacique, as sometimes happened, only relatives ate the meat of the horse. An attempt at killing a horse was made (1939) at the burial of the 10-year-old boy. As soon as his grave had been dug the lower half of the trolof was lowered into the grave, then the boy's body, and next the cover of the trolof. Lassos were used to do the lowering. Relatives were about to strangle the boy's horse when one of the most respected Araucanians and a Chilean friend of his stepped forward and objected, saying that it was cruel to strangle an animal, and that certainly today such a custom should no longer be carried out; that if the horse were strangled, authorities would be notified. The horse was not killed. It was intended that one-half of the horse be buried with the boy and the other half divided among persons present.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) horses were killed over the grave of a man as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles. Also, according to Cooper, the trolof of a cacique was sometimes raised off the ground, wedged in trees or placed on heavy forked posts. Cooper found in his sources no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies

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of warriors killed in battle far from home and transporting the other back for burial. My informants had not heard of either practice.

The burial of the 17-year-old Alepín youth (see p. 159) is probably a sample of burials in a plank box—an acculturated type of burial more Chilean than Araucanian. Approximately 30 families, all but six of those who had been expected, had come to the wake. The informant, a relative of the deceased young man, named them and added that the previous year a brother of the deceased had had a fist fight with a man of one of the absent families; everybody knew that for that reason this particular family was not present; but why the other families had not attended, he did not know. Before the body was removed from the ruka, it was laid into a coffin made of planks, "like the Chilenos make them," and into the coffin were placed a pair of tennis shoes—"they had put his best shoes on him"—all washable things and his poncho; "in fact everything that had belonged to him personally." His hat lay on his body, not on his head. No food was put into the coffin. "Formerly we did that—we generally put in a container with water or chicha, 12 small pieces of bread fried in grease, and 2 portions of meat of the animal that was slaughtered for the wake. In this case it would have been a piece of this young man's young cow, for that cow was slaughtered at the wake."

Twenty men, one of them a brother of the deceased, walked to the cemetery; four of them carried the coffin on their shoulders; four carried a lighted candle each—one of those that had been burning near the body during the wake; others carried the planks from which a rough box was to be made at the grave. "We do not have a rough box for every burial, but we did for this man." Upon arrival at the cemetery, the brother of the young man pointed out the burial place and the men set to work to dig the grave, taking turns digging. "Always the grave is 1½ meters deep." Two men made the rough box. The coffin was placed into the rough box, the box lowered into the grave by means of a lazo, dirt shoveled back into the grave, and then all went home. The family, except the one brother, had stayed at home. In Alepín area women and children seldom attend a burial; this is not true of Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas. "Most certainly do all the women and children go to the burial," said a Coñaripe woman; "they usually leave their hat trays there. If someone comes to the ruka to comfort them later, however, trays may again flow."

Today, a grave is overlaid with earth, and then, in Coñaripe area, with logs, or is surrounded by an oblong frame of upright boards and the space within planted with flowers or merely allowed to be overgrown with grass; in Alepín area a gabled one-room house, 4 to 5 feet

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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

765 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul goes there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[768] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be 766
buried—something which was not done in Alepín area.

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, 766 177
and a black band around one arm by the men. In Collaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans."

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants 124
found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed.

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the 126
following (1946, pp. 724-725):

> There was no paramount over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in hinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but hinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a hinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[168] ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other person would assume the office.

Decisions regarding punitive affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. 177 The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the lof'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lapón. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgados de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has 648 been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 621 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kuepón. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martin; Pelluco, family Inigo; Mehuin, families Huechoman, Manchpin, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Cuaidaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." [621]

In Alepín area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ocean, and the Pacific Ocean. In Pangipulli and Cullipje areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called allawren for such joint activities as the ñiñitun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 705-706.) An allawren was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the allawren. [63]

Domingo Huenun of Pangipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his grandsonin, Aniceto Huenun, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The grandsonin feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the grandsonin's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. These assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." [622] [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepín died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Llanlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ñiñitun. Huaiten, the late cacique of Mahuin, had no son to inherit his position, so the eldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Pangipulli was Ignes

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[illegible] TABLE [illegible]—Place names and their equivalents in Chile and Argentina from "early, very, very early times," according to *Antiqui Dicere*.

Place-name	Gloss	Place-name	Gloss
CHILE			
Pangipulli	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Curiqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Llaqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	ARGENTINA	
Gorrosqui	[illegible]	Tupiñaca	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
Tolqui	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Quaqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Tuki	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Tucuqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Kilqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
Tilicqui	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Mulicu	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Quaqui	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
Colmqui	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]	Kaulu	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
Llanculu	[illegible]	Anqueno	[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]
	[illegible]		[illegible]

* Indicates name not of direct line of antiquity, but a choice of the people.

10: Hilger E-5 (1948-1952) 1957
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Cañiuil; for Coñaripe, Antimalle; for Calefquén, Katriel; for Aucacuapu, Marico Weco; for Huilio, Darío Canipán. 622

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian stated that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Llenlef and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

Emanuel Antimalle, the 38-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos Antimalle. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive confirmation from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a meeting of the men of his wituan mapu (for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another wituan mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Liuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No 622 623

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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622 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of
623 tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trabiñanco, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, 5], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by families: we were 250 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ñillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ñ'me kurá (ñ'me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Plowing: 1. A wooden plow in the making (Alapio). 2. One type of wooden plow (Alapio). 3. Another type (Cotaripe).

[p. 172 (A)]

Ib: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
504 Aymaraimaa 504
Chile

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[417]

Harvesting: 1. Children cutting grain with sickle (Collaripe). 2. Loading grain onto an oxcart (Collaripe). 3. A lila (fenced-in area) in which grain is threshed by treading horses (Alepue).

[p.172 (B)]

16: Hilger B-0 (1946-1952) 1957

BG4 Anacostiana SO4

Chile

Rows: a. Chiloe Isl (Rosas), a. Corral (Kalbfuss), a. Deep water (Kalbfuss), a. Coll station (Kalbfuss)

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[J-112(C)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Chile

Fossils and the opaquarite plate: 1, Chlidonopteris lobata (Abapit); 2, Cattle pattern from (Abapit); 3, A young [illegible] leaving [illegible] plate (Gobabeb); 4, A trilobite leaving [illegible] plate (Pongapaldi).

[p. 172(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Transportation on horseback: 1, Alepúe man. 2, Details of the saddle (Alepúe). (Note wilal, carrying basket.) 3, Coñaripe woman rider.

[p. 172(E)]
492

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepúe). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepúe). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Coñaripe).

[p. 172(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Sheep, and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Cofaripe. 2. Transportation by oxcart (Alepúe). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3. Dugout used in transporting persons across the Río Llanquihue in Cofaripe.

[p. 172 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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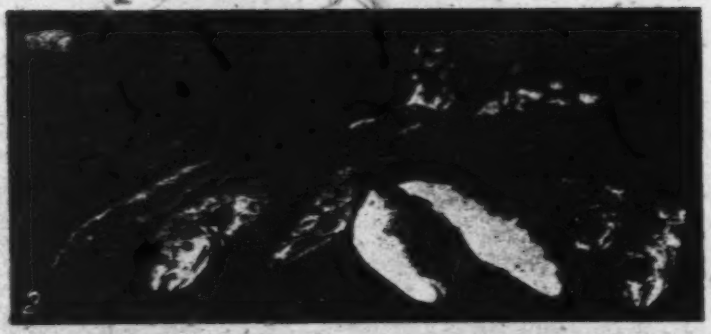
[501]



Fishing in the Pacific Ocean (Alepúe): 1, Two fishermen landing their boat. 2, Their day's catch—a disappointing one. 3, Fish being cured on lines in air and sun.

[p. 172 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957.
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), 622
and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he dïd so I do not know."

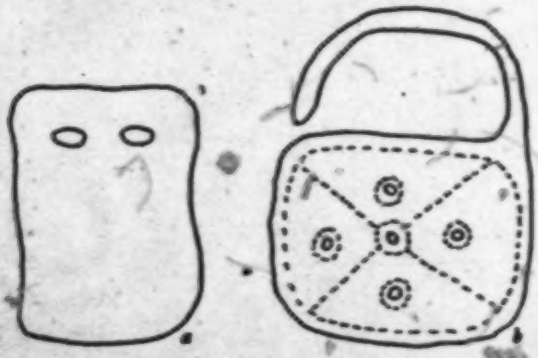


FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me kurá, stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigfredo Franzhiesl of Panguipulli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ñillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Cofaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Cofaripe-Llinco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Llinco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a
657 cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak." 651

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related. 423

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law." [277]

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

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423 market for sale. Such land is called kilie mapu. Anyone wishing to do so today, as formerly, will clear a portion of the common land, cultivate it or graze his animals upon it, and thereby claim it, as already stated. A non-Araucanian Alepín herbalist had heard children say, "My father cleared that piece and that piece and that piece [pointing at cleared areas on mountain sides], and that is why we own all that land." Clearing was, and is, done by burning (pl. 1, 1).

No one appropriates exclusive rights, however, to lands on which the araucaria grows—a pine, the nuts of which are a traditional staple food (cf. p. 205). The same holds true for banks of rivers from which fishing is done, for the shores of the Pacific where seafoods are gathered, and for coves on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and docked.

A Coñaripe man explained the acquisition of communal lands by individuals thus: "Much land in Coñaripe area, which includes also the land in the area known as Liñco, has not been assigned; it is all still owned in common. We still have about 5,000 hectares [12,000 acres, approximately] of such land up in the mountains. The Chileans call land owned in common, comuna; the Mapuche call it kilie mapu. Fathers of families do not know how much of it should belong to each of them. Anybody from this area has the right to clear a piece of land on which clearing has not already been begun. By that I mean my neighbor, for instance, would not be able to clear or claim land near a place where I had begun a clearing, nor would I clear a piece of land near his. This is done so that people can eventually add land to that which is near their homes. Once the land is cleared and cultivated everyone knows to whom it belongs, and its ownership is marked off on the cacique's chart. Everybody always cultivates the same land, but not every piece of that land each year; [illegible] one piece after another lie fallow for a year. Before I married, I lived on the other side of the river with my brother, and I cleared a piece of land there, and I own that land now. The father of the woman I married had given her a piece of his land—land that he had been cultivating. When we married, we built our ruka on that land, for my land could only be reached by crossing the river. My wife owns her land by right of radicación [an expression used by Chileans, meaning rights associated with birthplace, habitat, or ancestral rights of ownership] and I own mine across the river by the same right and in addition to that by the right of clearing it [the former a Chilean right, the latter, an Araucanian one]. Radicación was recently applied to Araucanians; it gives a woman the right to own land. It was introduced when I was about as old as he [5 years old, approximately, in 1901]. Formerly, only sons

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Collipulli informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Calafquén and cultivated land in this way." 423

In Collipulli area then (1957), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepín area, most men do have a deed. A 39-year-old Alepín man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a ruka on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonoción in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the pudeche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Families were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding 241 423 731

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschitz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
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> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder like to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschitz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sgifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grain were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pelts of the 222

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[136] Each family had many several pelts of the
[137] sheep—the llama was an animal that lived around in the Mapuche country then; it was like a sheep, he said, but its pelt was not as heavy as a sheep's. They pulled off the ears of the grain by hand, collected them on the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried pelthals of them home, slung across his shoulder. They collected heads of the wheat in the same way in those days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

243 A 19-year-old girl in Cofacipe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's 1948 stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only scattered ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, *1*), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, *2*). Threshing grain in this manner is called fowilipen. The movements of her feet, used alternately for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother fowilipen, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hum the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by brushing the surface with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, *3*). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had barely begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels onto the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, focusing her eyes on the farther edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

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they begin to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl helped to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find ears. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 206-207 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes. 293

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an ayni raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, 1 and 2). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two dawns here, and one over there. Dawn is a word we get from the Chilenos, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one harvests a little, two dawns can be cut in one day." "In this area [Coñaripe] a dawn is a piece of land approximately fifty meters square." A Boyan man stretched an arm, and noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a dawn is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a dawn is usually longer than it is wide." Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years. 294 295

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Gusinde, were a wooden pick (*chuyel*) made either of hexa or tenu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (*cutaweve*). (Cf. Gusinde, 1944, pp. 313-321 for complete descriptions.) Cutaweves were used in smashing lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 34). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other. 296

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boyan area, "If one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Coñaripe, while I was there, one man furnished 297

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the land and another did the seeding; each furnished two sacks of wheat, that is, half of the seed needed. "And today we harvested the grain, six sacks in all—a profit of one sack for each of us. It is a poor harvest." Another informant owned land but no oxen and no seed. He had to give up his oxen as payment on a mortgage. A neighbor plowed the land and furnished the seed. Both men together seeded the land, and together they harvested it. Each got one-half of the harvest. When I asked a man if his wife seeded the land that belonged to her, he answered somewhat indignantly, "The land may belong to her, but after all she does not rule over it; the man does that!"

Fields and gardens, it is believed by many, should be planted when the moon is waning. "It is the only time that the moon has strength." If rain interferes when the moon is waning, planting should then be done between the first quarter and full moon; never at full moon, new moon, or when there is no moon.

Complaints were made in all areas against small green-colored parrots (*choroy, perdiuc*) that come in large flocks, practically every year, immediately after the wheat has been planted, and do much damage by pecking the kernels from the soil. Small children are sent to run back and forth in the fields to keep the parrots on the wing. "Finally the parrots get angry, give much back talk and fly away," said a little girl, quite amused.

Wheat, in the early days, was harvested by plucking the ears by hand, as previously described. Today it is cut with an iron sickle secured to a wooden handle. The spread of the opening of a sickle, observed in use in Colueipe area, was 7 inches; the handle 5 inches in length. The cutting edge of the blade had been serrated with a knife and was kept keen with a porous stone of volcanic origin found in the area.

The one who cuts the wheat grasps a half dozen stalks, more or less, with one hand a little below the ear (with little finger toward the earth), applies the sickle about 6 inches below the little finger, bends the stalks over the sickle away from the body, pulls the sickle toward the body, cuts the ears off, and lays them to the side, on stubble. When enough grain has been cut to fill two outstretched arms, someone passes along, piles it up, and carries it by armfuls to an *encart* (pl. 35, *c, e*). This is done if the grain is thoroughly ripe; if it is not thoroughly ripe, and there is no rain forecast, it may be cut one day and headed away the following. All members of the family, including small children, assist in harvesting. Anyone having a right to a share in the harvest of a particular field will assist in the reaping.

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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. 243
For cutting a durra, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. 245
dollar) in 1946, or 35 almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box 204
used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans."

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being 243
trampled upon (kuillkun) either by human beings, or by horses on 533
hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ears." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop."

In Alepde area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal 243
way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its heads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, 3), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this moiling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruca—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha.

In Collaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a stone-

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293 propelled threshing machine, the grain must be cut with longer stalks. A Cotharipe man, five of his children, ranging from 4 to 21 years in age, and a 76-year-old relative were observed harvesting a field (February 23, 1947) which had been sown by the father and the relative for equal shares at harvest time. The grain was cut very early in the day by the older persons. At about 10:30 o'clock, all seven persons were in the field. All but the father collected the grain into piles; each tied his pile together with either a cord or a trarilwe (woven belt) and carried it to the corral, the small children and a 13-year-old girl carrying their bundles on the head, the old relative and a 21-year-old girl, on the shoulder. Taller persons threw their bundles onto the corral; the father reached for those of the shorter ones (pl. 8, g). The father, by hand, carefully placed each bundle with ears toward the middle of the corral, then untied the cord or trarilwe and dropped it on the ground to be used again. While waiting for bundles, he packed the ears on the corral by stepping on the middle of the stalks.

The father and the old relative took the load of grain to the threshing machine the following morning. After they had paid for the threshing (payment had to be in grain; money was not accepted) they netted 110 kilograms over the 80 kilograms planted in the field. Both men were depressed about the yield. They had observed that morning, while waiting at the threshing machine, that three combined owners' loads from another valley in the Andes had produced more than 1,000 kilograms. Both men explained that the earth in Cotharipe Valley had only a thin layer of black topsoil, that one needed to dig down only a very little distance to find the beginning of a great depth of pebbles of volcanic origin. "The tillable soil of our valley is tired," one said. "It will soon be difficult to raise even peas or beans in it." Since threshing is no longer a communal affair in Cotharipe, the traditional festivity with a plentiful meal is no longer a part of the occasion.

294 Potatoes are a staple Araucanian food. Every family plants a fenced patch of them. Where there are very abundant, there are used in alternate years for the planting. The entire family generally helps with this operation. The man, or a son old enough to know how, plows the soil, if the patch is located where this can be done, or spades it. He, his wife, and older boys and girls then hoe the ground into hills, in which the potatoes are planted. If no sheep corral is used, the smaller children of the family scamper across the pastures and collect cow and sheep manure and pile some on each hill. Weeding during the growing season is usually done by the man or an older son.

A vegetable garden is an essential for every household. Vegetables include soybeans, cabbage, lettuce, peas, beans, carrots, multiple

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onions, dill, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, oregano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small grey parrots, which also relish wheat fields at ripening time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is inexperienced, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Catholic man: "No, the wheat does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old customs, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. Rarely is a rural man that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rubble. A Catholic family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, carnations, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Elderly town near rubble were often native pine trees, but a few houses had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. xx, x.)

[illegible]

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. [illegible]) domesticated animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama, maybe the guinea pig, used in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonies. The meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

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horse and chickens were kept. At the beginning of the nineteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the horse, those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the gaucho.

At present domesticated animals are horses, cows, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several, and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are held primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by men on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, man's horse is Araucanian's most prized possession. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man has infrequently less than two pairs; rarely, three. Ones are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk is not a food, but in very recent times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most certainly women own horses and cows and sheep before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property."

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to have any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Wattles and hooks are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, sleeping and horse—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; horse and sleeping as rugs or furniture covers; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent wear, a dancer that women dress to lose their

[illegible] the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine.

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is really scarce; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spokes of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particular tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the spring but are taken into the rules to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alegria woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean house could no longer tolerate her chickens in the rules, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 16, 1). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is found nesting. If the hen is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "So only then the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the rules.

Usually every household has several dogs. All are mongrelings, but most guard the sheep at night and the rules and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives me a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the rules which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the rules or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the rules—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the detaining person, in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of hoarseness ("he becomes so hoarse as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his barks sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or environs on the Central Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the rules, he is chased out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the rules? He has protection (Mandi). Chileans eaten, the bat will get them!"

Every household has at least one bee that is a mascot. She plays in the rules. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl expressed her voice with a "hell" and she chopped, at a third attempt, the little girl

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231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

417 Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huelli, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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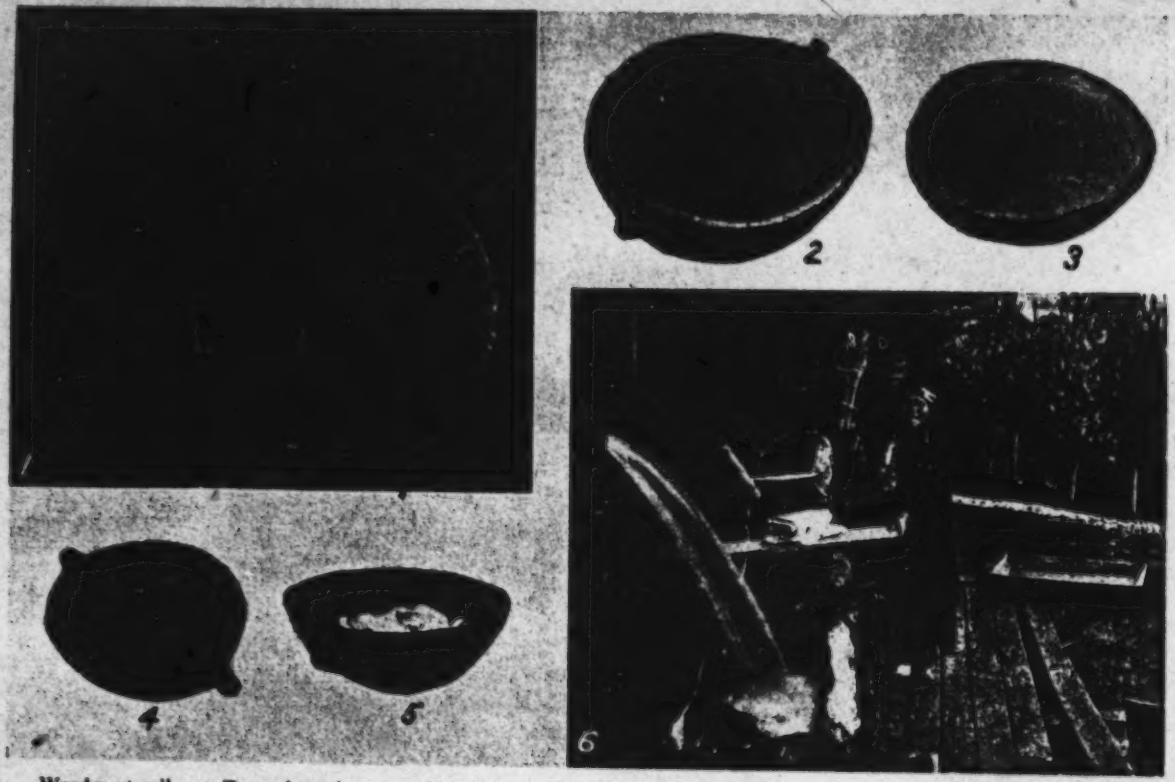

Wooden utensils: 1, Two tubs and a spoon (Alepúe). 2-5, Wooden dishes. (Figures 2-4 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile; 5, Alepúe.) 6, Wooden trough (right) and wooden ladle (in woman's hand) used in washing clothes. (Picture bought in Temuco.)

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Cooking utensils: 1, Alacúe girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar. 2, In use in Alacúe, and 3, other types of pestle and mortar. 4-6, Paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, generally used for storing salt, chili, and grease. (Figures 3-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

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Food preparation: 1, Collaripe woman cleaning sheep's head in running water. 2, Alepúe woman winnowing wheat. 3, Alepúe woman grinding wheat with a muller on a metate.

[p. 188(c)]

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Pottery: 1, Various types in use in Alepúe area. 2-4, Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.

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[p. 188(D)]

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Basketry: 1, Coñaripe woman weaving a küllco, used for carrying and storage. 2, A tightly woven basket, probably used for storage. (Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.) 3, Winnowing tray (Alepúe). 4, A carrying and storage basket (Coñaripe). 5, A basket (chaiwe) used as a filter, strainer, and drainer (Coñaripe).

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[p. 188 (E)]

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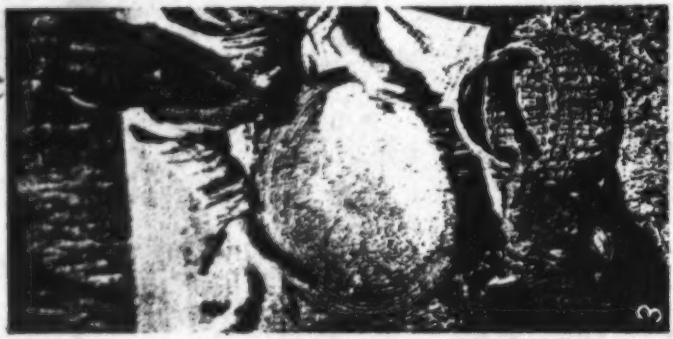

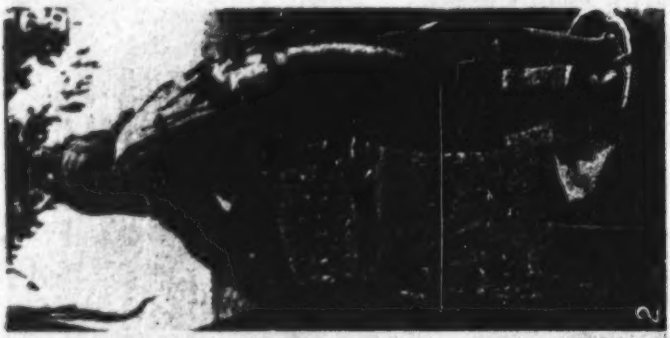

Making meal from wheat (Coñaripe): 1, Collecting ears of wheat. 2, Threshing wheat with the feet. 3, Winnowing the kernels.

[p. 188(F)]

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Making maize (continued): 1, Sifting ashes. 2, Pouring sifted ashes into boiling water. 3, Pouring winnowed wheat into boiling water and ashes.

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Making mate (continued): 1, Tying bands. 2, Coiling cooked bands. 3, Placing coiled bands into a basket.

[p. 188 (H)]

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Making mate (continued): c, On the way to the spring to wash cups of hornets. d, Washing cups of hornets. e, Mate ready to eat.

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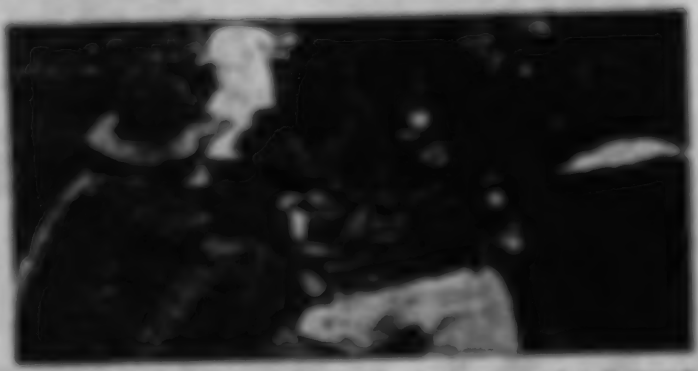

Preparing rope and climbing rack. 1. Lack of [illegible] rack to the [illegible] 2. Climbing rack in [illegible] 3. Climbing [illegible] 4. Climbing [illegible] 5. Climbing [illegible] 6. Climbing [illegible]

[p. 108 (I)]

down together! Sis knows he is taking a chance of falling between the house and getting caught." 3.3.3

It is one of the duties of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals other than birds. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Adapin children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 3.3.1 3.3.2

Table 3.—Child ownership of domestic animals

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (with amount)
13-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults
12-year-old boy	One horse called Dandelion, one old cow, two cows
13-year-old boy	One horse called Queen, one young white cow, one old cow and her little one born
13-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf
13-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog, "I call the dog Shadow"
14-year-old boy	One sheep, one horse, one hen, one goose
14-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young white cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks
14-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Dalmatin"
14-year-old boy	One cow, one hen, and an old ox called Sandy
15-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one cow
15-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens

When the 15-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write these words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening to said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

[illegible]

Shelling and snapping, according to Cooper's sources (1948, pp. [illegible]), played a minor role in Annandale economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the pronghorn, the bison or ground, and the puma. Birds taken were the [illegible], the [illegible], pigeons, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 3.2.6

(9): Wagner E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
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236 pumas, too, was hunted with the help of dogs. Weapons, according to Cooper's sources, were the bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-bolled bolas. Snares (lazos, warki) of several kinds were used to snapping birds. Cooper's sources did not mention clap snares, spring-pole and running-pole snares, pole and perch snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and snapping nets.

Old informants told me they had seized pumas (which they called lions), and tigers, pudú (deer), vicuñas, and rabbits—"to hit these destructive animals and any other four-footed animals that we wished to trap, when I was a young man"—into snares (warki) consisting of a pole attached to a noose made of twisted horsehair to which a favorite food of the animal to be snared had been fastened as bait. Pulling at the bait caused the pole to be released, thereby constricting the noose about the animal's neck and choking it. Pumas were also trapped in enclosures. One consisting of two fences has already been described. Another consisting of a circular fence, also, was so built that a puma could push inside and see a sheep placed there as bait. In the fence a blind-alley gateway, about the size of a puma, was built to look like an entrance. The puma entered it to get at the sheep, and when it found it could not reach the sheep it backed out. Thereupon, a man lying in wait for it emerged it with a spear.

My informants thought that a systematic hunt by the old methods should be inaugurated to rid the area of pumas. "For every fourth or fifth night a puma attacks a flock of sheep somewhere, or makes a desperate attempt to do so. All we do today is to protect our sheep by means of dogs. Dogs succeed, usually, in chasing a puma back into the ravines or woods, but occasionally sheep are taken. Pumas are bold, and nothing keeps them away except the ferocious bark of dogs; that is why we feed dogs still."

One night a puma returned to the Mission corral where it had devoured our sheep and sucked the blood of six others several weeks before. The following morning its tracks were everywhere in the sand in the old corral. Evidently it had not discovered the new corral, in which the sheep were now surrounded by two fences, before the dogs gave chase, as its footprints were not found there. During the night the barking of many dogs could be heard moving into the distance as they chased the puma (dogs from neighboring ruka having joined the Mission dog). In the morning neighbors came to see what damage had been done and told how their dogs had joined in the chase when the puma passed their ruka. They thought that the voices we had heard during the night were theirs, for "we kept talking to our

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer [267] seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepúe spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans.

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported. 226

Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (kolükalen), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (kudwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are huahuan, tineo [251] (unidentified), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available.

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1, 2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ¼ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 481 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water 487 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

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50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Coñaripe area, two. 483 492

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 492

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 38, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a bow front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a choapino, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a choapino today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 38); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

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too poor to have one so ornamented. "A poor man might have only a spur with a piece of metal, like a nail of today," said an old man. "Every man had only one spur in those days. Why should he have two? I remember those days."

Today, heavy loads, such as flour or pelts, are often transported on horseback, or if too bulky, are hauled by oxen, usually on carts. If the load is transported by horse, either the man rides with the load or puts it on the back of the horse and leads the animal by a halter. Often a load is carried on a montura de cargo (saddle for a load) which rests on the padded back of a pack horse. If the rider shares the horse, the load is divided into equal portions and put into bags woven for this purpose or into two wilal tied so they can be slung across the horse's back behind the rider. Sometimes the load is transported in a sack placed back of the rider. Often a rider, in addition to the load on his horse, carries a basket or wilal on his arm.

Fish to be taken to a Chilean market are packed tightly in a large oblong wilal or a large mesh bag, not unlike a net, between layers of leaves and long grass and are placed on a pack horse with an equal load on each side. The grass and leaves keep the heat of the sun from penetrating.

A heavy or clumsy load is hauled on a 2-wheeled cart by a pair of oxen. (Cf. pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) The loads I saw hauled in this manner were stones, wheat, sacks of sugar, a quarter of beef, and cases of soft drinks to be sold at a fiesta. A few families own no oxen and must therefore borrow a pair for hauling. "If a man cannot afford to own a horse, he most certainly cannot own an ox—an ox costs about ten times the price of a horse, and one needs two oxen to work one."

Oxen are paired when hitched to the yoke for the first time and remain so during their life. Each is also given a name on this occasion, usually by the one who is doing the hitching. Should a new owner not like a name that has been given the animal, he must change it before the ox has become accustomed to being called by it. Names of pairs of oxen in Alepúe area were Bonito (pretty one) and Clavel (spotted, red and white, like a carnation); Pinto and Pinado (both were spotted and looked as if they had been painted); Figura (ill-shaped one) and Paisano (fellow countryman); Anduviste (running one) and Padeciendo (suffering one); Precioso (valuable one) and Lucero (morning star); Clavel and Bandera (flag). Araucanians call an ox manshun (from the Spanish manso) meaning quiet, meek, and lamblike—qualities, the informant said, exemplified by an ox.

Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and

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Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and they are available. (Pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Coñaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, *1*). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, *2* and *3*.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, *2*).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiaca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Puya* sp., *Libocedrus* [324]
chilensis (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

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501 in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (tanji), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

491 In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

484 It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and [462] children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

437 Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

426 Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

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Araucanians have never had any currency. Chilean currency is used today; in fact it has become a necessity. It is needed to buy from Chileans necessities not produced by the family, such as men's and boys' clothing—including hats and shoes, if there is sufficient money; calico for women's and girls' waists or entire dresses, if the native dress (kəpam) is no longer worn by them; cloth for aprons; tools; dishes and cooking kettles; commercial dyes; sugar; occasionally wheat or flour. "Even the poor must sell some of their produce to buy these." If a large amount of chicha is needed, as at fiestas, baptisms, ruka building, and harvesting—where it is considered an essential—it, too, is bought from Chileans. 436

Money is obtained by supplying Chilean needs. Cattle and sheep, and, on occasions, hogs, oxen, and horses, are sold to non-Araucanian livestock dealers, mostly Chilean, who can be expected to come through the area at any time. In Alepúe area (1946) I was offered a good riding horse at the prevailing price, approximately 450 pesos ($15.00 in U. S. currency). Occasionally a family sells chickens; more often, if there is an opportunity, eggs. Eggs are used only as a subsidiary in cooking by Araucanians; chicken meat is the base for several dishes. 439

In Alepúe area a man delivered fish and other seafoods taken from the Pacific along a trade route he had established for himself, or he peddled them from house to house among Chileans in San José de Mariquina or Valdivia, or at fundos in the area. A few men dealt with Araucanian fish dealers on a commission basis; these dealers live in town and resell the fish to merchants in Valdivia. Fish sold are corbina, sierra, and robalo. Two edible algae taken from the Pacific are also marketable, namely luche and cochayuyo. A 35-year-old man and his 51-year-old sister pointed to a day's work, a 6-foot-high pile of standard-sized bundles of cochayuyo. Each bundle was 18 inches long and could be encircled by two hands. They intended to sell these in Valdivia the following day. Shellfish, called loko, mañihue, and macha, and in July and August a special delicacy called arisos, have commercial value if they can be marketed within a day after they are collected.

The leaves of the fiocha were sold to Chileans by Alepúe men for rope manufacture, and nuts of the araucaria by Coñaripe men, to be eaten. After a good harvest, many sell wheat. Some families sell dried peas and beans.

Woven articles are sold to Chilean stores or to non-Araucanians who order them; chief among the articles are ponchos, choapinos (saddle covers), lamas (throws), and blankets. Early one morning a 21-year-old man asked me to buy a lama—he was en route on horse-

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439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lama, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no choapino to sell.

Choapino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a choapino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for choapino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the choapino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Panguipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more choapino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

464 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching fiandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the fiandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

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and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rashwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as nonleakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the ñillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawaunakamwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranachadwe or katunkura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

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252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *2*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (challa), a potlike piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the cántaro (meñkuwe), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More cántaros than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (in-

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formants not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy! My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the World War. Those cántaros [pointing at galvanized pails and enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of oxen, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections. The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 461, 462) were 3 to 5½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is cut lengthwise, flattened, and carved into the desired shape. Formerly an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier on long journeys. Cow udders and paunches were used for storing salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, *4, 5, 6*). They were thoroughly cleaned and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this cheda," said a woman, as she took one off a peg in her ruka. "He used horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Cheda are usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlelike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

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252 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage;
415 chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (kūlko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepū) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part
of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild
262 plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine,
[252] and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of láwū, and of koifūñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated
220 plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and
263 orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Collaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

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the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out. 222 263 262

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe ones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, 3, 4) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Coñaripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 52-year-old Coñaripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pelaifa [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llancahue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

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222 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the rafts. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

263 Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chileno stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Collucipe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into cántaros and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chuwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcahue), mote (laiao kachilla), catuto (moltrun or mul'a), and toasted wheat (kopanahue).

152 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

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prepare it." In making it (pls. 47-50), an informant scattered handfuls of wheat into a kettle in which ashes had been boiling in water for some time and occasionally stirred. Choice ashes are those of olivillo, lingue, and laurel común; next best are those of roble chilmo and ulmo, "in fact ashes of any hard wood (pellín) can be used; not so the ashes of canelo or of rotted wood." Ashes have to be at least a month old, and are powdered and sifted before being used.

The mixture of ashes and wheat is boiled and occasionally stirred, and at intervals the kernels are tested. Progress is being made when hulls come off the kernels as they are being rubbed between the palms of the hands. When the kernels separate into halves when pressed between the fingers, they are sufficiently cooked. A small amount of cold water is then added and the contents of the kettle poured into a chaiwe to be drained. To hasten drainage the contents is stirred and the chaiwe shaken back and forth and up and down. This done, the mixture is poured into a wooden dish to cool. The informant stirred it with both hands to bring hot kernels to the surface.

When sufficiently cooled, the informant halved the contents and loosened the hulls of each half by working the kernels with her feet in a wooden dish. This done, she poured the entire mass into the chaiwe again, took it to the source of drinking water—a pool fed by several springs and emptying into a river nearby—and freed the kernels of ashes and hulls by first pouring pailfuls of water over them in the chaiwe and then dipping the chaiwe up and down just under the surface of the water in a deeper part of the pool. At intervals she stirred the kernels with her hand. Soon she brought the chaiwe out of the pool and, putting it on the ground, straddled the handle and again worked the kernels with her feet. This done, she took the chaiwe back into the pool and let water seep into it, thus bringing to the top any foreign elements mixed with the wheat. To remove these she moved slowly out of the water, backwards, keeping the chaiwe slightly submerged. She walked home and cooked the kernels in clear water. Her mother tasted them and found them to her liking. Had they retained the taste of ashes, they would have been boiled again, but this time with a twig of maqui, "for maqui eliminates the taste of ashes," and a thorough washing will eliminate the taste of maqui. The informant served her mote to the family in cold, honey-sweetened water; the writer, her field assistant, and her interpreter, upon their return home, relished theirs in honey-sweetened milk. Mote is also served in broth and in chicha. Occasionally it is dried for future use.

Catuto are made as follows: Dry ashes and dry kernels of wheat are placed in a wooden dish and worked with the feet until kernels

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252 are fond of bulls. Chuff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chalwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chalwe, and kept warm near the fire until sunshine when the women will crush the kernels with mother on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the mother. A catato may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole catato, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. Adults prefer it cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container,known as a hape, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the hape, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the hape. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

269 Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the fireplace,and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called hawa pelli. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as cuidao and cocoshu, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a cuba, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, cooked, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well dressed with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is hawa pelli, fermented potato. Most

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Gualliu harvest potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his sister-in-law had a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about as wide [Mapuche arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of rushes, leaves of maqui, or lotus—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes dipped of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then let back in to course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, some rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepín area; in Collaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Collaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or lig pulli) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in ceremonial recipe. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting.

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the pigeon and chucaldiz. Less frequently the meat of goats is eaten. There must be never been a staple food, but considerably it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten.

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the food supply. Lard is stored—a mix tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire rack or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be cooked down slightly with salt before being smoked. Each meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter.

Dr. Wilgus E-5 (1944-1952) 1957
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Chile

252 Lamb is generally roasted. Mutton, pork, and beef are cut into small pieces and used in stews and thick soups. Certain cuts of beef are roasted; less desirable cuts are made into stews, or their essence is extracted by cooking and made into thick soups. Jerked beef is boiled and then fried. Puma, too, is roasted.

An informant showed us how lamb was prepared and roasted, and said that all other meat was roasted in the same manner. He broke the ribs in several places with a maul and then cut both ribs and meat into long strips. Next he poked the sharpened end of a pole through each strip of meat, twirling it in spiral fashion as he did so, leaving all sides of the meat exposed (pl. 51, c). In roasting it, he rested the sharpened end of the pole on a stone at the fireside and held the other end so high that the meat was just above the glowing coals (pl. 51, d). He rotated the pole by hand almost continuously, so that the meat would be roasted on all sides.

Stews and soups are made from cuts of beef not desired for roasting. The meat, cut into small pieces, is cooked with the bones until the marrow has been extracted. The meat is then given to the dogs, the bones are cracked open with a maul, and the marrow is taken out and consumed in the broth. Potatoes and/or vegetables are then added to thicken the broth, and salt mixed with chili to season it; other seasonings are added, if desired. Mutton and beef stews are made in the same manner.

253 Jerked beef (*ch'u-qui-ki* of the Araucanians, and the *charqui* of Chilean) was prepared at home by one of the informants because it was an easy way to take the family's meat supply to the harvest fields, a day's journey away. "Harvesting will take a few days and we cannot take fresh meat to daughter as animal does," she explained. She cut one continuous thin slice from a large boneless piece of beef, rubbed salt well into one side of it, made a roll of it, and let it lie for a days and a nights. Then she unrolled it and let it hang in the sun for a day, rubbed salt into the unsalted side, folded the piece, and let it lie for a day and a night. The following morning she unrolled the piece to find salt spots in it. Into them she pounded salt with a maul. During the night preceding the day on which she intended to prepare it for a meal, she let it lie in water which she kept lukewarm on one of the flat stones close to the fire. "This will take the salt out of it," she commented, "so she wants all that salt in it. And there is no meat remaining that meat with salt when you cook it." It is thoroughly washed then and boiled until tender, when it is pounded into small pieces with a maul and dropped piece by piece into sizzling grease. After it has fried a little, thick slices of onions are added,

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When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has lived a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomato or oregano; I add tomato, sometimes."

A favorite dish is spread lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called lom. This blows the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so blowed was seen hanging on a wall in an Alegale cabin. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now permeated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish.

The complicated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it Sadi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was seen at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and gall of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The gall she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crossties frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook them for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Blood, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swinging a chalice containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them free of every bit of fleece," she complied.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned meatless seasoned in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians formed her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion grease on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The fold resembles thoughts of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a bottle of boiling

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252 lard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rəfwe).

Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not 262 even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepúe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

262 Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepúe and Boroa areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (kolũkalen), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kudwa). A species of mackerel (kauki) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, macha, mañihue, ariso, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling

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water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of fiocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." 252 They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée.

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads nauseated her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend these people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariso are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sowed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of fiocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 252]

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, 3). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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Formerly, according to a Panguipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground. 273 415

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the ñillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, 264

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FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal. 264 512

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264 On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school 512 early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning 871 and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground [352] on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

342 The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs [177] to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

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or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepúe man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Coñaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Llaco." 342 595

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

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342 together with voqui, or, in some instances, are nailed to horizontal boards. Hinges are of rawhide. Rarely are there latches or knobs. A door is kept closed by being bolted. Children, during their first days at school, are baffled by knobs on doors.

Ruka have no chimneys. "Who would want to sit in a ruka with an opening at the top to let the rain in?" asked a Coñaripe man, and then went on to say: "The ruka is built to have smoke exits (ullollün) at one or both gable ends of the roof, or to have escapes in one or two walls. If the ruka is situated in the path of a prevailing wind, such as we have in some of the valleys in the Cordillera, there is only one opening for the smoke; if located where winds shift frequently, there are two. Ullollün are usually built to protrude beyond the walls or to be slightly higher than the roof. If built in this manner, there is always a good draft." (See pls. 52, *1*, and 53.)

An Alepúe man, when asked why the ruka had no chimney, replied: "For the very simple reason that in this area it rains on the average two days out of every three; no holes can be tolerated in the roof. We take care of ventilation and smoke by arranging for one smoke hole at a gable end of the roof, that is an ullollün, and for another by leaving an open space at the eaves of one of the walls and a thinness in the same wall just below the open space. The smoke will then find its way out either through the smoke hole or the wall, depending upon the draft, the draft depending largely on the direction of the wind. When building the ruka, notice must be taken of prevailing winds, for the thinness in the wall must be on the side opposite prevailing winds, and the eave on this side must project sufficiently to keep swishing rains from coming in through the thin part of the wall." During an interview, one day, his wife closed the ruka door in order to change the direction of the smoke. She waited a moment, and when she saw the smoke going out through the thin wall she remarked: "There now, that will make it more comfortable to visit."

342 824 The framework of the traditional thatch ruka requires saplings with a crotch at an equal height on each. Saplings of hardwood are best, such as petra, roble chileno, canelo, olivillo, laurel común, and ulmo. Temu must not be used, "for worms live in it." The rafters are of ulmo, and so are tie beams. "Ulmo, you know, grows very straight." The entire framework is kept taut and in position by colihüe poles tied to it at intervals in a horizontal position.

342 A man wishing to erect a thatch ruka usually collects the building materials before the men he has invited to assist him arrive. These are men he helped in the erection of their ruka, usually neighbors and relatives. If these men are close friends of his, their families are

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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct;
informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had de-
stroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, [824]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting
the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to
erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework,
and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is
done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand
when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and
roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with
roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and
is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining
technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened
horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied
to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka
usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [462]
the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal.
"After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this
song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun,
if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife
of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at
the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to
intoxication.

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log [177]
roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied
these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise
and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hol-
lowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to
allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split
hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so
that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath
it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and
allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belong- [428]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it,
and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at
the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 354
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The
open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and
warmth as well.

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000 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning
373 wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

356 Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Coñaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom
412 made of esparto tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning kettles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Coñaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two ruka occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but ade-
513 quate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

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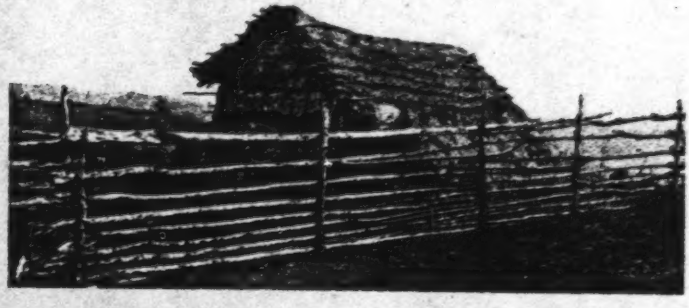

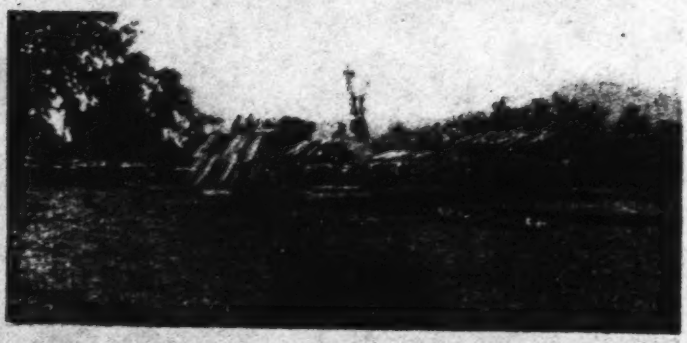

Housing: 1, A ruka (Alepúe). 2, The Coñaripe cacique's homestead. 3, One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for sleeping and for storage.

[P. 220 (A)]

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A ruka in Alepúe area: 1. Front view showing entrance. (Note yoke for oxen leaning against the wall.) 2. Smoke hole at gable end of front wall. 3. Smoke hole at gable end of rear wall. (Note layers of grass used in thatching walls, in all three pictures.)

[P. 220(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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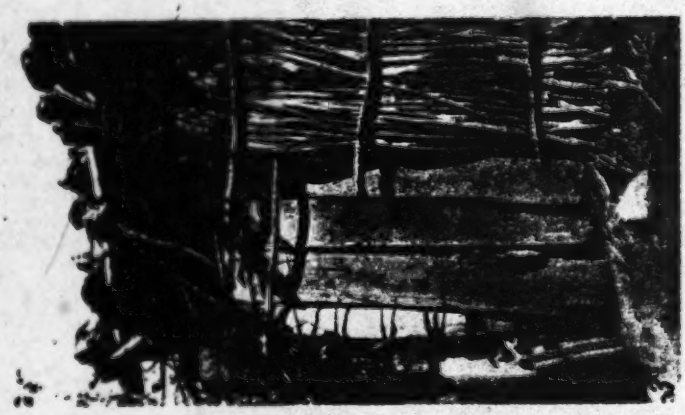

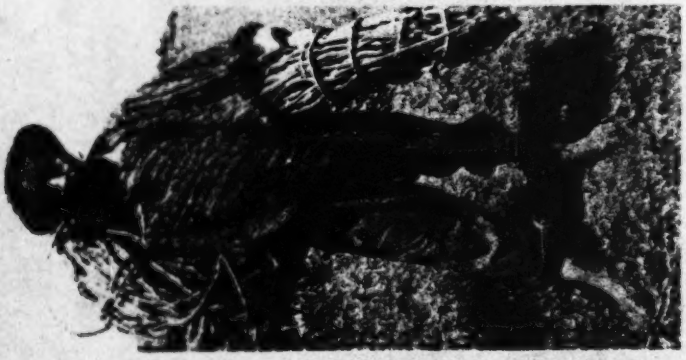

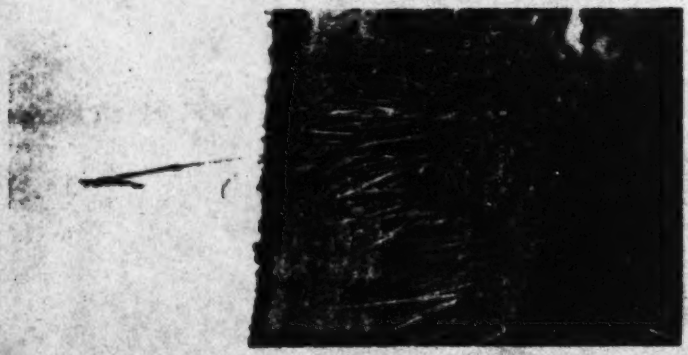

Building materials (Alepúe): 1, Ratonera used in thatching a ruka. 2, Vine (voqué) used in building fences and ruka. 3, Detail of a chicken coop. (Note the manner of keeping ratonera in place. All attaching is done with vines.)

[482]

[p. 220 (C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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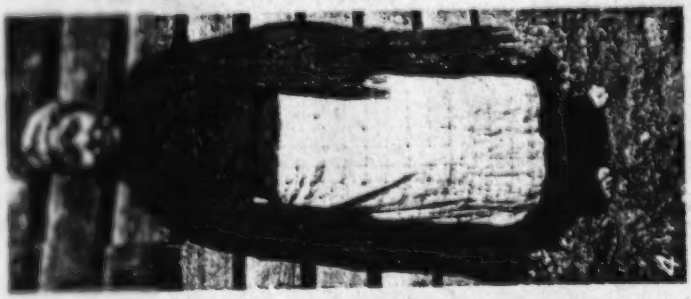

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Women's clothing (Alepúe area): 1–3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[p. 220 (D)]

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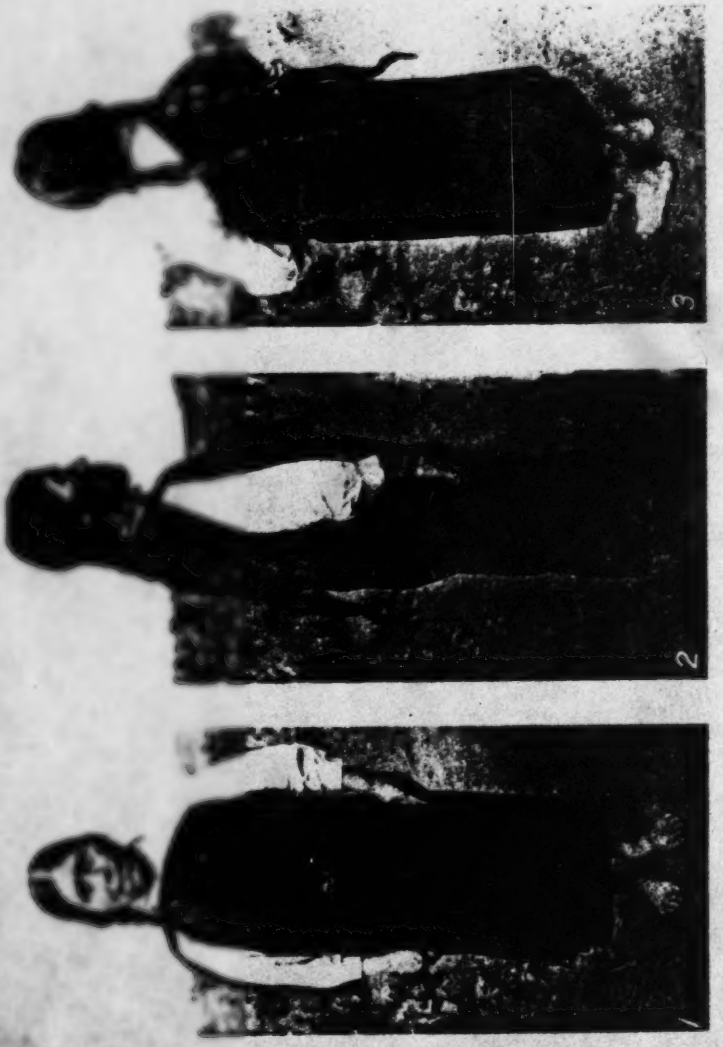

Three views of the kopam, the woman's traditional homespun and homewoven dress of black yarn (Alepie).

p 220 (E

(b) Bilgoo E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Spinning and weaving: 1, Eight-year-old Alepie girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. 2, A young Cahuelque woman weaving a blanket.

[p.220(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Dyeing (Alepúe): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wilal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

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[482]

[p. 220 (G)]

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[285]

Weaving a chuapino, a saddle cover or throw for stools and low benches (Alepite): 1, Putting the warp on the loom. 2, Ready to begin to weave. 3, The completed chuapino.

[p. 220 (H)]

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pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepée man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid benches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [158]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepée woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihue sections of equal length with voqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Colhuipe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (kilko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wiñi), dried gourds, pouches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 241

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291 formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chochol (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a makuñ (poncho), a chamallwe (woven belt), a trarülonko (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of tranu (leather soles tied to the feet), several traükuque (metal bracelets), and trarünamun (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Coñaripe] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemel. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

301 Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's saddle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarütuwe, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamallwe, was homewoven and not ornamented.

291 Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamallwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his sons for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (tranu) (pl. 26, *2*). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the section as marked, pokes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

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He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tranu are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, *2*; 8; 9, *1*; 11, *1*, *3*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *2*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *1*). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kapam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ikalla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarülojko (headband of silver medallions) or a llallafyptrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

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291 [302] a nətrowe (yarn braided into the hair or wound around bunches of it and around the ends of braids). Ponchos were not worn by women; nor did women wear tranu—all walked barefoot. Today, in general, women of all ages wear a long-sleeved waist and a kəpam, and over these, an apron; a factory-woven black shawl is worn when away from home. (Pls. 2, *3*; 3, *2*; 4, *1*, *3*; 24, *2*, *3*; 29, *1*; 38, *3*; 56; 58.) Most women are barefoot at all times; those who have shoes wear them only on special occasions.

A kəpam is rectangular in shape. (The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said the kəpam could also be called küpam or pillkeñ.) A married woman demonstrated the manner of wearing the kəpam. (Cf. pl. 56.) She placed the kəpam against her back lengthwise at the shoulders. Then she brought one corner toward the front, across the right shoulder, and the other corner under her left arm, across her chest, and over her right shoulder; then she tied a belt (trarüwe) tight about her waist. Next she folded the two corners on her right shoulder, one over the other, in front of the right shoulder and pinned them together with a safety pin. After this she adjusted the overlapping skirt parts—at least a foot of each. The only clothing worn under the kəpam was a long-sleeved waist of considerable length. Married women, after the arrival of the first baby, wear the kəpam pinned on one shoulder only, "as I showed you; it is easier to nurse the baby when the kəpam is pinned on one shoulder only." Unmarried women pin them on both shoulders.

Girls formerly wore clothes styled like those of adult women. Usually the mother wove a kəpam to fit the girl. "I recall my mother taking my measurements for one she was getting ready to weave for me; I had only one; she had made that one out of the less worn-out part of an old one of hers."

Waists and aprons are made of cotton cloth bought in Chilean stores; they are hand-sewn by the women—no family owned a sewing machine. Buttons being scarce, in Alepúe area a row of Chilean 20-centavo coins with two holes punched in each were often seen sewed down the front of a waist.

The factory-woven shawl worn today by both women and girls is folded double so that corners fit exactly. This gives it the shape of the ikülla worn formerly. The shawl is worn over the shoulders (over the head only in the rain) and is secured at the neck with a safety pin or stickpin.

In all areas a few women, both young and middle-aged, who were either working as servants in Chilean homes or had done so, wore modern dresses exclusively. Having worn modern dresses as residents

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for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kəpam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kəpam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kəpam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kəpam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumperlike knitted ones. (Pls. 5, *3*; 7, *1*, *3*; 11, *2*; 17.) 291

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.) 301

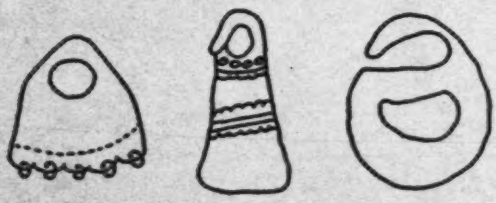

FIG. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and even non-Araucanians used 296

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296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepúe area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *6*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [462] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (fimkun) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pishoi) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepúe woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ½ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

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The spinner is seated on a low bench while spinning. Around her 283
left arm, in loose fashion, she has wound one of the elongated wads. The upper end of the spindle is held casually in her right hand, while the lower end rests on the ground near her side. With her index fingers and thumbs she pulls some of the wad into a strand of workable thickness, and long enough to reach comfortably from the left hand to the spindle. Then, with a twist of the finger tips of the right hand, she sends the spindle rotating (anticlockwise) in midair. The strand of wool now becomes yarn. She undoes the slipknot in the groove of the spindle (which has kept the yarn already on the spindle from unwinding), rotates the spindle again in midair, and thereby winds the newly spun yarn onto the spindle. She again secures the yarn on the spindle with a slipknot in the groove and then repeats the process of spinning.

Spun yarn is twirled as a single strand or two strands together, depending upon the use to be made of it. Yarn intended for clothing must be finer and is therefore more firmly twirled than that intended for household articles, such as blankets, lama, and choapino. "For instance, there is no use weaving a poncho with yarn like this [just spun]; it must be made durable by twirling. It must be tightly twirled or it will not shed rain, or keep out those blasting winds." Men often help to twirl; so do older boys and girls.

An informant demonstrated twirling two strands of yarn that she intended to weave into a poncho. She unrolled several feet of yarn from each of two spindles, and prevented more from unrolling by means of a slipknot in the groove of each spindle. Letting both spindles rest on the ground, she rolled a strand of one spindle the full length of her right hand over her left wrist. She repeated this several times, and then held the end of it between her teeth to keep it from unwinding while she dealt in the same manner with a strand of the other spindle. This done, she brought the two ends together, held them between an index finger and thumb, and suspended both spindles in midair. The rotating spindles twisted the two strands of yarn into one. Since she wanted tightly twirled yarn, she now rested the lower ends of the spindles on the ground, relaxed them, and suspended them again. As they spun again, the yarn was twisted tighter. Upon examination, she found the yarn not sufficiently twirled, for she remarked, "I want to use this yarn to weave a poncho for my husband," so she twirled it a third time. She twirled the remainder of the two spindles and then wound the twirled yarn onto an empty spindle from which it was later wound into a ball. When making a ball, the spindle

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283 is kept in upright position by holding its lower end between two toes. Children were seen winding yarn on balls in this manner.

The informant then demonstrated twirling yarn used in weaving a kəpam, for which only a single strand is twirled. She unwound several feet of yarn, then rolled the upper end of the spindle between her hands, caught the end of the yarn, held it, suspended the spindle in midair, and let it twirl there. She kept an eye on the yarn and when she thought it sufficiently twirled, she stopped it by letting the lower end of the spindle touch the ground. She examined the yarn closely now, and found it sufficiently twirled. After a strand was twirled, she rolled it onto another spindle, and secured it in the groove with a slipknot.

386 Yarn, not wool, is dyed by being boiled in a decoction made, as formerly, of native plants or of earth (pl. 58, *1*); in recent years commercial dyes bought in Chilean stores have also been used. Either the yarn and the dye-producing substance are boiled together, or the dye is first made and the yarn then boiled in it. Women do the dyeing. (Pl. 58, *2, 3*.) Yarn to be dyed is formed into skeins, a single arm's stretch in length, the number of strands in a skein depending on the amount of yarn needed for the article to be woven and also on the size of the kettle in which they are to be dyed. (The informant thought that there are never more than 100 strands in a skein.) Near her lay five skeins, each of 70 to 100 double-twirled strands.

Dyeing was formerly done only in pottery-made ollas; several informants still dyed black in ollas, "for black dyed in a kettle fades the next day. A woman who does not have an olla usually weaves her kəpam from the wool of black sheep. A kəpam must be black; no woman would wear one of any other color." Iron kettles used in cooking are the ones used in dyeing. Table 6 lists native plants from which colors were extracted by informants.

An Alepúe woman spent a forenoon in the woods chopping bark off ulmo. "Since I want to dye yarn a dark, dark brown, I had to search for old trees. Out here in the open space, I found only young trees; their bark gives a light-brown color. But deep in the woods I found the old trees I needed." She then proceeded with the dyeing. She broke the bark into chips, put a layer of them on the bottom of the kettle, two skeins of dry yarn on the top of the chips, another layer of bark, two more skeins on top of these, and then another layer of bark. The amount of bark used is of no account; the length of boiling is significant. She filled the kettle with cold water and suspended it from the fire raft so low that it rested directly on the fire. As it boiled, she occasionally pulled several strands forward with a stick to examine

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the color. When the color satisfied her she flipped the chips off with her bare hand, lifted the yarn out with the stick, and hung the skeins on a wire hook suspended from the fire raft in such a position that they drained into the decoction in the kettle below. Later she wrung the skeins by hand into the kettle beneath. She had two more skeins to dye. These she put into the kettle, added more chips and enough water to fill the kettle. While waiting for these to dye, she told how

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TABLE 6.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Chile)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Orange-yellow	Bark of michai (michai, *Berberis darwinii* or *B. vulgaris*)	Shrub found in dry land on hills and in open spaces. "It makes pretty stripes in lamas and designs in chosapinos."
Red-brown	Dry gray moss (not identified)	Found on fence rails.
Brown	Bark of tilmo (quipu, *Eucryphia cordifolia*)	"Use bark of old trees for dark brown; of young trees for light brown."
Gray-brown	Twigs of temu (*Temu divaricatum*) added to nalca (quilca, *Gunnera scabra*)	Temu grows in moist ravines.
Lead-gray	Any of the following: (a) Twigs and leaves of petra (pitra, *Myrceugenia planipes*) (b) Bark of olivillo (tilio, *Aextoxicon punctatum*) (c) Roots of nalca (d) Twigs of chakaiwa (*Berberis darwinii*) (e) Twigs of fucia (chilliko, *Fuchsia macrostemma*)	A favorite color for ponchos. Grows in deep swamps.
Purple-gray	Bark of nalca and olivillo	Favorite color for ponchos.
Red	Relbun (rüllan kacha, *Galium chilense*) only when mixed with commercial red dye	"It takes less commercial red dye if relbun is used with it. Relbun grows on the edges of brooks."
Black	Roots of chakaiwa	

to dye for other colors. "If I were dyeing yellow, I would chop the roots of michai into small pieces and boil the yarn with them, just as I am doing now. If I wanted to brighten the yellow color, I would add the leaves of canelo; canelo leaves would also prevent the color from fading out. When I want to dye red or green, I use commercial dyes. When I want to dye yarn in commercial red, I boil the yarn in canelo leaves first and then in the dissolved red dye. For commercial green, I boil the yarn with leaves of laurel común first, and then in the dissolved green dye. Doing it this way brings the colors out

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386 bright and lets them fade less easily. Darker shades of any color are produced by boiling the yarn a long time; the longer the yarn is boiled in the dye, the deeper the color will be."

Another Alepúe woman, using native plants, made the dye first and then boiled the yarn in it. At the time she was dyeing yarn for a poncho, using chips of olivillo bark and pieces of roots of nalca. She removed the bark and roots from the kettle and dropped the skeins into the boiling decoction. In about 10 minutes she squeezed the liquid out of a handful of yarn to examine the color. "It is too light," she remarked, and let it boil several more minutes.

386 317 Silver-gray and black are obtained from earth. An Alepúe woman, who was dyeing with earth at the time, gave directions for finding earth to dye silver-gray. "Look for a spot of deep purplish color on the surface of the earth, along the shores of the Pacific. When you find it, dig down about so deep [3 feet], and take out the earth you find there; it will dye a silver-gray color—Chileans call the color plomo." A Coñaripe woman was dyeing black with earth that she had brought "from a place near here where a spring from the Cordillera empties into the Llancahue River. I know of no other place where it can be found," she noted.

386 Commercial dyes were used by informants to color red, green, purple, wine color, and also black. "The Chilean stores at which we trade for clothing, sugar, etc., will accept lana and choapino from us in exchange for things we want, if they are in bright colors; articles in darker colors are difficult to sell, the storekeepers say. Since we have no plants that dye bright colors, we buy anüll, a dye imported from Germany, and aniline dyes at the stores. The yarn dyed with anüll retains its color; in fact the color dies with the cloth; aniline dyes fade out in time. Anüll dyes are very expensive—I paid 10 pesos [30 cents in U. S. money] for less than this [a teaspoonful] last year [1946], and I had to buy three such portions to dye a kapam. None can be gotten any longer; they say the war is preventing trade with Germany."

Native dyes are set in two traditional ways: either putrid human urine is added to the kettle of boiling dye from which the dyed skeins have been removed, and when this mixture is boiling the skeins are returned to it and again boiled; or, as in the case of dark colors such as are favored for ponchos, earth of a specific quality and urine are mixed and added to the dye and the skeins boiled in it. The woman who dyed yarn for a poncho in olivillo bark and nalca roots made a solution of the second kind. With her hand she mixed well urine and earth that she and her teen-age daughter had dug at the Pacific that

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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *2*; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamalwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kapam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and chospino. Lama and chospino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and chospino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this chospino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a ckou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kalo)—oblong pieces of wood placed down on all sides—to two upright poles (wünalwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (ywülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

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286 sections of collihue poles. Swords (qurewe) are of luma wood made smooth with glass and stones, and are of varying lengths and widths. One weaver at work on a blanket had seven swords: two (29 x 3 and 18 x 1½ inches) she used in beating down the woof; five others (17 x ½, 13 x ½, 9 x ½, 8 x ½, and 7 x ½ inches) she used toward the end of the weaving—after the heddle had been removed—to pick up alternate strands of warp. Each of the seven swords was approximately one-half inch thick, and each had the edge used in beating thinner than the opposite one. Each one was flat on one side and convex on the other, and had both ends pointed. Another implement used is a heddle (tuncowe). A second heddle (rapilelwe) is used when weaving a blanket. Both woof (dîwewe) and warp (witrálîn) are yarn.

Women sit while weaving and work from the bottom of the loom upward. When the area of weaving is no longer within convenient reach of the weaver, she rolls the woven part onto the lower beam and lowers the upper beam. When the article is nearly completely woven, she loosens the beams from the poles, reverses their positions on the frame, and then proceeds to weave again from the bottom upward, and ends at the part already woven.

An Alepúe woman (pl. 59) in setting up her loom leaned two 8-foot saplings against a fence near her ruka, and tied a 4-foot beam close to the top of these and another of the same length close to the bottom. She used heavy twisted yarn for tying, but could have used thongs or vegui, she noted. She then sent a child to fetch a nearby quila pole and with it measured the distance between the beams on the pole at her right. She marked the measure on the quila pole with a finger moistened with saliva. Then she measured off the same distance on the upright pole at her left, and adjusted the upper beam to equalize the distances between the beams on both poles. She was now ready to stretch the warp to weave a chaupino. She tied together the ends of two balls of white yarn and fastened the combined ends to the lower beam at the right. Then, to provide for even- and odd-numbered strands, she passed one ball under the lower beam (clockwise) and over the upper beam (anticlockwise), dropped it, and did the same with the second ball (pl. 59, 1). She continued this operation, alternating the balls, until she had sufficient warp. She now spread the strands into the positions in which she wanted them when she began to weave. To make certain that the width of the spread was what she wanted, she measured it with hand stretches. She counted the strands, and remarked, "I have here 120 double strands: 120 even ones and 120 odd ones. It will probably take two bloc of wool to

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weave this choapino." (A choapino is not unlike a hooked rug.) 286
She next twirled sufficient yarn slightly to make a soft cord. With it she fastened the heddle to the odd strands by passing it around the heddle and then around a strand. Then she inserted a sword above the heddle so that all even-numbered strands were on one side and all odd-numbered ones on the other and pushed the sword upward a little. This was done to give some tautness to the strands. She used another sword to beat down the woof while weaving.

She now filled a shuttle by winding a strand of the yarn a few times around one end of it, then moving directly to the other end and winding it around that end several times, and from then on moving back and forth from end to end until she thought the shuttle still light enough in weight to be shot through the sheds without difficulty; at this point she wound the yarn around one end of the shuttle several times and severed the strand from the ball by tearing it. She filled several shuttles in the same manner, then wove a rather loose foundation by the ordinary weaving technique. This done, she worked short pieces of yarn down and back between woof and warp, and tied each one. She had cut these short pieces from skeins she had dyed in various colors. As she worked, she selected the color that filled in a design she was working out—"the design is in my mind; you will see it when I have made it." Plate 59, 3, shows the design and the completed choapino. Choapino usually have overlapping rows of fringes on both ends, which are generally of the same color as the foundation into which the design is worked, that is, either white or brown. They are also separate pieces of yarn, but are decidedly longer than those used in the design. Proportions are usually 22 inches of a design and 11 inches of fringe at each end.

A 19-year-old Coñaripe girl wove a blanket (pl. 57, 2) of standard size, 4 by 6 feet, for the wife of a Chilean who worked at the lumber camp in another valley. The Chilean husband had ordered it. Both warp and woof were twirled double strands of white yarn. She was weaving two 1½-inch wide stripes on each side in purple. "I dyed the yarn with purple dye the Chilean brought me," she explained. "When I have this blanket woven, I shall weave a poncho for my father. Ponchos must be woven very tight so that no rain can get through and no wind bother the person."

Lazos are woven of heavy twirled double strands of wool yarn by the same technique as blankets. After they are removed from the loom they are usually combed with the thistles of a hard, dried seed pod (not identified) to give them a nap. The woof at both ends forms

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286 fringes. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a woman's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 531 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no significance. Kapam and shawls have no designs. Belts and headbands often have varicolored stripes running lengthwise, or stripes of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the edges. Lama are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes of a bright color in the woof, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant fibers: the chaiwe, made of voqui and used as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the llepü, a flat, round platter form made of collhüe; and the küllen, a large basket, made of copihue. He also gives the loyo and the yole as basketry containers—the loyo, of very fine weave, made of collhüe; the yole, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wilal (a carrying bag), the küllko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieve, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray).

285 482 W[illegible] (pls. 12, *2*; 58, *1*) are netted from cord made of flocha, a grass found in damp places. (See p. 101 for cord making.) Both adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones, convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in transporting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being hung on fire racks or on pegs on ruka walls. In shape a wilal is either spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three strands of flocha through which a cord of flocha is passed, or in loops of flocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wilal may have two short handles for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head. Handles and straps are braided flocha.

For the making of a wilal, a 13-year-old boy had gathered flocha and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had so little sunshine and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me 8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it

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would have taken longer than that." The wiñal was oblong in shape, 13 inches deep, and 10 inches wide. Its meshes were ½ by ¾ inch. It had an adjustable 53-inch-long braided carrying strap. A 24-inch draw cord was attached in such a manner that the opening could be closed, or, if he wished to form compartments in the wiñal, he could use the cord to lace the wiñal either horizontally or vertically. Two bottles were thus carried, in vertical position, one in each compartment; in one instance, eggs were placed in one compartment and tomatoes in the other. Chances for breakage were lessened thereby. A 6-year-old boy carried his school papers and six eggs in a spherical wiñal. His mother had put the six eggs into the bottom, laced the wiñal horizontally over them, and then put his school papers in the upper compartment and laced the opening. The mother had netted the wiñal, but an older brother had collected the fibers and made the cords. The wiñal was 6 inches at greatest width, and 3 inches at the opening. A 30-inch carrying strap allowed it to be suspended from the shoulder, but since the boy was carrying eggs this day, he had shortened the strap and was carrying it by hand.

Kilko are generally woven of voqui by women specialists. The weaving must be loose enough to allow water to pass in and out of the basket "in case I want to wash potatoes of dirt, for example, as I walk home with them through a river." Cotharipe women favor voqui of the cupilow; it is found throughout the area. Some women use voqui of pulipuli.

The kilko shown in plate 46, 4, was made of cupilow voqui by a Cotharipe woman (pl. 46, 1) who had become a specialist in making these baskets to help support her family, her husband being a non-landowner in the area. Her school-age children had obtained the voqui from wooded lands nearby. The kilko measured 12 inches across at the handle and 14 inches at right angles to it; its depth was 8 inches. In general, these baskets approximated 14 to 16 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 8 to 10 inches in depth. Small kilkos were made for small children. "These were for useful purposes; not for play."

Chaiwe (pl. 46, 5) are twined of voqui of esparto. They must be so loosely made as to allow liquids to drain off freely. Specialists in kilko making also make chaiwe. In general, chaiwe are pot shaped, and are from 8 to 10 inches at greatest diameter and from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The chaiwe illustrated is 10 inches at greatest diameter, 8½ inches at shortest diameter, and 8½ inches deep.

Lipel (winnowing trays) (pl. 46, 3) are made of quila. Men make them, using the coil technique. "It takes a strong hand to do this weaving, for it has to be very tight." Their shape is that of a rounded

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235 frontum. If given reasonable care, a lepú will give 10 years of service. The lepú I saw were 2 to 4 inches deep, 14 to 15 inches in diameter at the bottom, 20 to 25 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 5 inches along sloping sides.

POTTERY MAKING

333 [462] Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional olla (pot-like container) and cántaro (jug-like container, pl. 45, *c*) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 12 had made useful miniatures of olla and cántaro, and also wheels for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alapche woman found black clay "for these cántaros, near the Pacific; some around here [on the hills] is very good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one place of land in which there is much of it; most of the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women were using finely ground pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than shaping an olla." A mixture of clay and pumice is saturated with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an olla uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this roll she forms the bottom of the olla—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From there on, the olla is built up with one continuous coil—the end of one roll and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building process proceeds, shaping is done. Also the woman, at certain stages, pats the molding with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—positively no rough spots must be left for food to adhere to. When completely molded the outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the back of a mussel shell (*mocholí*) in Alapche area; and with the tip of a cow's horn in Pangipulli area. "But the inside, I again rub with my finger tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The olla must be dried gradually; if dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—"It depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a wind and heavy at some distance

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shows the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After 323
two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cloturo is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cloturo is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire.

The two cloturos shown on the bench in plate 45, *1*, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cloturos in Alepín area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Pangipulli and Alepín areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as traihí; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as wéldén. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) traihí as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it 325
appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Pangipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chileans. It is said that those Chileans traded them to whom Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of those Chileans robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepín man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver ornaments of his lover's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepín area today a Chilean makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This stirrupin was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother uses." A 12-year-old school-girl wore earrings made by him. "Like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me."

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer 105
and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepín, Pangipulli, Coñaripe, and Boyeo in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile.

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

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105 Mapuche. Culturally they were and are an agricultural people; today they also raise cattle and sheep. Linguistically they are, along with the Argentine Araucanians, an independent family, their language being known as Araucanian.

Prenatal factors.—Of a childless couple, the woman is believed to be the sterile person. By means of medicinal preparations, it is said, either sterility or fertility can be produced. According to Cooper's sources impotency can be brought upon an unfaithful paramour by an unmarried mother as revenge. The number of children in the families interviewed varied from 3 to 11.

Prenatal period.—The period of gestation is reckoned by the moon; only the approximate time of delivery is known. Most informants had not thought about the time that the fetus becomes human; all agreed that it is human at birth.

Abortifacients—some being common knowledge, others being known only to specialists—had been used by an occasional woman, married or unmarried. Spontaneous abortions also occurred.

Boys were, and are, preferred to girls. Girls, however, are in no way made to feel unwanted. Drinking a specific medicinal preparation known to few is said to bring about the conception of a boy. There is no preference regarding the first-born.

It is believed that an expectant mother, because of certain physical reactions, can predict the sex of her child, and that other persons can do so because of the presence or absence of certain facial changes in the expectant mother. A father who dreams of a falcon can expect a son. There is no belief in reincarnation.

Informants in Cofaripe and Panguipulli areas had no beliefs in prenatal food taboos. In one section of Alepúe area such beliefs exist for an expectant mother; in another section of the same area, all children and all men and women of child-bearing age are prohibited from eating jaiba, a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock. Twins could be expected if either the man or the woman ate the double yolk of an egg.

An expectant mother must not be frightened lest she abort or give premature birth; she must observe certain conduct taboos lest it affect her unborn child or its delivery.

Childbirth, and care of mother and newborn baby.—Informants insisted that a child is always born in the ruka which is its home—according to Cooper's sources it is born in a specially built one. Persons present at a delivery are the woman's husband and their children, her mother, a midwife or two, occasionally other relatives of the

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woman, and her friends. Machi (shaman) are not present, unless the woman or baby becomes sick. 105

Formerly midwifery was practiced by women only, unless the family was too poor to pay the fee asked for, in which case the husband of the woman delivered the child. There is no set fee for delivery; generally none is asked for. Today, in Alepúe area, several middle-aged men can be called upon to deliver a woman.

For several days preceding delivery, the woman drinks a specific herbal decoction. No remedy to alleviate labor pains was known to my informants; Cooper mentions one as being used in recent times.

A woman kneels in giving birth, bracing herself by gripping two upright poles or clutching a rope suspended from rafters. The midwife assists delivery by pressure on the woman's abdomen. In a difficult delivery, a midwife, an expert in such cases, is called upon. If she fails to deliver the baby, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth and the machi is hired to perform a machitun. Stillbirths occur. Parents give thanks to God, once the child is born, and ask Him to help the child to live and grow to maturity. Following delivery the mother drinks an herbal decoction.

The baby's birth is not announced or celebrated. Nor is the mother or baby fumigated. Usually the family and those who assisted at the birth partake of a substantial meal of lamb or mutton following a birth.

The navel cord is cut by an assisting woman, who also attends to the navel. Formerly the cord was always saved, and usually is today; disposition of it differed in different areas. If being gagged does not cause the woman to expel the placenta, she is made to vomit. Secundines, including placenta, were always buried in the ruka formerly; occasionally, in more recent times, they are buried outside the ruka. No informant knew of a child born with a caul.

To prevent blindness, a child's eyes are treated with the sap of a specific plant. The closing of the fontanels is believed to be related to physical and mental development. To keep winds from blowing through fontanels, the baby's head was formerly covered with soft moss; today, a cap is used.

To make certain that the child's face will be round—a trait considered beautiful and true Araucanian—the mother massages and shapes the baby's head and face. A low hairline on the forehead, an Araucanian trait, is not desired; hairs are pulled out to heighten it.

Following delivery the mother rests quietly for about two hours after which she walks to the family bathing place—lake, river, or ocean—and there wades directly into deep water. Occasionally, the

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105 old custom of dipping the baby into cold water immediately after birth is adhered to, one of the attending women doing so.

A mother bathes her child frequently during infancy and childhood; some do so daily. Generally it is bathed in the family bathing place or in cold water in the ruka. An occasional mother bathes it in lukewarm water or in a decoction.

Postnatal interests.—Formerly a child's ears were pierced immediately after birth; more recently, only those of a girl are pierced—often not until she is 2 or 3 months old. Only one piercing was, and is, made in each ear. Anyone may do the piercing. Formerly, and occasionally today, relatives are invited to a plentiful meal on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with design. Nose and lips were not pierced.

Chafing was prevented by frequent bathing. Pieces of chamall (homewoven cloth) served as diapers; today, occasionally, pieces of cotton cloth are used. A child that walks wears its diaper in skirtlike fashion. The method of training in toilet habits was not ascertained.

Traditionally the cradle is made by the man before the birth of his first child and is used by all subsequent children. When no more children are expected, it is given away. A cradle is never borrowed or lent.

Two types of cradles are probably traditional: one with a band of wood attached to a backrest, and the other, a bandless one with backrest attached to two poles or boards. The bandless type is not known in Alapúe area. The cradle is made unceremonially; no part is ornamented and no toys are attached to it. Hammocks are not used.

A child is tied to its cradle until it is able to walk. Until then it is generally transported in its cradle. A child able to walk is transported short distances in its mother's arms or astride, in front of her, on horseback.

Both nonsense-syllabled and burden-syllabled lullabies are sung to babies.

The appearance of the first tooth is recognized as proper physical development; an occasional family today makes an event of its appearance, but it is not traditional to do so. To soothe teething jaws they are washed with a decoction; no hard substance is given upon which to bite to hurry teething. If the deciduous teeth are slow in falling out, an herbal preparation is applied to the child's gums. When the deciduous teeth come out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka (Coñaripe area) or thrown into a bush of chupón (Alapúe area), places where dogs cannot get at them.

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The child is expected to creep when a year old; at 2 years it is expected to walk. The child's first step, first walk, first laugh, and first words are noted as progress in its development, but are not celebrated as an event. Until proper toilet habits have been learned, both boys and girls are dressed in skirtlike diapers and chamall; after that, in clothes patterned after those of adults. 105

Nursing, weaning.—While the mother is bathing, following delivery, one of the attending women who knows how, relieves the baby of the phlegm in its throat. Upon the mother's return from her bath, she nurses the baby, and does so thereafter whenever it cries. If the mother has no milk flow, she drinks a mixture of extract of a root and flowing water, and also washes her breasts with it. To increase the milk flow, she eats large quantities of available foods, drinking with them cold and warm water alternately. Today, an occasional mother supplements an insufficient supply of her own milk by feeding the baby commercially condensed milk mixed with water.

A baby that cries for reasons other than hunger is thought to be sick and remedial measures are resorted to; occasionally a machi is asked to perform over it. A child is always nursed until it is a year old; seldom when older than two.

A child is weaned by being given solid foods gradually and then eventually being separated from its mother for several days. An occasional child sucks its finger.

Atypical conditions.—Twins were known to have been born to Araucanians, but no other multiple births were known to have occurred. Treatment of twins differed in different areas—from loving them and treating them like other children, to killing one of them.

Incest is a disgrace. It was not known to have occurred between siblings, or between mother and son, but other rare instances were spoken of.

An unmarried pregnant woman loses the esteem of others, and her family feels disgraced. Her parents, formerly, tried to force a marriage with her paramour; when unsuccessful in this, the woman was generally sent from her home and usually delivered her child without assistance. Occasionally an abortion is attempted; in some instances, it is known, the child was killed at birth. In general, however, the child is cared for in the home of its mother where it is well treated and not blamed or stigmatized. Not infrequently the mother takes it with her when she marries.

A child very rarely was, or is today, born deformed. Formerly, a child so born or one born mentally deficient was killed. Sick children are given small or diluted dosages of herbal decoctions. Those failing

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105 to cure, a machi is asked to perform over the child. No Araucanian was known to have been born blind, or to be color blind; deafness is very rare. Left-handed children and adults were met; so were stutterers.

No Araucanian child is ever without a home: a deserted or orphaned child is adopted; in instances, also, one from a normal home is adopted.

Servants were not institutional; second and third wives probably rendered all services needed. Neither was slavery institutional, unless persons held as hostages and not redeemed could be looked upon as such.

Names.—According to informants, the child was given its personal name by its father, usually on the day of its birth (especially if a boy); occasionally, not until it was a year old; rarely, not until it was 2 years of age. According to Cooper's sources, the naming feast followed the days of the mother's seclusion after delivery, usually after 8 days, or sooner.

Either the father selected the name and gave it without ceremony, or someone outside the family selected it, and either this person or the father gave it at a naming ceremony. The name was generally that of a relative. In instances these customs still prevail. Occasionally a boy's name is changed.

The origin of names is not clear. In all probability names did not originate in dreams—unless those of the machi did—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. It appears that each machi was given a new name. No informant had heard of a naming or kinship system known as the huqu or huquin.

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine ones; no prefixes or suffixes are added to indicate gender. Araucanians had no surnames until Widow introduced them for important personnel records. The father's personal name then became the child's surname.

A nickname may be attached to an individual. Elders often call a girl by a diminutive of her name as an expression of affection.

The family.—Members of all families, especially those of a cacique, were, and are today, expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and low-sliding. All families, today, that live according to accepted social standards and whose economic situation is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect, and are respected by others. No one in any area was spoken of as owning extensive amounts of land, cows, cattle, or sheep—the measure of wealth. A family's seat is the criterion of its possessions;

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excessive amounts over needs may arouse jealousy, and jealousy may cause disaster through black art. It appears that each person has a right to own land in the area in which his father lived; attempts to acquire land in other areas are usually futile. 105

The wearing of a hat by male members of the family, and shoes by all members, gives a family status—it indicates to others that the family has acquired means beyond the immediate necessities of life. A family in which one parent is non-Araucanian is not held in high esteem; neither is a family in which there is continuous quarreling, or in which there is a thief.

The man dominates the family. On the whole, men seemed considerate of their wives and were helpful when needed. The impression given in the literature that women were slaves to their husbands was not substantiated by my observations. Occasionally, however, a man did beat his wife to the extent that she committed suicide. In many things the man confers with his wife, but it is he, as the father of the family, who makes the decisions, and they are final.

Members of a family have an appreciative interest in each other. Affection is mutual between parents and children, and is lifelong, generally. An occasional father is cruel, even brutal, to his children. Having a favorite child is not institutional. There are no brother-sister taboos today. Although one very old informant related that brothers and sisters in the early days spoke little to each other, it is doubtful that there was a taboo.

Children's behavior.—A very small child is bathed by its mother when the mother takes her own bath which is usually daily in all seasons, generally just before sundown. Older children take their own baths. All bathing is done in running water or in lakes. Girls of a family bathed at one time; their brothers at another time. Bathers center along the shore, some distance apart. No soap or substitute is used.

The hair is washed when bathing and is occasionally shampooed with suds made from bark. Winds do the drying. If a lustre is desired, the hair is rinsed in human urine. Formerly, a boy's hair was cut ends length; today it is cut Chilean fashion. Formerly, a girl's hair was never cut; not infrequently, today, it is. A girl's hair hangs loose or is twisted or braided. It is held from the face by means of a band. Rarely are children infested with lice.

Girls today wear earrings; boys seldom do. Many boys and girls wear one or several rings; none wears a necklace. Both beauty and general appearance are taken note of.

Chaws are not institutional, but an occasional boy or girl has one.

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105 Children of an age group usually play together when small; when older, the sexes play apart. Friendships exist within each group.

Leadership among children is not pronounced. Oratorical ability is taken into consideration when the choice of a leader must be made. Oratory gives distinction to elders, also. Joviality and fun is part of the child's life. A child's sight and powers of observation are keen.

Araucanians have no puberty rites, but cognizance of puberty is taken, for after it a boy is called "young man"; a girl, "young woman." In instances a mother or older sister instructs a girl regarding first menses and motherhood; it is not institutional to do so. There is no taboo regarding menstruating women.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. However, their presence at birth or when a machi performs over nude persons is not in accord with standards of modesty of all cultures. Children are taught courtesy in a positive way. They are also taught to give and to share, and are trained to obey an order without hesitation.

Pride in being an Araucanian is inherent in a child, and a child is hurt if reflections are cast upon its status. An occasional child shows jealousy, but one who does stands out prominently. Boasting and tale bearing are practically nonexistent. In general, the schoolchildren I saw had given little thought to their future.

Teasing is one of the chief amusements of children. Not infrequently it leads to quarreling, with an exchange of angry words, accompanied by hitting back and forth. Temper tantrums on the part of small children are ignored; older children seldom display temper.

An occasional child steals. Parents feel disgraced if it does so, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, but without imprecating the thief. Stealing food to satisfy hunger is quite evidently not theft. Not all fathers teach their sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a young son if he becomes intoxicated.

Adult behavior.—As noted above, many adults bathe in flowing water daily in all seasons. No soap or substitute is used except for the hair, for which suds of soap or bark are used. Today most men have a haircut like the Chileans; an occasional man, especially an old cacique, wears it cut ear-lobe length, or he wears it, as formerly, in long braids. A woman's hair is never cut. She parts it, usually over the crown, and then either braids or twists each part. Two plants are used by women as hair tonics.

A man is proud of his mustache. The beard, usually sparse in growth, is depilated. Heavy beards and whiskers are shaved.

In the early days caciques wore a distinct style of earring; other

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men, with rare exceptions, wore none. Women wore them, and also neck pieces and bracelets. Formerly men also probably wore bracelets. Nose rings were never worn. Brown is accepted as the Araucanian skin-color. Body or face painting was not institutional. A nose like the bill of the bandurria (bird) is a matter of pride; a mother will massage her child's nose to shape it thus. Both men and women have an interest in their personal appearance. 105

Special friendships between two men, a man and a woman, or between two families exist, and find expression in a ceremonial. Courtesy is an outstanding virtue of the Araucanians. In some forms and on specific occasions it must follow conventions. Hospitality among Araucanians themselves and toward strangers is most gracious. Willingness to help can be relied upon, especially in a neighborhood group.

An expression of appreciation of an individual's intelligence is the finest compliment that can be paid the person. Differences in intelligence, however, are recognized. Patience is a virtue of all Araucanians, especially of women. Standards of modesty exist. In general, young women live chaste lives; married women even more so. In general, too, men show respect for women.

Prolonged feuds between families seldom occur, though sporadic quarrels arise. Within the family the father is known to give vent to anger toward his wife and children; he demands obedience from both. Quarreling occurs between persons and families, but not often.

Prolonged quarreling between husband and wife is of rare occurrence, for usually the wife gives in. An occasional one who does not say then be beaten by husband to the extent that she will hang herself. Outside the family revenge is taken by burning fields or persons through witchcraft. Insulting, vile, and imprecating expressions are used by angry persons. Both suicide and murder occurred, but seldom. Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

According to Chilean policemen, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. Offenses that occasionally warrant arrests are theft and injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during intoxication. Drinking to excess is done only when in a group. Women rarely drink to excess.

Teaching the child.—Today, as formerly, teachers of the child are its parents and brothers and sisters, with parents as chief instructors; grandparents, only then when they fill the place of parents. Both parents train a small child. As it grows older the mother trains the girl in women's work, the father, the boy in a man's responsibilities. Both parents share character training.

In general, the small child has great freedom; seldom is it punished. Children learn by direct instruction, by imitating elders in work or

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105 play, or by actual participation, and by listening in and being non-participant observers. Demonstrations and diagrams are used to clarify instructions. Once old enough to comprehend, the child is taught with intent. Having to repeat information is resented; children are ordered to concentrate upon a thing to be learned.

A child is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Small children are corrected with "hatch"; older ones are spoken to in subdued, sometimes stern, words. A child that has reached the age of reason is taught to conform to accepted standards of behavior, and is obliged to do so, by coercion if necessary. Rarely is a child threatened with punishment by supernatural powers, frightened, ridiculed, ignored, mocked, nagged, coaxed, bribed, or compared with other children, in order to force it to conform. Parents are aware that children vary in response to training. No explanation was given for a difficult child.

At present, children have opportunities to attend either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of education. Attendance is compulsory, and all children attend for at least several years. Parents are more interested in having their sons than their daughters attend school, for sons must be prepared to deal with Chileans.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one parent is non-Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from area to area. Many children learn at home to read and write Araucanian. Teaching in school is done in Spanish.

Oratory, the ability to carry on formal conversation, and facility in speaking well at any time, are held in esteem. Formerly, every boy was given training in all three; today many are still so trained. Sons of caciques were given special training in oratory and memorizing.

The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. Schoolboys were able to count from 1 to 1,000 in their language. Beginners in school use fingers of both hands when counting, and continue on toes, if the number exceeds ten. No method of keeping count was known to informants of the present study. Cooper's informants reported the use of the knotted cord.

The time of day is reckoned by the position of the sun, or the location of sunrays; shadows are not taken into account in telling time. On cloudy or rainy days, hunger indicates the approximate time of day. At night, time is calculated either before or after the moon at zenith. Days are not grouped into weeks. The moon regulates a span of time equivalent to months, but it is doubtful that the months

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had names in the early days. Seasons are noted as they occur. Depending on the informant, there were formerly two, four, five, or seven seasons. Equinoxes, too, are noted. Formerly, years were accounted for by being associated with an important or unusual event. 105

Weather is favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time. Each area studied had its own way of forecasting the weather, which was affected by ocean currents, ocean winds, mountains, and the seasons. Wind is thought to cause lightning. Thunder is God's way of letting the people know that He has been offended. It appears that little significance was attached to stars, constellations, and an eclipse of the moon; an eclipse of the sun formerly omened something undesirable, and does so today. The four cardinal directions are usually indicated by surrounding places (in the Cordillera; at the coast) or locations (near the river; in the valley), rather than by Araucanian words for them.

The pointed end of a cow's horn, a seashell, and a whistle are used in signaling today. (Smoke signaling was recorded by one of Cooper's sources.)

Linear measurements are made by eye, hand, and arm; the Chilean vestar, vara, and dieza are also used. Material for clothing is measured by being fitted to the wearer. *Quantity measurements are the* traditional cows of pinchos, handfuls, the head end of an ox horn, to which has been added the Chilean almud. Distance traveled is measured by time consumed in riding there on horseback.

Diversions.—Visiting, outside the family, is done primarily among relatives. Usual topics of conversation are work, and events and news of the day. Araucanians are good conversationalists.

Activities of small children are often enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting. Fables are told when children are listening in; other interesting stories are told at any time. When conversation lags, men (never women) play a game of chance with coins. In recent years smoking has become a recreational habit for young people and adults. Children do not smoke.

Musical instruments at present are a whistle, a wind instrument, and two types of bagle; none of these was used, traditionally, for recreational purposes. According to Cooper's sources, a bamboo drum, a drum made of a tree trunk, a flute, and a panpipe should be added to the above. I heard the guitar and harmonica played as accompaniment to songs and social dances. Social dancing is not traditional; the singing of folk songs and ballads is.

Competitive and other games were played by children, young people,

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105 and adults. These included tag, tossing a handkerchief, spinning tops, "play of the rooster," marbles, quoits, hockey, and football.

Toys, including dolls, were not part of the Araucanian child's play life; sticks and stones, chicks and kittens were. Imitative play, such as riding horses, playing house, or visiting, and playing getting drunk, are favorite pastimes of small children. Older boys play with marbles, balls, and tops. Older girls maid marbles, miniature pottery, and whorls for spindles.

In general, children like animals and treat them kindly. Chicks and kittens may be pets; lambs seldom are; dogs, never—not even of older boys; older boys favor horses. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits, never. Children identify wild birds and tell of animals that talk to each other.

According to Cooper's sources Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers. Today every boy and girl learns to ride horseback. Boys shoot with slingshots.

Health.—Maintaining the good will of others so that sickness will not be brought upon one by them, and chasing the spirits of ill health from the area by means of a shamanistic performance are the only preventives of ill health known. All ill health is believed to be inflicted by poisoning or by persons who are believed to have power to do so through black art.

Machitun, professional herbalists, and machi (shamans, both men and women) possess knowledge of medicinal herbs, roots, and barks. Such knowledge originates in dreams; it can be shared with others or be bought by them. Household remedies are known to lay persons. Curatives are decoctions, poultices, heat, vapor baths, inhalations, and bloodletting. Curatives not used are bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, and tattooing. Personal sacrifice and change of name are not resorted to as restorative measures. Sick children are treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions are weaker.

A machi is called upon to perform when home curatives have failed. In rare instances a machi performs over a sick child. The performance is at night.

A machi studies to be a professional one of his own volition, or because parents choose the profession as a life's work for a child, or because of a compulsive dream. Shamanistic procedures are learned during an apprenticeship with a professional shaman, but a candidate can learn new skills independently from some invisible source and also enhance them by exchange with other shamans. Shamanistic powers are renewed annually when the orphans are in bloom.

Psychosis is rare. It is believed to be brought about by the will of

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another through evil spirits, as a retaliation. Children of low mentality, too, are rare. 105

Marriage.—Until recent years polygyny was the customary form of marriage, with two wives as the prevailing number. A man could, however, marry as many women as he was able to pay the bride price for. Today polygynous marriages are looked at askance, but there were several such marriages in each area.

Simultaneous wives sometimes lived in one ruka; each wife then had her own fireplace, or occasionally all wives used the same one. More often, probably, each wife lived in a separate ruka. Wives, in some instances, took turns cooking for all the families of a husband; in other instances, each wife cooked for her own children only. The first wife a man married gave orders to his other wives and had priority rights in other matters. Although, in general, simultaneous wives lived peacefully, exceedingly trying situations, with consequent suicide by one of the wives, occurred.

Polyandry was never part of the Araucanian culture. In all probability there was no wife lending, despite Cooper's sources. The idea of daughter lending was repellent. Promiscuity occurred, and occurs today, but is rare. Homosexuality among young men was reported as a common thing.

Cross-cousin marriage is institutional, with preference for marriage between a woman's children and those of her brother. Prohibited marriages are those between parallel cousins, between children of one wife (in case of simultaneous wives) and those of another wife, between a man and one of his father's widows, between a man and his paternal or maternal grandmother, and between a woman and her paternal or maternal grandfather. Both sororate and levirate were institutional, but not obligatory.

Persons were of marriageable age when they had reached the twenties; most men were married before they reached the thirties. In general, the man was a few years older than the first woman he married. This is still the case today. Succeeding wives were usually much younger than the man.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman; a man is ready for marriage when he knows how to support a family and has the wherewithal to do so. There is a proper procedure in the choice of a mate and an accepted traditional marriage ceremonial with payment of the bride price. Kidnaping and eloping, too, are traditional, but they are not considered proper ways to marry. Today, the accepted traditional way is seldom followed. If a young man is unable to pay the bride price, or is unwilling to do so, and finds his

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105 father in agreement with him, an elopement follows. Occasionally a woman was, and is today, forced into marriage entirely against her will. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will nearly always go to the house of the man who is the father of her child. She may or may not be accepted there. Today a civil marriage is performed preceding a religious one in accordance with Chilean law. Many today marry without a ceremony of any kind. Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively.

Formal divorce is not a custom; separation by agreement is, but it is rare; desertions occur more often. In either case children are taken care of. Infidelity on the wife's part was rare, but a husband was justified in whipping or dismissing a wife who had been or was suspected of having been unfaithful. Such a woman's face was not disfigured, but in Pangupulli area the husband was known to have cut the hair off one side of an unfaithful wife's head.

According to Cañaripe informants mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos are institutional; so are father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos, but to a lesser degree. Alepín and Pangupulli area informants insisted that neither ever existed. Joking relationships were probably not conventional.

Religious and supernatural powers.—The Supreme Being, the only deity, is spoken of as the creator of the world, or master of the land, or ruler of the earth, and as the ruler of the world, or lord of all creation, or master or ruler of men. According to Cooper's sources, the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him.

The appearance or essence of the Supreme Being had not been given much thought. He had with Him in His abode a woman, and these two had sons and daughters. The location of the abode was not known. The Supreme Being was prayed to either directly, or through the woman or the deceased leaders of the tribal religious ceremonial, or the deceased medicine men.

Private prayer, often accompanied by small sacrificial offerings, was not uncommon. Belief in a guardian spirit is not part of the Araucanian culture. Belief in personal power of supernatural origin, however, is. The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian. The belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is of recent origin.

The tribal religious ceremonial—a celebration with sacrificial offerings and prayers lasting several days—was formerly held several times each year; more recently, only once a year, or when the need

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indicates it. It is held for the welfare of all the people, especially those attending the ceremonial. 105

Black art is practiced by witches, both men and women, upon persons or property, in revenge. Witches are hired and exercise their art through an object as a medium. Being a witch is not a profession, such as being a machi is, but occasionally a machi is a witch, also.

Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but it does not seem to have been resorted to often. Both good and bad omens were believed in, but neither seems to have had any great significance.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Nocturnal calls of certain animals forewill death. Death is unfailingly caused by poisoning, except in cases of accident, violence, or suicide. In Cañeripe area, having oneself photographed is also believed to be a cause of death.

Relatives of a dying person are summoned and remain until after the burial. The dying person is generally dressed in his best clothes. There are no facial or skin decorations. Formerly, personal silver accessories were buried with the person. According to Cooper's sources the rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period and region, *and also according to the cause, sex, and age of the deceased.* Only a few of the customs recorded by him exist today.

Women and children in Pangipulli and Cañeripe areas, but not in Alapile area, attend burials. Burials of related families have always been in the same cemetery. Formerly each grave had a wooden marker; today, nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

The shade of the dead was believed to be in the volcanoes. The journey there begins immediately after death, but an occasional spirit haunts the rooms it inhabited in life, and also the area about it, and does annoying things. Only vague ideas regarding life after death exist.

Formerly, there were no exterior signs of mourning; today, customs of Chileans are often followed.

Tribal government.—Formerly, the cacique was the head of the local unit of government, that is, an area occupied generally by related families. He was assisted by men of his choice. Laws were made by the male population, acting as a body, but the cacique was responsible for their interpretation and enforcement. At the cacique's death his chief was installed his place, unless the people did not recognize this son as an able man, in which case another son was designated; or if no son was considered capable, a man from another family was selected. When the men assembled to select a cacique, women had the right to express an opinion.

Although a cacique had no outlines of power, he was really dis-

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105 distinguishable in a gathering by a stone suspended from his neck, and by a distinct earring which he wore.

Although the present-day government is influenced, and sometimes controlled, by Chilean provincial and national governments, Chilean authorities recognize the relationship of the cacique to his people, and consider him at least a liaison between themselves and his people. A cacique, today as formerly, presides at meetings of his people, presents their requests to Chilean Government officials, and sets the date for the performance of the tribal religious ceremonial. Formerly, it appears, a cacique could take land from one who had more than he needed and give it to someone who stood in need of it. Formerly, too, offenders were punished by their cacique. If an offense involved persons subject to more than one cacique, joint action was taken by the caciques concerned. At present the Chilean Government enforces law and order.

Today, an Araucanian man who possesses an identification card, which the Chilean Government issues to any man eligible to vote who requests one, has the privilege of voting at all Chilean elections; a woman holding such a card may vote at local elections, a right of all eligible Chilean women. Araucanian men vote; no one knew of an Araucanian woman who had done so. Taxes are levied by the Chilean Government on land owned by Araucanians.

Lonko, mahnkonen, and ruka—*Araucanian money, and any, land*—they are an agricultural and grazing people. There are no villages. Usually, related families live within an area limited by natural boundaries. Within this area land claimed by individuals or families is marked off by fences or natural boundaries. Unclaimed and wooded lands are owned in common. Wooded land is cleared by burning.

Formerly, each cacique had a record of owners of land in his area; today ownership is recorded with the Chilean Government, and every owner is expected to hold a Government-issued deed to lands he claims. Araucanians today are also subject to Chilean inheritance laws regarding land. Araucanians fear that recent Chilean legislation regarding their land is jeopardizing their ownership of it.

The Araucanian claims exclusive rights to areas where ceremonies grow, or to banks of streams from which fishing is done, shores of the Pacific where seaweeds are gathered, or spots on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are hauled and dry-docked.

Until recent years seeds of wild grass, now rarely evident, were harvested as food, but others were also cultivated. According to Cooper, agricultural implements formerly used were the wooden hoe

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or pick, the wooden spade or shovel, and perforated stones for smoothing lumps of earth; today a wooden or metal plow drawn by oxen is the chief implement. Cultivated lands today, as formerly, lie in hard-over areas or natural glades. Fields are not fertilized but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two seasons. Seeding is done by hand. Both fields and gardens, many believe, should be planted when the moon is waning. Permits are a past both at planting and at harvest time.

Grain is cut with a sickle, unless a small amount is needed before harvest time, in which case ears are plucked by hand, as formerly. Usually harvesting is done by all the family. Formerly threshing was done by persons trampling on ears of grain to the rhythm of songs, or by horses trampling on the ears in an enclosure; both methods are used today. In Colombia, in 1938, threshing was done by a steam-propelled engine owned by Chileans. Threshing done, an abundant meal is served with an oversupply of chicha.

Each family plants a good-sized potato patch and a garden of vegetables; many gardens have plants used in seasoning. Fruit trees are often found near gardens, and so are flowers.

In the early days, according to Cooper's sources, domesticated animals were the dog, llama, guanaco, and tame the guanaco pig; neither llama nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the aboriginal reading, horses, mules, sheep, pigs, and chickens were owned; and after the middle of the century, the horse. Today domesticated animals are horses, asses, mules, sheep, chickens, turkeys, geese, dogs, and cats. Some animals are owned by children.

Horses, mules, and sheep are branded to show ownership. These animals are not placed under shelter, but sheep are put into corrals to protect them against pumas. Grazing lands are selected along a water's edge, and are fenced in, as are whole fields and gardens. Traditional transfers for dole animals are known.

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources, played a minor role in Araucanian economy; they are practically unknown today. The bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-tailed bolas were used as weapons in the early days; ostrich, deadfalls, pitfalls, and nets were also used. The puma was hunted with dogs. Old informants described the making of ostrich and deadfalls and the making of traps.

According to Cooper's sources, fish were taken with nets, gorges, and baskets baited and put under water. Lines, line and hook, spears, clubs, and nets; small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned.

Fish and shellfish were, and still are, an important Araucanian

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dietary element. Today Alepín and Boyes men fish in the Pacific; Pangipulli and Coñaripe men, in Andean streams. Women along the Pacific collect shellfish.

Formerly the llama served as a pack animal; today the horse is used. Light loads are often carried by persons on or under the arms, and in baskets or netted bags on the back or head, or by hand. Heavy loads are hauled in carts or dragged by oxen. Carts are made of wood; an occasional one has wagon wheels.

Short distances, today, are traveled on foot over well-trodden paths; longer distances are covered on horseback. All horseback riders sit astride in saddles constructed for riding up and down steep grades.

The traditional water crafts—the plank boat, dugout, and balsa—were in use during the present study. Generally, however, rivers are forded on foot, horseback, or oxcart. Occasionally one or several logs serve as a footbridge over a creek or narrow stream. Bridges built by Chileans are also used.

In general, only men travel to Chilean trading centers; women and girls seldom go there. Often a son accompanies his father.

In all areas today, articles are bartered and borrowed, as in times past. Araucanians had no currency formerly; today Chilean money is used to purchase necessities not produced. Such money is obtained by selling to Chileans such things as domesticated animals, seafoods, woven products, felled trees, wheat (when the harvest has been abundant), or by working as hired help. Money is borrowed by mortgaging land, oxen, or cattle.

Food, shelter, clothing.—Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, baked, smoked, and dried. Cooking is done today, as formerly, over a fire in a shallow pit in the ruka or, weather permitting, outdoors. Firewood that gives off a minimum of smoke is favored. Cooking kettles are hung from a raft, which is either suspended over the fireplace from rafters or is supported there on poles planted in the ground. Implements used in the preparation and consumption of food are traditional ones of wood, stone, earth, animal parts, and plant fibers, and commercially obtained ones of enamel, porcelain, glass, iron, and copper.

Wild plants, today as formerly, form a substantial part of the Araucanian diet. Wild honey is often collected and used to sweeten foods.

Wheat, a basic food, is prepared in traditional dishes; so are potatoes, another important food. Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, chicken, and occasionally, wild birds and pumas are roasted or are cooked with vegetables or wild plants to make thick soups or stews. Three favorite dishes of sheep or lamb are spiced long; congealed blood, well-

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wood and fried or cooked with vegetables; and stomach and entrails, either fresh or smoked. Since fresh meat is available when desired, meat is not stored; an oversupply is dried over the fire and eaten soon afterward. Fish are baked or smoked. Favored dishes are prepared from shellfish and sea algae. Butter and eggs are not relished; milk is made into cheese in a manner learned from non-Araucanians.

Drinking water is brought from springs—rubas are built where there is an uncontaminated, clear, cool spring. At the end of a meal yerba maté is drunk, unless chicha is at hand; in the early days maté was the beverage.

Formerly, two meals were eaten each day, a custom which still prevails. All the family eats together, seated around the fireplace either on folded sheep pelts or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. A woman serves her husband first, then the children, then herself.

The ruka, the house of the Araucanian, is generally smaller today than formerly, for the prevailing monogamous marriages no longer require rukas to house a man's several families. An average family today has two rukas, one for sleeping and storage and one for cooking and working. Three types of rukas were observed during the present study: one completely of thatch, one with roof of thatch and sides of planks, and one with sides of planks and roof of logs. Rukas today, in general, are rectangular in ground plan, and gable-roofed or lean-to in shape; formerly, according to Cooper's sources, they were oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan.

Rukas have no chimney or windows; each has one entrance—some have several. More than one entrance provides the one facing unfavorable winds to be closed. Men assist each other in building the ruka. At the completion of one, a plentiful meal is served, and usually there is excessive drinking of chicha. A ruka belongs to the family, but is spoken of as belonging to the father.

The interior of a ruka is unfurnished. It is lighted and heated by the fireplace which is usually a little to the front of the middle of the ruka. In this location the heat does not reach potatoes and wheat stored in the rear. Sleeping is done in corners and along walls, on pelts on the ground, unless the family has a second ruka used for sleeping. Occasionally a family has low platform beds. Coverings are homespun and homemade blankets. A rolled-up poncho or a piece of wood serves as a pillow.

Storage space is within the ruka, in the rear of it, and on beds, shelves, and tables. Containers used are boxes, bins, dug-out tree trunks, baskets, coiled bags, gourds, coiled pottery and calabas,

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pottery, wooden containers, and modern cans. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, hill caves were used for storage also. The cribs are unlatch and clean; and so are adjoining yards. Brooms of grass or vines were being used.

The traditional clothing for men and boys was a sleeveless sweater, a piece of cloth secured at the waist and drawn between the legs to form pants, and a poncho. Women and girls wore a piece of cloth fastened on one or both shoulders and tied about the waist with a belt, and a shawl.

Today, with few exceptions, men, both old and young, wear pants, shirt, often a coat, and a poncho; married women more often wear the traditional clothing with a long-sleeved waist added; younger women, the dress worn by Chileans. At work, men are usually bare-foot; shoes are worn by those who can afford them at fiestas, church services, and when among Chileans in trading places. Women are usually barefoot. Hats are worn by most men and many boys. Women wear silver accessories on special occasions.

A schoolboy today generally wears knee-length pants, shirt, and poncho; a schoolgirl, a dress of calico made in the Chilean style, and a shawl. Rarely do boys or girls wear shoes.

Clothes are washed in running water by being slapped with a wooden implement on flat rocks or boards. Drying is done on bushes and fences near the cribs.

Domestic handicrafts.—Both men and women dress sheep. Several days before shearing, women pour a decoction on each sheep while men wash the wool with the hands. Wool is stored by being hung on fences. Preparatory to using it, boiling water is poured over it, after which it is washed with the hands in cold running water, and vigorously twisted back and forth in it to free it of dirt and little chicks. No soap or substitute is used.

All women and girls and many boys spin wool into yarn; men rarely do so. The spindle is a single piece of wood with a slight groove near the upper end, and a whorl near the lower end. The spinner is seated with the lower end of the spindle on the ground and the upper end held loosely in the right hand. The wool is wound around the left arm and twisted into the desired thickness between index finger and thumb of right hand, and the spindle is twisted to spin the yarn. Two strands of yarn are twisted when it is to be used in weaving ponchos.

Yarn, not wool, is dyed. Dyes are obtained from native plants and from earth, and are bought at Chilean stores. Certain bright colors can be produced by boiling the yarn in a decoction of certain plants previous to dyeing, but most are obtained by the use of commercial dyes.

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Native dyes are generally set by boiling the yarn in a mixture containing human urine; commercial dyes, in a solution of alum and water. Women do the dyeing. Today dyeing is done in bottles used for cooking; formerly it was done in clay. p.5

Weaving is done on rectangular looms by women and older girls. Articles woven are ponchos, cloth for women's clothes, belts, headbands, blankets, throws, and mobile covers. Designs used have no significance; they are generally conventional ones, often merely stripes.

Traditional basketry products in use during the present study were the wiñi (a carrying bag), the billo (a carrying and storage basket), the chalwe (a sieving, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the lepü (a winnowing tray). These were made of plant fibers. Wiñi are tasted by adults and children; women specialists weave billos and talwe chalwe; men call lepü.

Women make pottery by the coil method, without decoration. The traditional ulla (jugliko container) and the chalwe (jugliko container) are made today from brown and black clay with finely ground pumice used as tallados. Since the ulla is used as a cooking vessel, it is fired to a greater degree than is the chalwe which is used to carry and store water. Dehumidifying, it appears, is a bad act.

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PART II

THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

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PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

174 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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173 619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be blinko. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanin and Huechulafquén; another from Cahiquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Ernederio Ramirez, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adrulco to Aukapin to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Chenkipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayén, Nanuncura, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefin, and Ramirez were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

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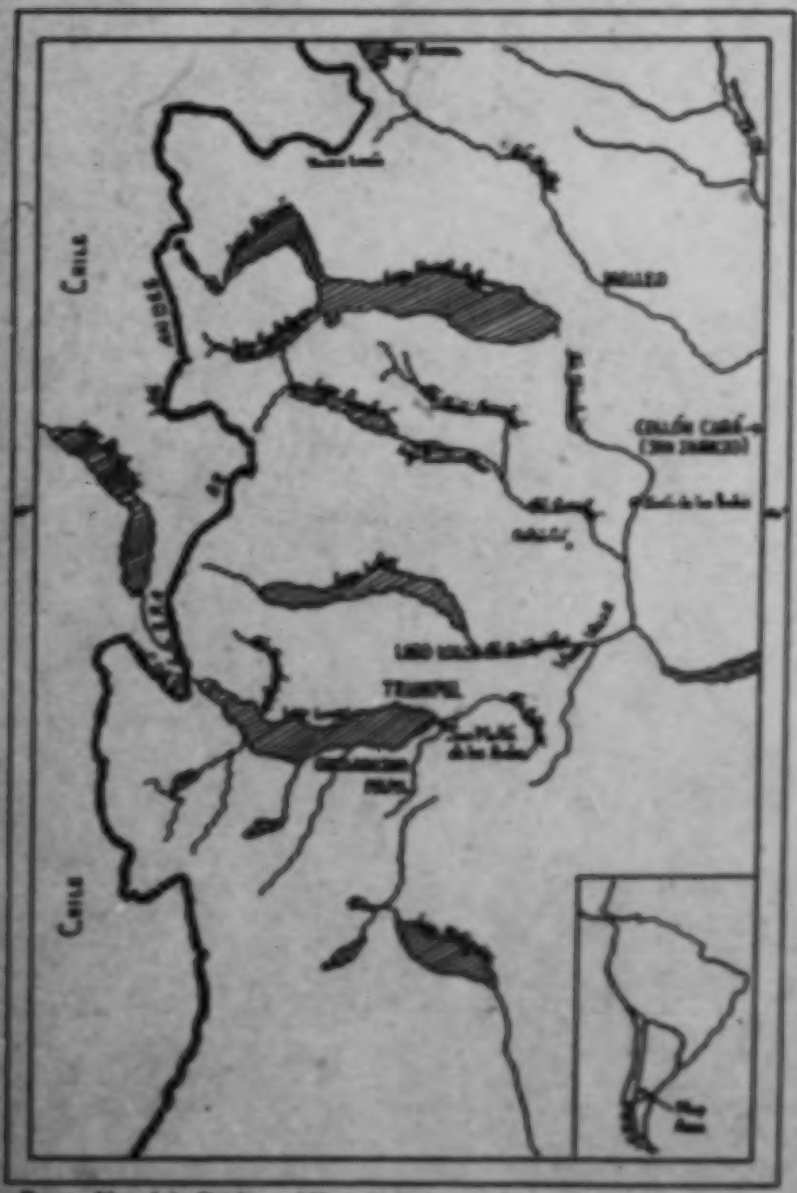

FIG. 1.—Map of the Territory of Neuquén, the region of Argentina in which the present study was made. (Based largely on a map found in Roland Hoogh-Lundin-Lee Alonso, published by the Automóvil Club Argentino; y la Administración General de Parques Nacionales y Turismo, 1956, Buenos Aires.)

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The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as mapuenses (people who live where apples grow), and/or as puinenes (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinkas (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are mapuenses and you are huinkas, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and supposed she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had no children, 18 boys and a girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that count it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 173 174

Some believe there is a flying snake that children pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Araucanians (Hilger, 1950, pp. 26-28); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be named, generally a grandchild. 175

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preference. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 50-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Tranquil 167

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§92 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

§92 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

BIRTH

§95 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

§93 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

§93 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 754

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, BEGINNING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the tolda, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the tolda, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the tolda. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 899 278

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944 tsuqui;* if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery, she was given a decoction of *lonchon Tewen* (unidentified) and *trutilla*. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of *tsuqui* during a difficult delivery. While the *tsuqui* was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling *tsuqui* into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

944 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

945 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, six years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist; this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the *machi* has operated. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

* Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

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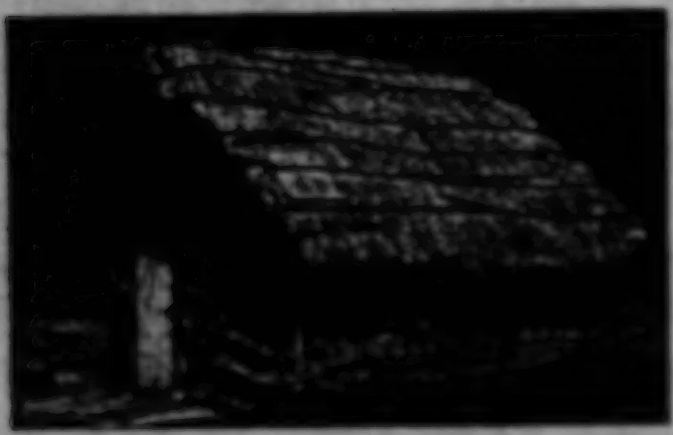

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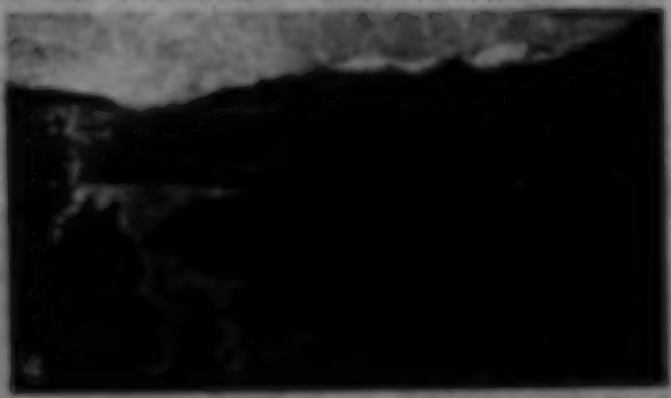

A dwelling, children, and view of Tierra del Fuego. 1, 2, A cross dwelling of [illegible] with [illegible] roof. Smoke is emitted at [illegible] [illegible] is entered through opening in roof [illegible] 3, Interior looking to the [illegible] (Hüger.) 4, Dwelling with [illegible] and [illegible] (Hüger.) 5, Boys with [illegible] and [illegible] (Hüger.) 6, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 7, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 8, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 9, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 10, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 11, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 12, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 13, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 14, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.) 15, Boys [illegible] (Hüger.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

BO4 Araucaniana BO4

Argentina

18: Hidgar E-5 (1946-1952) 1997

BGA Aerocuadrae BGA

Argentina

[illegible] 1.0 [illegible] Hidgar [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Bölger B-5 (1946-1950) 1957
SO4 Aeroestación SO4
Argentina

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nº [illegible] R.-S. (1988-1992) 1997
SGA Aeroarqueología SG4
Argentina

[illegible] 1. The [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

10. Hilger E.-S (1944-1952) 1957
SO4 Antecedentes SO4
Argentina

PRACTICES, IDEAS RELATED, MEDICINE AND MAGIC

The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are supposed to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the fact, however, was verified, at times. Amerindians were not able to identify adults' skulls (between in the Inca region and in the temperate region, both of the east) in the collection at Perpetuo Fiscional de Lanús, which were found in interments in the Amerindian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people were did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. But did we wear the boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was instituted to mold the child's face so that the man contracted to see recognized as an Amerindian man, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a man, not unlike a Roman man with his lip dipping downward, was seen in many older men and women. (Pl. 6b.) Some younger persons, either possessed with a man, are in fad to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. She father had told her that formerly every child's face was molded so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is supposed to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded. "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stretch its cheeks backward like this [molding with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward rear]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with their flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We will make faces chap doyles [flattened]; the Argentines will have choice."

* All Amerindian words were checked against Pillin José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano, 2 bound vols. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic Key to the Amerindian Language.

THE WOMAN'S WORK, THE MAN'S WORK

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water. It could be breaking this ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of doing one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "This happened 30 years ago [1940]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take their cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was the first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL OPTIMIZING

NAIL PARING

Formerly, the child's nails were pared when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's nails are pared. Knife and lye were not pared. "Shears? Shears?" Usually the paring was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its nail bites at that age and no swelling resulted. If the child was much older, its nail bites often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 10 years.

Obviously the paring was not a conventional process. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pared the nails of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pared a girl's nails; a man, a boy's.

Paring was done in the nail bite from top downward with a sewing needle. "Or something like it needle—we used to have a needlebite engineering job." [illegible] Argentina."

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implement of silver wound." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited compadres, three or four of them. "It was like a feast." A generous meal of meat and maize (fermented drink of sweetened cornmeal) was served, and competitive games, such as pelta and ceiri bolas or ñoño ñaqual (cf. pp. 468-472), were played. A dance, known as pavaniza (cf. p. 338), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the relatives of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as hainiro was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the modelitha silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the hainiro on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a hainiro performed on themselves. An adult case might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the hainiro the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"HAIRY WOMEN," MARRIAGE, AND'S OWN CONTENT

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To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of caapé or carrasco was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the women squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homespun cloth or of unsoaked skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, *f*) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homespun cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homespun clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwisted yarn; twisted yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in diamond fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of cherry and removed. 854 291

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wrapperound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I dropped their here buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they were learned to tell it then." 463

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BASKET, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent cattlehide padded of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of cattlehide bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the head of the U was the head end. 854

The second type, used commonly today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of padded split cattlehide sticks. The sticks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied over the ends to two complete cattlehide sticks (pl. 74, *i*, *n*). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of twisted hand along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kalaquen stated. He apologized for using twine in tying the [283]

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miniature sample shown in plate 74; he had looked for a dead horse while making the cradle, hoping to use its tendon for tying, but found none. Pictures of cradleboards used by Chilean Araucanians (cf. pls. 2, 3) interested informants; however, not even the oldest informants had seen any like them.

Cradles were sometimes painted red, green, or white with the same soil used in painting pottery or the inside of toldos. "Green was the prettiest color, but it was difficult to get; we had to get it from a faraway place."

The child was swaddled, as previously described, when about to be tied to its cradleboard. It was then laid on the backrest of the cradle and held in position by lashings of hide or homewoven bands. If the baby was to be transported, lashings were passed crisscross over its body and through loops in foal hide that had been securely fastened on the sides of the cradle. The loops were about a hand stretch apart. If the baby was merely to be set up in its cradle to be with its family, lashings were fastened rather loosely, often only at corners diagonally across from each other.

A child was transported on horseback in its cradle by its mother. If the mother had no other things to transport, she usually laid the cradle in front of her, especially if the child was still very small; if she had other things to transport, she placed these in front of her and fastened the cradle securely to her back from right shoulder toward left hip, letting the lower end of the side rest on the horse's back. In this position the foot ends of the cradle did not poke the horse, nor was the child jolted by having the foot ends touch the horse's back or the saddle, as the horse galloped along. Fastening was done by means of a homewoven band. Women preferred the cradle with the solid cuillaba backrest for transporting the baby, since the baby could be fastened more tightly to it than to the backrest of netting.

A mother wishing to tie the cradle to her back, stooped, let someone place the cradle on her back, and then fastened it to herself with the band that had been previously tied to the back of the cradle and to its foot ends. The section of the band attached to the right side of the cradle she brought across her left shoulder, across her chest, and under her right arm, holding it there, while she brought the other section of the band over the right shoulder, across the chest, and under the left arm. Then she crossed the two at the back, at the waistline, and brought them to the front where she tied them in a secure knot at her waistline. "A woman with her baby thus fastened to her back could gallop so fast that she hardly knew where her head stood, but the baby was always in its place."

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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child. 854

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle. 857

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a cattlitic stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai malón. Kaipai malón. Kaipai malón. Umen tuse." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another 854 533

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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "ah" to several melodies. She
533 herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiados por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was
[854] time for the first teeth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first teeth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the table. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

848 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of cuhihie sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, cuhihie poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and encouraged to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A farmer-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be encouraged to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles.

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother begins to teach it words, usually nouns, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child a years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a home where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian."

WEANING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a

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[53] strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk. "but it never seemed to fit into its house and so later the grandmother took it to her house and reared it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. The avoided food, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 15-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and hold such the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If adults were having spell (sleep long filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and thin soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had cooked canned bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she masticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew crackers into and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was cooked meat of cow. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

[54] Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

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wounded my child [illegible]ously, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, 862
and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an
abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor,
and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not
hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that,
not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother
puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting
[illegible], or gall-[illegible] ají. Fur repellent was not used. When
weaning ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured
into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the
mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children
yet to be born to her.

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Arau-
canians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were 845
born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several
sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair
born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given
birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four
grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted.
Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predict-
ing twins before birth.

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were
not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that
they bore a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed
at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes
have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of
bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said
the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his
wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What
luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented
with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for [847]
children in our People ever to kill a child. Old people used to say,
however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die."

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wed- [835]
lock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It- 848

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898 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 303-304) was performed over a critically sick child. 955 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the hatawa (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 743

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relatives. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

727 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. There I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his house in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 22 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnapped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martín de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and lived it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, CHANGE OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (pichi weuru); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Sebastiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Trapo; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

19. Bidgee E-9 (1948-1952) 1957
BGA Accession BGA
Argentina

last." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, 553
often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name.

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The baptism, it seems, was more closely associated with the planting of the navel (id. p. 470).

The origin of Aweneche names was not known to informants. 557
"We gave our children the names that already existed; from where those came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son Wahillaqin; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know."

Pehuenche names differed from mapuche ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, Pelon, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name Elizabeth to one of your boys."

Some names had Araucanian translations; others did not. Pelon had no meaning. Huichuche and Huenl, exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "tender person" or "tender people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were Llaqhapu (green stone formerly used for magic purposes), Trangan (spinning-top line), Pehuilla (blue snake), Chenqueque (parrot line), and Wahillaqin (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A 25-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was 65 years old.

[illegible], NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

(c) Bridges E.-O (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

[illegible] Argentine army. "Every one was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) on its anniversary when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. [illegible]), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unmovable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves, not anyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Lion, Black Jelly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Pouche of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always noisome women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

553 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a sense of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

555 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

10: Bilger E-6 (1946-1952) 1957
BG4 Araucanians BG4
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wives both terms doing them. At extraordinary work, however, such as slaughtering animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one house, but very agreeably so." 585

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 583 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 583 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, crying to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty basket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was cut not but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "It was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

586 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; on occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 6a-6f for children.)

DIET AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

[illegible] Ridgeo E.-S (1948-[illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] Amazonians [illegible]
Argentina

[illegible]

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that we use outer a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at bewildered ones. I will not allow my children to do that."

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke to quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a floor sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She soon stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grandma plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grandma plot from a bucket at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba mate (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba mate, so we gave no offense by not taking it.

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Amazonians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

[illegible]

[illegible] a house. "Do not hang your coat there on that hook, little sister dirty, and they may dirty it." After viewing the sunset admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her, later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or sow came near, she chased them away. With ends of wool she removed burrs from the assistant's slacks.

During another interview, school-age boys accompanied all in search of traditional places that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from secret supplies. In quiet times they assisted the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When hackberry was being discussed, they brought hackberry to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of assistance and helpfulness on the part of children were observed. Children always helped on instances to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of someone. When we admired the flowering cactus, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a six-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his ankles from like a pair have frames. When his mother set out to collapse her house so that it would be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he returned with her a rich blanket. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quickly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kittens (pl. 6g, d).

[illegible], jealousy

965 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is reproached about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and say that he was a bad beggar than a cowdie. But I know the [illegible] around here are as beggar than a cowdie. And as I say nothing [illegible] for stops bleeding to me. Should a child come to me, however, and the child something happened, I will whip such a child with a rope."

A Indian child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have to learn, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have to learn and know has nothing to do with you."

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to. If they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents. Just as often as one paid any attention to them, "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel then ended.

Tale bearers were frowned on, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was reprimanded, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children; formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, one slapped when they were go; today some do not obey when they are only up," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen some 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed."

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 8½-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the cows his father needed; he had played instead. "That was the time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

10. Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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[N] cent arrive, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reason for not getting his coat, the father tied a leash about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the leash. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disobeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the bloodleton on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

10: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
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dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 847

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something must certainly be not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a knife, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MONEY, PUNISHMENT

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ŋishem or ñshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A girl at first menses, but not at any subsequent one, was isolated for several days in the toldo, usually in a corner behind some hangings. The mother prepared the girl for the event, but only in rare instances explained its purpose. Following isolation, invited relatives partook of a plentiful meal at which the girl was present. Quoting a woman in her sixties: "My mother took me aside one day and said, 'Now you are of an age when you will get a certain sickness.' I was about 13 or 14 years old then. She did not tell me what the sickness was, and since I did not know what it was, I could not speak to her about it. One day, later than that, she said to me, 'You look pale and sad and are upset. Bring me the white blanket.' She laid it on the floor in a corner, away from the fireplace, and then hung a hide on a rope that was stretched cornerwise [about 5 feet high] to make that corner a private place. Since the hide did not shut off the entire corner, she sent me to get a blanket which she slung over the remainder of the rope. The corner was now completely shut off. She told me to sleep on the white blanket that night. I did so. The next morning she examined the blanket and found it soiled. She said, 'Now you are grown up. Do not be ashamed of it. It is something every girl gets, and every woman has. When you are much older, it will go away again. While you have it you must be careful not to wash your hair or feet; if you do, it will make you sick. However, you can comb your hair, but do not touch your hair when doing so; it may fall out if you do. You must stay here in the corner so no one will disturb you.' My mother came behind the hangings and sat with me and talked, but no one else did so. Nothing would have happened if someone else had, but only a mother does so—that is our custom. While the girl was in the corner, the others in the family went about their work as usual; they were all glad that all was well with the girl. The girl was given only light foods to eat. I was given a little fried meat—we usually ate meat raw—cooked cereal, and catute well mixed with water. I did no work. I merely waited. I sat on the white blanket or lay on it for four days. When my mother noticed I was well, I went to bathe. The danger in washing my head and feet was now passed. I wore my silver ornaments, for relatives that had been invited to a feast were arriving. Such a girl is congratulated. Everyone knows that she has stood it well. After the feast the girl goes about her work again."

Quoting another woman in her sixties: "I spun while I was back of the hangings. When it was over with, my parents gave a meal to which acquaintances were invited, at which they drank chicha and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 864 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

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treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented tant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from e when using a handkerchief.

neral, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demon- activities or showing objects that we were learning about. en plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demon- ; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried gage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated e a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would o much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." ought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he ed with the cradle (pl. 74, 1, 2) and explained how he had made is done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him an."

spitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one ed from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we d in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to s a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped neone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my nt, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, 1), he walked briskly toward shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and en had quickly prepared benches for us.

expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught

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and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

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181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do.
157 And now I should show you how we danced?" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [127] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

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[intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in midair."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martín de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those in another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the house of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the gillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

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868 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 86|

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (wishka) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 87|

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871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves
186 everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wünke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, sipiol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃafwe in Chile; kosfue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

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manzana from manzana (apple); fantera from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and pinguinia; also chiripa, chilipa, and chilipaa, all three meaning parts. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade.

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleadoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnapped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenas tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenas noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fuke; his brother and sister each as pile; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as fot'un, and his daughter as fawe; a woman speaks of both as pulell.

The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Salas, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Manuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collón Cá, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junín de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primavera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

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537 [201] man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolupan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

202 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	30 kuthu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 kila (or kla)	12 mari-epu	70 reple-mari
4 meli	13 mari-kila (or mari-kla)	80 pura-mari
5 kuthu	20 epu-mari	90 aliñe-mari
6 kayú	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 petaka
7 reple	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-petaka
8 pura	30 kila-mari	300 kila-petaka
9 aliñe	40 meli-mari	1,000 warapka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 50-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset. 805

Kuiapan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Araucanian Tyrolean had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kuiapan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday: both called it rapi antü. Kuiapan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into ule (morning), rapi antü (midday), rupa antü (sun is passing), and epe kau antü (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (aliqun) is told by the position of two constellations, the guanaco (Fuan) and the rhea (choike). (See table 2 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.) 805 184

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If count had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks' time was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the shape of the moon on the day 805 [211]

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865 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a kiyem (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember Indigenous on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kuhnpen (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Associated verse
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	dawn; cock
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	wide pale
"The morning"	Dawn
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	dawn; real; spot
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	real; cock
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	before; cock
"The sun is departing, that is about 5 o'clock on the clock"	before; cock
"The sun is disappearing"	dawn; brother; cock
"Did sun has disappeared"	brother; cock
"The light that lingers after sunset"	white
"It is getting dark"	dark

asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wiñoipantu (or, according to Kuhnpen, chemuf wiñoipantu, "the trees begin to bud"); wedan (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trañipantu (or, according to Kuhnpen, ulu tun, "fruit has ripened"); pulmen (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

921 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

Andes, and also in high or low valleys, in other lands are different guiding factors. Kalapan, for example, knew the weather lessons he remember for the specific area of San Martín de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during rainy clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the little reddish "Ojo, the morning star" or Lucifer on a morning ring," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of Ohd (cf. pp. 320-321). "These were the days when we still heard Ohd." A 60-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountain side on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing.

In general, however, a very red moon forecasts bad weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun's predicts war, hunger, and wars, usually in a distant country. Kalapan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he stated, "and the Russians, after the third sun—that is, the war that is now [1941] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except its eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake does so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die."

Both morning and evening stars were called wuqu'ín by all informants except Kalapan. Kalapan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk (ulpán), and the morning star by the same name as dawn (wéu yulín). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the gaucaco (Pleiades); the rhea (shulín); the Ichindara (Ishul); stretched hide (ishul wulín or equal wulín); and seven little goats, or lion and chicks (gau chumpín or chuwa ichwuel). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kalapan could

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821 not identify the Southern Cross by its name, but a diagram of it immediately brought a response: "That one? That one is called footprint of the rhea (ponon). The three upper stars are the toes; the lower one is the heel." Pointing at the sky where Orion could be

FIG. 8.—Constellations named by informants. Since informants, in describing the constellations, pointed to areas between zenith and 45° below zenith, it is possible that the names given in parentheses are the astronomical ones. *a*, Seven little goats (a section of Pavo). *b*, A 2-balled boleodora (a section of Crux). *c*, Stretched hide (sections of Carina and Volans). *d*, Guanaco (a section of Centaurus). *e*, The foot of the rhea (Reticulum). *f*, Rhea (Grus). *g*, A 3-balled boleodora (Apus).

seen that night (November), he remarked, "We call those three stars potatoes in a hole (pal); the Argentines call them las tres Marías. The Milky Way was called the river (l'enfü).

SIGNALING

202 According to a well-informed non-Araucanian, the Araucanians signaled by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and also by the

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sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1, 2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin." 202

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chanilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nūfkū), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan. 804

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended—"it has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each 804 294

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side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted. For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martín de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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Formalized conversation, probably the koyaqtun, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother:

An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl tucked her child under her poncho and rode away with the one that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian. [539]

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following:

Inga—some say Inca—sent word, saying, "Children, your God is captured. He must die unless sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill three rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had soon to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any farther; Inca has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Whites." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, pushed the gold and silver into it, and then onto these they pushed all the slaves. Next they pushed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were pushed down a smooth ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it can still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Carrhue Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, so says the legend, worked their way toward the surface of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Whites came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have sunk deeper, but in all probability, when the Whites leave here, they will again move upward. [539]

Kolupan told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolupan, was a child. In recent years Kolupan has told it to children in his neighborhood:

West of Hua Hum, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pirehueico which is still there. About 300 years ago an earthquake split the earth wide [539]

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521 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While
539 she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [he imitated steam being blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehuico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years
276 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the gillatun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dead wood of rauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kolupan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of rauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called potrem; the word kinnickinnick was not known to informants; Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out colihue stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, 3). Those of caciques and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

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Pictographs in Vega Valle near San Martin de los Andes: 1, Locating pictographs under the guidance of Jaroslav ("Saiko") Swaryczewski (right) and Sergio Sinjovani (center) of the offices of Parque Nacional de Lanin, San Martin de los Andes. Left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Pictographs found at the site.

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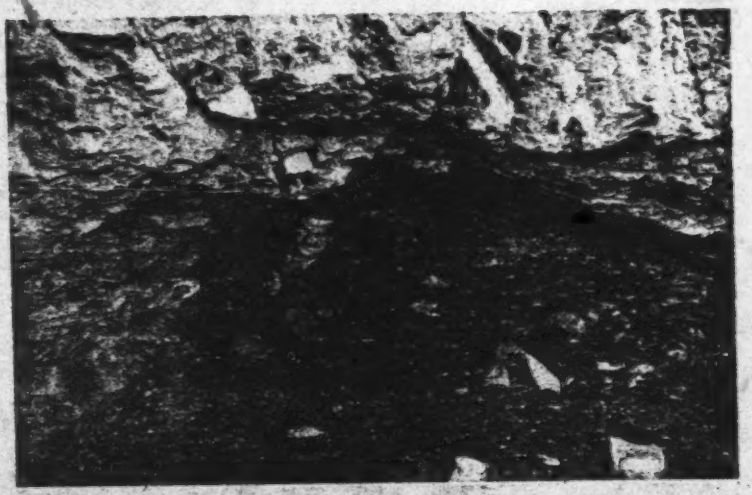

Pictographs: 1, "Saiko" pointing out pictographs found at site shown on plate 68, 1. 2, Pictographs at the same site chalked over by "Saiko" to facilitate photographing them.

[p. 316(B)]

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Musical instruments: 1, Kolupan holding a trutruka (Pilpil). 2, An informant demonstrating the use of a trutruka (Trumpul). 3 and 4, A kultrun, a kettledrumlike instrument, and drum stick. (Courtesy Parque Nacional de Lanin).

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Baking bread (Trumpul): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

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1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quilaquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

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MUSIC, DANCES, SONG

534 Traditional musical instruments were the kultruŋ, the trutruka, the pifəlka, the tupulwe, the pioko, the piloilo, and the chollol; the tralatrala has been added to these since the introduction of the horse; and in still more recent years, the jew's-harp and the guitar also.

A kultruŋ is a kettledrum-type instrument (pl. 70, *3, 4*). It is made by stretching a circular piece of well-scraped hide of young horse or female goat over the opening of a wooden bowl—one hollowed out of a tree-trunk section. Sheep hide must not be used since it tears easily. The horsehide of a kultruŋ in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is kept taut by lacings that are passed through holes cut along the edge of the hide. These lacings are about 5 inches from the rim of the bowl. The diameters of the bowl are 12 inches at the opening and 5 inches at the base. The handle is of rawhide of horse, wound about with several layers of green yarn. Its drumstick—only one is used—is a piece of shaved-down wood, 14 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. The 5 inches at the end used in beating the kultruŋ are bare; the remainder wound about alternately, in 3-inch stretches, with blue and white yarn. The poruntun, one of the sacred dances of the ŋillatun, is performed to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. Generally the machi beats the kultruŋ, but the cacique is known to have done so, also.

The trutruka, a wind instrument (pl. 70, *1, 2*), is made by drawing fresh intestine of horse or cow over a colihue stalk varying in length from 9 to 12 feet. After the intestine is dry, approximately 7 inches of the wide section of the horn of a cow or an ox is inserted at one end of the colihue to spread the sound, and a mouthpiece of wood at the other end. The koŋkomeo, another dance of the ŋillatun, is performed to the tune of three or four trutruka and the beat of the kultruŋ.

The pifəlka, a whistle (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), is made of an approximately 12-inch-long section of the branch of a tree, preferably the roble chileno, about an inch in diameter. Bark must be removed since it might obstruct the tune. Tones are produced by holding the pifəlka in an upright position and blowing forcefully across a hole bored in the upper end. The piloilo, a panpipe, is made by boring a row of five or six ventages across one end of a small piece of wood, also peeled of bark. A person skilled in its use can produce several whistling sounds by blowing across the ventages. Men use both the pifəlka and piloilo at the ŋillatun.

The tupulwe, a tune-pipe-like instrument, is a hollowed-out colihue

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534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihüe, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chollol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the pəruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The pəruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as awár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

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to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or ministure pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, 2) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

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857 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the
524 knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, *3*). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, *5*). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned
231 rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, 2). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw 754

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754 but who was like a human, had extraordinary powers. He lived south of here, and persons often went to confer with him regarding sickness. He was talked to from a distance, and answered from there in a strong voice, always. I remember one instance well. The cacique was Chokeri. Either his wife or his sister—I have forgotten which—became very ill. No one knew the cause. So Chokeri sent a messenger to Olul to ascertain the cause. Olul answered that the woman had poison in her blood; they should take her saddle, cut it open, and there find the cause. They did this, and out jumped a big toad. And that was the witchcraft that caused the sickness. They took the toad, threw it into the fire, and roasted it to death. This done, the woman got well. Olul no longer lives. Whoever finds his bones can restore his own health by means of them. I should like very much to find a piece of one, now that I have suffered from a cold for seven weeks; I night get relief."

A 69-year-old woman complained that a jealous man, a neighbor who had powers of witchcraft, had inflicted sickness upon her and her 25-year-old daughter. They were considered rich, whereas the man had only a few possessions. A black vulture had hopped around their yard recently, one they had not seen before. It occurred to them that harm was being done to them. "We were filled with fear," she said. "That night, while we were in bed, there was much loud knocking in all corners of our house. The next day both my daughter and I were sick. We knew then that the black vulture had been sent to make us sick. We were sick for days. One day while we were feeling very sick, we heard the tramping of many, many horses. It sounded as though horses were going into the shack in which we had stored winter feed for our animals. We went out to see. We could neither see nor hear the horses. We knew that old man, our neighbor, had caused many to die in our area, among them my husband, and we thought we were doomed to die, also. No one in all this area knows what antidote to give for the sickness he inflicts."

754 Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians who had lived in close association with Araucanians for several generations
158 knew of only one case of a functional type. Another, a woman who had thyroid surgery in very recent years, was said to have sat for hours drawing Araucanian weaving designs in sand while speaking continuously in Araucanian (non-Araucanians in close association with her for years did not know she spoke Araucanian). When mental ill health did occur, it was believed witches had inflicted it. An 80-year-old woman told of a machi whom everyone feared. "I knew him. One day, when I was already a young woman, he took some apples

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from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, 754
went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and
where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. 158
One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being harmed."

PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by 755
machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. 759
"It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

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755 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are
759 often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy
[826] of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

273 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies.
757 Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

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Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever.

Cirafia. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it."

Crochilla (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is poulticed against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Fucsia. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Limpia plata, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llantén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Llinto or amancay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Maqui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and ends diarrhea.

Natri. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach ache and reduces fever.

Neneo. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Paico. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk ends vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Pañil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It soothes open wounds when poured into them.

Paramela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Parrilla and nalca. A decoction made of leaves and stems of parrilla and of roots of nalca is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of nalca alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pasto de tres cantos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Poleo (an unidentified mint, "with leaves a little smaller than those of orégano"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach ache.

Quillay, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quiñal (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Retamolla or lechuguilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and liver ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Roble chileno. A decoction of its core—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whose chest a tree has fallen."

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278 757 Seya. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are poulticed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

Toroijil. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant sealha; in Chile it is called toroijil cayuan."

Unfermented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

NOTE: Juices are extracted from plants either by scraping or pounding them; by crushing them in the palms of the hands; or by rubbing them by rotating the palms, one over the other, with a circular motion; or mashing them with the fist of one hand in the palm of the other hand. Powder is obtained by pounding dried plants between stones. (See Appendix B for other plants used by the Araucanians.)

Curative household measures not related to plants are the following:

A burn is overlaid with a wad of wool saturated with blood from a slight incision made in the comb of a chicken.

Kerosene is poured into an open wound.

A thin slice of meat, slightly heated in the fire and rubbed in with salt, is applied to a bruise, "including a blue eye."

Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

A broken arm or leg is tied between straight slender branches of a tree.

Formerly, the meat of a dog, not yet a year old, was eaten to cure stomach ailments. Stomach troubles were also alleviated by drinking water containing the scrapings of blue stones, "the ones that fall during a thunderstorm." "My mother has two of these stones, very dark blue ones, which she used in this way."

The bile of any large animal mixed with clear water taken orally brings a boil to a head.

Bad blood thought to be due to sickness is let flow through a piercing made in the upper layer of the skin of the person's hand.

A 65-year-old man had wound red yarn around his painful wrist. "I saw a mestizo Argentine do this, south of here where we were shearing sheep. Since it gave him relief, I thought I would try it."

No remedy for toothache was known. An aching tooth was pulled—"but we seldom have a toothache. My daughter there [14 years old] and my son [25 years old] have never had a toothache. I [85 years old] had my first tooth pulled recently—it was a loose tooth. I loosened it by stretching leather. We stretch leather by holding it taut with the teeth and pulling it with both hands." Eating meat raw is thought to keep teeth intact.

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No remedy for goiters is known. "Not even the remedies used by the Argentines help us. Formerly we had no goiters." Persons with goiters—men and women of all ages and adolescent boys and girls as well—were seen in all areas visited.

Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)

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MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather of the present cacique in Quilaquina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one. 595 [622]

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate toldo, in one of several attached toldos, or in a section of one large toldo. Attached toldos had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called fuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called kake fuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chau chau. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peni; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them lamgen or dea."

When Kolupen married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her,

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595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. [illegible]en a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an [illegible]entine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage [illegible] neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even [illegible]ys of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

[587 [614] Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for marriage." 582

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle. 584

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in those days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her home, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

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584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martín de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fata chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋanechén; at the

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ŋillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ŋanechén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuʃe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ŋillatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuʃe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuʃe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuʃe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ŋillatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's home in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ŋillatun when everyone attending the ŋillatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ŋillatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ŋillatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ŋillatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was lamed." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 778 781

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778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and
[781] refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly.
788 They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

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tivo." Camaruka is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camarico" (Moesbach, 1944, p. 35). "They all mean the same," said the cacique of Malleo; "they mean prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the ŋillatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the colihüe blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the colihüe, came in large numbers, and after having eaten the colihüe seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the colihüe would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the ŋillatun.

Formerly the ŋillatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the ŋillatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the ŋillatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the ŋillatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Catin Lil, Lolog, Pilolil, Chasanel, Kaleufu, and the shores of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the ŋillatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kaleufu conducted its last ŋillatun under its late cacique, Shaihueke; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Cayún.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the ŋillatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kolupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the ŋillatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he froze to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the ŋillatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

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796 under way in February in Malleo, Aukapun, and Collón Curá. "When harvesting and sheep shearing on the estancias terminate, our people return home; it is then that we shall celebrate the ŋillatun."

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a plot of land reserved for

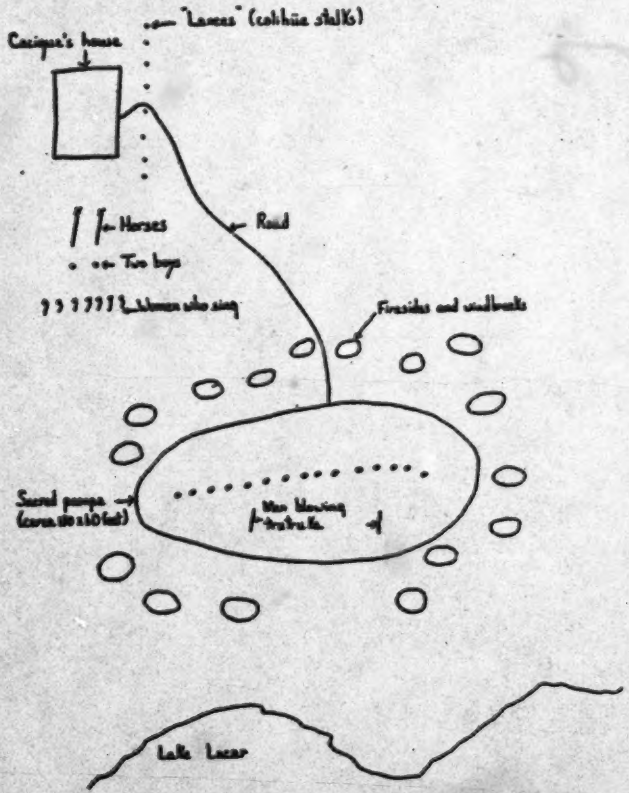

FIG. 9.—The ŋillatun in Quilaquina. (Diagram drawn by a non-Araucanian who had attended 28 performances of the ŋillatun.)

that purpose and considered sacred, one sheltered from winds. (Cf. fig. 9 for diagram of ŋillatun.) No domestic use is supposed to be made of it, but this restriction is being ignored today. Old persons expressed regret and grief at seeing cattle and sheep grazing on it, or grain growing there. "The cacique has a difficult time keeping people from plowing and seeding the plot; land is so scarce now. And then,

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too, so many young persons today have no faith in the ŋillatun; in fact they pay no attention to anything related to our old ways." 796

The cacique who called the people together for the ŋillatun is the officiating officer at the ceremony. He is assisted by two men from his jurisdiction, inka or kellu, referred to by informants as captain and sergeant. Other persons of importance are the machi and the four piwichen—two boys in early adolescence and two preadolescent girls. All other persons present, except children, are expected to participate; children are nonparticipant observers. "Children know nothing about things yet; but they are made to observe everything so they will learn. But today, not even children want to learn the old ways; it is a pity!"

Since there is no longer a machi in Quilaquina area, an ordinary woman replaces her. It is she who beats the kultruŋ. Before the ceremonies begin, each of her hands is painted from knuckles to wrist with three pairs of lines, each pair consisting of a black and a white line. A similar pair of lines is painted across her nose, from cheek bone to cheek bone, and another pair across her forehead from temple to temple. On her head she wears a trarülonko, a silver ornament. The two preadolescent girls (piwichen) are decorated in the same manner; the two boys (piwichen) each have only one black line from cheek bone to cheek bone across the nose. 796 302

The complete ceremonial takes two days. Families arrive at the plot reserved for it on the evening preceding the first day. Each family brings a 2-day supply of food, blankets on which to rest and sleep, and sacrificial family offerings of food. Traditional offerings were wheat, corn, catuto (p. 366), tortilla, an eagle, and mudai (p. 371); optional offerings were chickens, sheep, and calves. Today, offerings are usually the traditional obligatory ones, "or whatever the people want to offer." Chicha (pülku) has replaced mudai. An occasional family brings one or two of the optional offerings. The cacique provides the traditional tribal sacrifice, a white horse; or in the event no white horse is obtainable, a roan-colored one. Today a sheep or calf often replaces the horse. Only the blood of animals is sacrificed; their meat is either eaten, or is thrown into the fire, together with the bones, at the end of the ceremonial to be totally consumed. Dogs must be kept from getting any of either. 796

The evening of their arrival, persons sit around until midnight, resting and visiting. At midnight the men plant 3- to 4-foot-tall colihüe stalks in a row approximately 20 yards long. This done, each woman places at the base of a stalk her family offerings of food and also a

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cup and a pottery plate—the cup must be of the traditional type, that is, either pottery or made of the large end of a cow's horn.

Chicha is then poured into a large vessel, which stands "at the place for God" (probably an altar), and also into small ones. "Formerly we used mudai made of araucaria nuts, quinoa, or wheat. Whatever is used must be drunk through hollowed-out colihüe stalks from traditional-type cups." During the ceremonial some of the beverage from the large vessel is sprinkled "heavenward to God"; the remainder is drunk by the people.

Just before sunrise, preparatory to the opening of the ceremony, each man that traveled to the ŋillatun on horseback mounts his horse. So do the two boys, each in a chiripe and carrying a colihüe tipped with a piece of blue cloth. All now line up in formation, the two boys leading and the men on horseback, each holding a colihüe stalk, following. Next come the men on foot, each also carrying a colihüe. Then follow the two girls, each wearing a chamall and carrying a chollol (rattle). The women, also on foot, bring up the rear. The procession moves completely around the row of the colihüe stalks several times. Children are not part of the procession, "but they are everywhere; they do not participate in anything except the eating."

After a rest period it is time to sacrifice the large animal. The animal is laid on its back, each leg held by one of four men, its belly cut open, and its heart pulled forward. Its pulsating heart is cut into small pieces, and a piece immediately eaten by every ceremonial participant. "I have seen this done by the Aigo tribe at Pulmari, which still performs the ceremonial along the exact traditional lines," said a non-Araucanian. "It is an unbearably cruel thing to see the breast of a living mare cut open and her heart withdrawn. The Curruhuinca tribe at Quilaquina has modernized the ceremonial; it is no longer done there." An estancia owner in the Malleo area, a non-Araucanian, allowed his Araucanian workers to take animals from the estancia which they said they needed for the performance of the ŋillatun, among them a white mare. "I attended the ŋillatun as an onlooker," he said. "In due time the men brought the white mare forward, and I knew then that they were about to sacrifice her, that they would pull out her heart while she was still living. I could not bear the thought. I pulled my revolver and shot the mare. The Araucanians were so angry with me that for some time thereafter I thought they would kill me."

Prayers at the ŋillatun are directed to God as the father of all (chau chau) and to the woman with him as the mother of all (papai). Chau chau and papai are reminded, first of all, of the affection they

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have for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished woman of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Peumguem queme tripapa tayin traun fəta chau chau, rey mapu, ray kuʃe," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers." 796

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the colihüe, while standing (today kneeling) near the colihüe at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the colihüe stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordillera; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

The machi now beats the kultruŋ, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as poruntun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward circlewise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say poruntun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the poruntun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The poruntun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people. 796 535

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the ŋillatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the tregle (a bird), the pono pono mapu

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796 (stamping on the ground), and the huillafən kawell (galloping horse).
535 The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultruŋ.

796 Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made
[276] by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifəlka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

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are going one by one!" It was customary for the cacique to order the 796
sergeant to unearth the vessel at the subsequent ŋillatun. "He may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kolupan. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either chau chau took the other half or the dead ate it—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kolupan," I asked, "that the dead ate it?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!"

BLACK ART, HOBGOBLINS, VISIONS

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (kalku); 754
today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilaquina man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 322). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called danu; witchcraft in general is called kalkutun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it.

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were 683
punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The kalku would say, 'Why do you hang me? What you accuse me of, I have not done. These people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kolupan told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Cheoketta, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his lofche together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Cheoketta wanted to find out if there was a kalku among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his lance upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the kultruŋ, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Cheoketta died. His son Llakatrul was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe

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754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatrul did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

776 Solomonkeros, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (renu), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in hobgoblins, which are called anchimallen. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they 787 appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me anchimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kolupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred, like sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'sh, sh, sh,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a kalku, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer sober. Suddenly, we both saw a radal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants sus- 754
pected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ- 763
choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say "Tua, tua, tua." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

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763 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I
787 dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

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In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin. 764

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived. 764 766

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries. 764

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultrun was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

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764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

765 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known
623 as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüñilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

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Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. 622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing 628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re- 726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each [411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar- [828] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack 648 on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately 726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. 622 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers 648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

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"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique. 622 648

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Curuhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painüval, Kalfükura, Catriol, Cheoeque, Paillamil, and Cañuilef. 622

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, 5); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, a). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Araucanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone so big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kolupan examined the toki shown in plate 74, 5, seemed puzzled, and remarked,

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622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, *5*, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a tolderia; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the tolderia. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

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lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá. 621

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 621 622 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60–70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shaihueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillen	Curriumil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30–40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Panilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ñillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration. 622

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641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges
648 and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone
484 got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased 427
such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

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221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and
233 therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more
recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds be-
556 longing to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapalwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

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231 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and
417 newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

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however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439 491

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertos (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertos were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

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436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. [427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families [464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihüe stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tanj. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (paŋi or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or pūdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

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224 one end of each of three thongs; the other ends were securely tied
411 together. In the 2-balled one only one thong was used; a ball was attached to each end of it. When throwing the boleodora one ball is held in the hand; this ball is somewhat smaller than the others and is slightly oval-shaped. Balls were approximately 1½ inches in diameter (pl. 76, *2*). Thongs were 4-ply braids of leg sinews of rhea or sinew strands of guanaco, approximately 32 inches in length. More often today they are two 4-inch-wide strands of horse hide twisted about each other.

The 3-balled lariat was used in hunting large quadrupeds, such as the guanaco, and in capturing wild horses; the 2-balled ones, in hunting large bipeds, such as the rhea. Today, the 2-balled boleodora is seldom used; the 3-balled one is hurled to twist around the front legs of a horse to prevent it from straying away while the rider is engaged in work or conversation. Boys today use the boleodora to catch rabbits. Accompanied by dogs they chase rabbits for hours and catch an occasional one.

The bola perdido was a lariat with a ball at one end and a substantial solid knot at the other end. The ball, usually 2 pounds in weight, was studded and ended in a sharp point which protruded from its covering of rhea skin. Studs, too, often protruded; sometimes a ball had as many as eight studs. When the bola perdido was being used, the knot end was clutched tight with the hand, the lariat and ball swung in circles above the person, aimed at the head of the animal, and finally released. If the animal was only stunned, it was immediately killed with a spear. A spear was a stout colihüe stalk tipped with a flint arrow. Pumas, pudús, and wild boars were hunted with the bola perdido; pumas were also trapped.

224 One type of trap used in hunting pumas was a circular enclosure of logs, built high enough so that a puma could not jump over it. From the entrance to the enclosure was a covered gangway the size of a puma, at which a trap door hung suspended in an upright position. A live lamb or sheep was placed in the enclosure, and when the puma entered to take the bait, the pressure of its feet released the door, which dropped and closed the entrance. Once the puma was trapped, the hunter reached over the enclosure with a long pole at the end of which was a noose made with a lasso, caught the puma's head in the noose, and strangled it. Kolupan had trapped and killed puma in this manner, using a lasso approximately three-fourths inch in diameter made of five braided strands of horsehide. Today, he uses the lasso in lassoing horses and cattle. If a hunter came upon a puma in a tree, he stabbed it with a spear. The wounded puma then moved slowly

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down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Huemul were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then lassoed. 224

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a noose as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by feed, such as grass seeds. The hunter nearby pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs. [857]

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the meat of the small ones best."

Fish native to Andean lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (remü or kauke); the peladilla (peliolo or peloilla), a scaleless fish; the trucha criolla or perca (lipəŋ); the cauque (malche); and the puyen (upesh). 226

In the first decade of the 1900's, Andean lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moreno, 1945, pp. 121-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marron or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants accused the salmon of exterminating the native pejerrey and peladilla from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Perca and cauque were speared from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long colihüe pole pronged at the smaller end in fanlike fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed colihüe stalks (informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

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226 the point where the fisherman stood. Kolupan had speared fish both ways.

When water was low enough for persons to walk in the stream with ease, men and women fished jointly. They entered the stream in semicircular arrangement, elbow to elbow, near the affluence of two rivers or of a river and a lake, and proceeded upstream. Each man held before him in the water a container, either an open sack of hide or a homewoven rug shaped like a receptacle, and each woman held a piece of chamall (homewoven cloth). As the men and women moved forward, fish were trapped in the containers. If the catch was big, the women often sorted out the small fish and dropped them into their blouses; large fish were thrown onto the shore to be picked up later. Before setting out to fish a prayer was said—a short one if only a few fish were to be caught. My informant recited the following short one in Araucanian: "My God, help us to catch fish. We are leaving home now to catch fish. May God help us." "If we went for a big haul we said a much longer prayer."

It sometimes happened that there were too few men and women for a close semicircular formation. In that event the men made a trap by attaching a piece of woven material, known as matra, lengthwise to a long colihüe stalk. Several men held both ends of the stalk slightly above water, bending it somewhat to form a semicircle; other men walked immediately behind so as to keep the matra in vertical position. The women and any men not needed at the trap had in the meantime walked some distance upstream, on the shore. They now walked slowly downstream in the water making a slight noise, thus causing the fish to swim downstream toward the trap. When a goodly number of fish had collected close to the matra, the men behind it lifted the bottom of it forward, forming a bowl-shaped trap in which the fish were caught and lifted out of the water. The matra was then carried ashore and emptied. If the catch was too small the trapping was repeated.

If only a small number of fish was desired two men walked upstream, each grasping the shorter end of a matra that was weighted down with stones attached at intervals. As fish approached the matra, the men caught them by hand and threw them onto the shore. Matras used in fishing were usually from 4 to 6 yards in length and 4 feet in width. Sometimes several women just out for a walk along a stream would catch by hand any fish that swam their way, and carry them home in their blouses. Fish were never anesthetized.

At no time were small children allowed around where elders were fishing. "The less noise there was, the tamer the fish behaved."

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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [857]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 262
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (anim [251]
ilo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Rhea meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other fowl were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Puyen (none is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; cauque and peladilla were collected on thin colihüe stalks, which were poked through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were staked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Macha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar,
317 too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba maté," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

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Pottery making (Pilpil): 1, Extracting the sap of maqui leaves to be used with sand as adhesive. 2, Coiling a mixture of clay, sand, and maqui juice to make a jug (metawe). 3, Dampening the side of the pottery with a mixture of maqui juice and water for smoothing the surface. The maqui juice will give the surface a gloss when being fired. 4, Adding coils. 5, Making the handle. 6, Finishing the building of the jug. 7, Smoothing rough areas with a stone. 8, The finished jug, and the beginning of one to be modeled from a single lump of clay.

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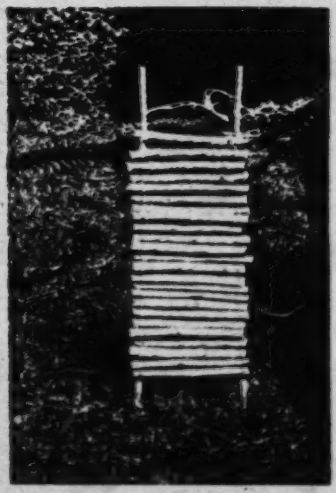

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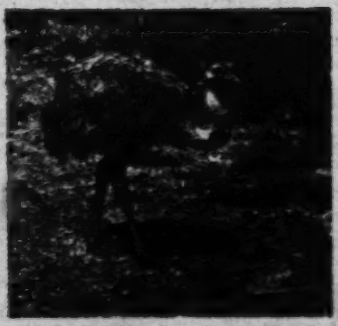

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1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by *Kolupan*. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanin (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (kilku) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A tolil. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Koessler, San Martin de los Andes.)

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1. Wooden plow (Tromped). 2. Cart with two-crank axles wheels (Quitapiedras). 3. A Ma (threshing area) in which wheat is threshed by trampling horses (Mulas).

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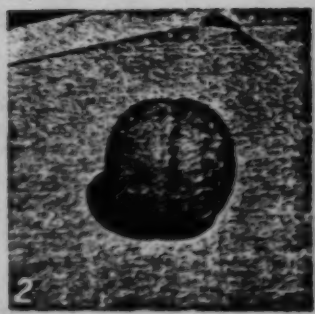

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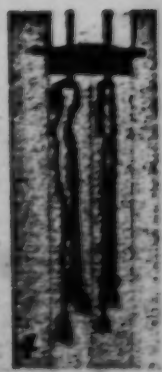

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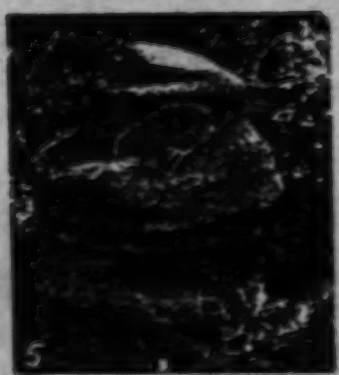

Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleadora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleadoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kneeler.)

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg *is* delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [2½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

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262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepol (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napur (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[17] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (funa poñü) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (kóñke poñü) were grated and allowed

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to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Trumen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumine, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almond-like and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and manos, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichuelas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (chulla), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

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415 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with
172 shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

412 Both metate and muller (kudi and fúmkudi) were of stone. The metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2¼ inches in diameter and 1½ inches deep.

415 The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of colihüe bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

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cups for use at the ñillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichaña was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the küllko (pl. 74, 4), and the kollupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and küllko, as sieves also; the kollupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the küllko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepel, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 285

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, 1; 72, 1). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, 1; 65, 1; 66, 2.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, 1). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, 1) that I saw (they were said to be 354

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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fiire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *2*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[533 my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but
782] burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, 1; 72, 1.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven küllko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272

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272 children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to
[574] visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[i.e. yerba maté. —Analyst]

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ground, so located that the rear of the toldo was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the toldo to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the toldo with paint made of white earth (mallo) or red earth (kelü barro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kolupan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 461

Hides used as toldo coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kura quilkü) (pl. 74, 6), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides. 342 281

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342 volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides.

Hides were sewed together with strands of horse sinew or very narrow strips of the thin skin found on the flesh side of horsehide. "I have seen my mother take the sinew that lies along the full length of the spine of the horse including the tail, pound it to softness, and then pull the fibers apart. She used these as thread." A young man, upon the advice of his mother, had recently used strips of the inner lining of horsehide to sew together parts of a bridle; his mother had used similar strips to sew together hides for toldo coverings some years ago.

Dwellings today are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses (pls. 63-67). An occasional one has an added lean-to which consists of one wall on the side of prevailing winds, and a roof. Occasionally, too, a sun shelter is seen, made of poles overlaid with a roof (pl. 65, *1*). It is not unusual for a family to have a shed for sleeping or storage purposes.

The framework of the gable-roofed dwelling is of poles or tree trunks. The roof may be thatched with grass or straw, or made of overlapping logs, overlaid lumber, shingles, or tin. Grasses used are totora, coirón (unidentified), and junco; straw is that of wheat. If logs are used, they are sawed in half lengthwise, hollowed out, and laid side by side across the roof with the hollowed-out side up. A second layer of similar logs, but in inverted position, is placed over these so that the sides of each will rest in the hollows of the first layer. The second layer forms the watershed; the first provides drainage. Boards used as roofing are nailed lengthwise across the roof, each one overlapping the upper part of the one below it. Shingles and tin are arranged in the same manner. The floor of the dwelling is usually the ground; in rare cases, planks.

The exterior walls are often slats of wood with bark, such as can be obtained at sawmills; sometimes they are boards. They are nailed to the framework in either horizontal or vertical position. Spaces between slats are filled in with adobe or covered with discarded pieces of tin of various sizes and shapes. If boards and slats cannot be obtained, the leafy ends of colihue stalks are used instead. Adobe is plastered between and over them. Usually only the room in which the fireplace is located has windows. The door is generally at the gable end of the house. The interior walls are unfinished; the roof forms the ceiling.

352 House furnishings, in general, are a table with one or two suitable benches; low benches around an open fireplace or stove; and shelves attached to walls as separate boards or in a box, used for storing dishes, food, and other things. Sleeping is done on sheep pelts laid on

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the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, ollas and cántaros and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251

Things seen stored in sheds included lassos of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, looms, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of colihüe stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 291

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (makuñ). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (ʃumell). Kolupan demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (rarüwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or ʃumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

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281 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they
294 were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as toldo coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

291 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kəpam), shawl (ekull), stickpin (təpu), neck and breast ornament (ʃikill), headband (trarüloŋko), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a təpu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kəpam at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kəpam and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kəpam until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy ticking then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately 2 yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

301 The təpu was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The ʃikill had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The trarüloŋko was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

291 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine open-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

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shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pls. 60, 61, 66, 67, 70, 73.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentine children (pls. 62, 63-66). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians. 291

Clothes and other materials are washed today, as formerly, in rivers and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of chacay as a detergent—an occasional family today uses soap. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than 100 years, "we used bark and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name." 296

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Guanacos were not sheared; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informant indicated having the hide on the knee and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun. 283

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 78, *1,2*). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 23 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner carded wool by hand; she pulled it well apart and then shook it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated wads, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the wad of wool that extended between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist in midair. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twirled the spindle three times in midair. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twirling the spindle in midair. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at 10 years of age). A woman older

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283 than 100 years, whom I visited, spun fine yarn. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of rauli which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, *3*.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (manzana silvestre) or chiñchiñ, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, choapino (saddle blankets), matra (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and makun (rugs). Matra and choapino are placed under saddles; they and makun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2*, *3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1*, *4*; 80); for ponchos, the wearer for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, *5*).

286 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs
531 are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her yarn accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on
386 shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as mallo was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as lüu." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

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other dye. To bleach yarn white, the length of strands needed, "like for a diamond-shaped design in a choapino," are measured off and each wound around a leaf or small stick and stored away in mallo. An 80-year-old woman had seen her mother-in-law bury yarn in a few handfuls of mallo that she had put into a corner of a hewn-out tree trunk. She had prepared two sticks of wood, "as thick as my finger," one about so long that she had called wentru (man), and the other so long, that she called domo (woman) (4 and 2½ inches, respectively). Around each stick she wound one layer of yarn, very tight and very close together. When the yarn was removed from the mallo, it was pure white. "It always remained white. My mother-in-law wanted it for a cross design in some weaving she was about to do."

TABLE 10.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Argentina)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Red (kulü)	Relvún (*Rollanieu hypocarpium*)	
	Yerba vinagrillo (*Oxalis acetosella*)	
	Heart of roble (*Nothofagus oblique*)	
Rose color (kullin mora)	Roots of pimpinela (*Acaena ovalifolia*)	
Coffee color to dark brown (mulie kulu)	Bark of roble	
	Bark of nogal (*Lomatia oblique*)	
	Boldo (*Peumus boldus*)	
Gray (kuñü)	Nogal	"Maica produces a delicate shade of gray."
	Roba (unidentified)	
	Roots of maica (*Gunnera scabra*)	
Yellow (chuf)	Bark and roots of michai (*Berberis darwinii*)	
	Romerillo (*Lomatia ferruginea*)	
	Poquil (unidentified)	
Chestnut color, like that of guanaco wool (Fuan kul)	Bark of roble	
Black	Bark of nogal	"It boiled a very, very long time."

Sheep's wool is dyed after it has been made into yarn. It is boiled in water containing the substance in which the dye is found. Darker shades can be obtained by using more of the dye substance or by longer boiling with less of the substance, boiling being timed to the shade of the color desired. Informants had obtained dyes from barks and roots listed in table 10.

Formerly, no substances were known to dye blue, green, purple, or orange. In recent years, commercial aniline dyes have been used for these. Today, commercial dyes are used almost exclusively for all colors. A woman explained: "I always fear being arrested by the

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286 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that
386 I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting coarse material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihue stalks or colihue rind (pl. 74, *4*); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliüwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the ñillatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (mallo), a rare kind, was more coveted; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a lilliko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The best desirable clay for pottery was chaqual (mud). Kolupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, *1*). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

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Clothing: 1. The cacique of Malleo in clothing generally worn by Araucanian men. 2. Saddle used by both men and women; ponchos are worn by men as protection against winds. (Pilpil.) 3. Woman's clothing. This woman was about to enter the local store (behind her) to trade a sack of vegetables (at her feet) for sugar and flour. (Malleo.)

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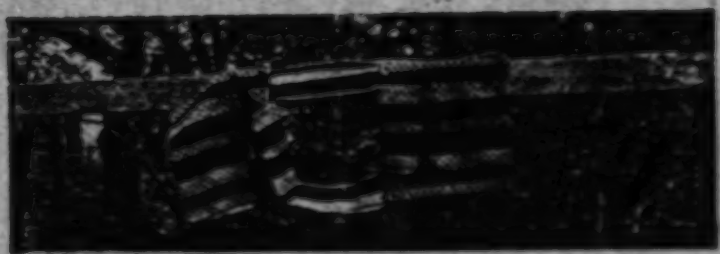

Spinning and weaving: 1. and 2. A woman spinning into yarn the wool wound about her left arm (Mallao). 3. A woman weaving a blanket (Quilapulin). 4. Kolupan wearing a poncho found in the collection of Berthe Ilg-Kunsler (San Martin de los Andes). 5. A woman saddling with two ponchos. (Courtesy Berthe Ilg-Kunsler.)

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Weaving done from home-spun and home-dyed yarn: 1 and 4, Pindoria; 2 and 3, Traditionally, Gerow; today, aloe and so rugs. (1, 2, and 4, courtesy Harlan B. Kessler; 3, courtesy Lois Palmer.)

[p.360(c)]

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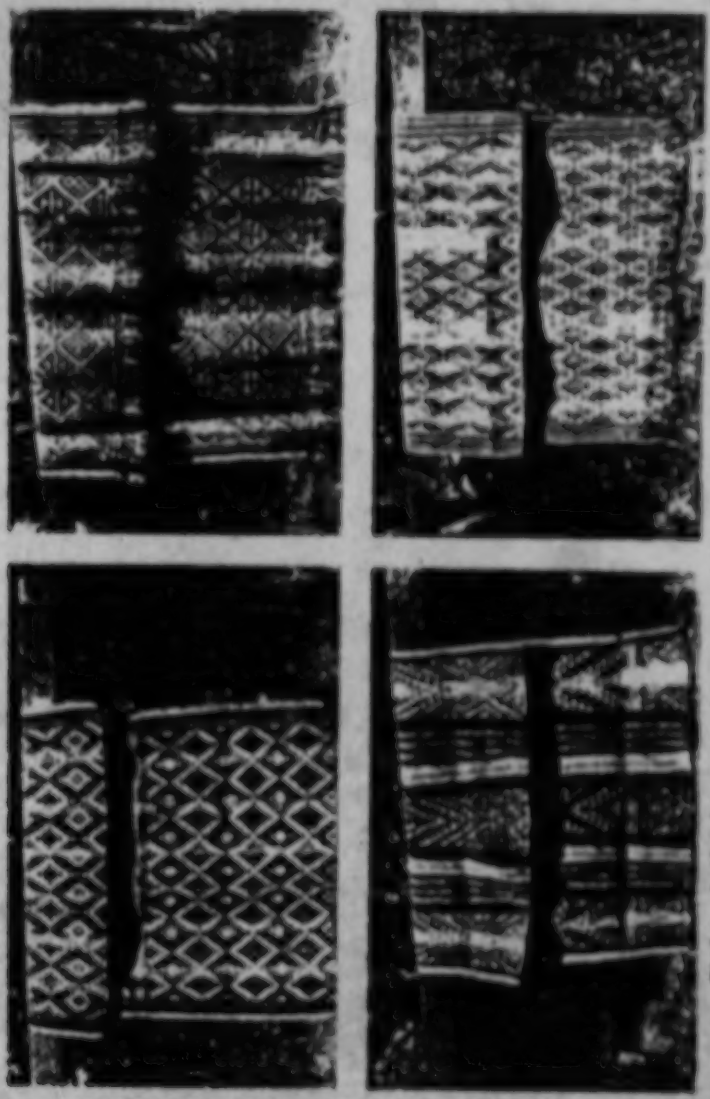

Photos of old design series of horsegear and beaded yarn. (Courtesy Berta Hagander.)

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Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nacional Huapi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of *maqui* or *michai*; gamuseo color, by cooking earth with bark of *maitén*. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

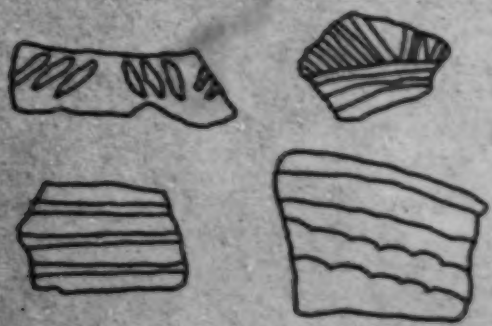

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FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Collón Cú.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Collón Cú in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian Superfamily. 105

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105 *Prenatal factors.*—No cause of sterility was known; nor was a way of producing fertility known. There was no knowledge regarding contraceptive devices. Children were considered a blessing. In families of informants there were from 6 to 15 children. An occasional family had as many as 20 children.

Prenatal period.—Pregnancy was counted by moons; at the third moon the fetus was considered to be a person; at the ninth moon birth was expected. In all probability, sex preference was not institutional. There was no way of producing sex, but sex was predicted during pregnancy. There was no belief in reincarnation. The father of an unborn child is not hampered by either food or conduct taboos or prescriptions; his pregnant wife is.

Childbirth.—The house, that is the toldo, was the proper place for the birth of the child. In summer, on rare occasions, delivery took place in a shelter erected near the toldo. The unmarried mother delivered her child usually in an unfrequented place. There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother always assisted with the birth. In dire necessity, a man performed the services of midwifery in the delivery of his own child. The woman's husband and her father, and occasionally her children, were present at the delivery. The unmarried mother was alone except for a woman friend.

In general, women took no decoctions to facilitate birth, for deliveries were usually easy. In cases of prolonged labor, the woman was given a nauseating preparation or was encouraged to produce abdominal contraction by blowing. The woman kneels during delivery, clutching an upright pole or pulling a rope. Births today are recorded in conformity with Argentine law.

Both premature and stillbirths occurred, but both were very rare. A dead fetus was removed by the assisting woman. The navel is given no treatment. Formerly the navel cord was dried and either stored or given in powdered form to the child when sick; today, it is buried inside the house near the wall. If there is difficulty in ejecting the placenta, the woman either is given a specific decoction or is made to gag. The placenta is buried near the wall of the house, either inside or outside; in several instances in recent years it was discarded as refuse.

If a child was born with a caul—a rare occurrence—it was expected to grow up to be intelligent. The caul was dried and either stored in the house, or buried within or near it.

Mother's milk is used to sterilize the baby's eyes, generally; occasionally, today, aniline dye is used. Fontanels should close before the

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child begins to walk. Skull formation was not practiced, but face molding was. 105

Occasionally today, as formerly, the mother takes the child, following delivery, and bathes herself and it in the waters of a stream (it is believed that the child will benefit physically by the bath), but more often the baby is bathed in lukewarm water by the woman who assists at delivery.

Postnatal interests.—Noses were not pierced. Every child had its ears pierced, formerly, when it was given its name. Relatives were invited as guests on this occasion. There was no conventional ear piercer. Occasionally (for the benefit of the child, so it was believed) either grandmother, and sometimes others, at the ear-piercing feast pierced the skin on the back of her own hand, a performance known as katawe. Today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced.

To prevent or cure chafing the sap of specific plants was applied to the baby; grease was not used; today, commercial talcum powder is used. Diapers were either homewoven cloth, woven especially for the purpose or cut from worn-down material, or softened skin of guanaco or lamb untanned and closely clipped. A child able to speak is expected to tell its toilet needs.

The baby's first clothing was a wrap of guanaco or lamb skin if the diaper was cloth; or cloth, if the diaper was guanaco or lamb skin. A woven band was used in swaddling.

Generally the cradle was made by the father for the first child and kept in the family for subsequent children. The baby spent most of its waking hours swaddled and lashed to it, with the cradle in erect position resting against some object; at night, it slept with its mother out of its cradle. It was transported by its mother on horseback, in its cradleboard, with the cradle either resting in front of the mother or being tied securely to her back. A mother traveling on foot carried her baby in her arms. An older child was often transported on the back of an adult. A hammock for a small child was suspended indoors or outdoors. Both burdened- and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies.

Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. Inflamed gums were washed with a decoction—today young mothers use vinegar. If a teething child ran a temperature, its gums were rubbed with unwashed wool of black sheep; young mothers today use commercial alum. No significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first teeth. Both deciduous and second teeth were buried in the table when they came out.

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The baby's first smile is noticed, but has no significance. Usually a child was not permitted to creep; when it reached the creeping stage, it was taught to stand. A mother uses several methods to teach it to walk. A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to give it freedom of movement. Neither creeping nor walking is celebrated as an event.

Nothing is done to bring about early speech development. The mother teaches the child to speak, beginning with words.

Nursing and weaning.—A mother nurses the child until it is about 2 years old, unless an unusual situation arises. The mother sustained her milk flow by eating much nourishing food; she ate no beef, however, because it was believed to make a nursing mother sick. No decoction was given to increase milk flow. A child was nursed on an indicated or demand schedule, but never when there was a snake about the place. A child old enough to hold something in its hands is given a piece of meat from which to suck the essence. It is given soups about this time also. As soon as it can swallow heavier foods, the mother masticates meat for it. When it has teeth, it is expected to eat foods eaten by adults.

A child is weaned either gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk or abruptly by placing it with relatives or neighbors for several days, and, upon its return to its mother, discouraging nursing by treating the nipples with a plant repellent. Fur repellent was not used. The postnursing milk must be poured into a brook, since this will give the mother the capacity to nurse other children that may yet be born to her.

Atypical conditions.—Twins, but no other multiple births, were known to have occurred; twins have been born in recent times. They may be both of the same sex, or one of each. There was no way of predicting them. According to most informants twins were not wanted, but never were they killed. Twins had no special way of talking.

No information on incest was collected. Illegitimacy was formerly a rare thing. The family of a girl who had an illegitimate child lost status in the community, and the cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the parents of the girl insisted. A child born to an unmarried girl was known as a "natural" child. It was reared in its mother's home, if born there (which rarely happened), or by its grandparents or other sympathetic adults.

Rarely was a child born deformed. Infanticide was not practiced. A child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, and is given either medicinal preparations used for children or diluted doses of those

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taken by adults. A ceremonial known as machitun was formerly performed over critically ill persons, including children. A sympathetic adult may perform the kutawe on himself, if a child is injured. No person was known to be color blind or to stutter; left-handed men and women existed. 105

There was no formal adoption of children, but an orphan or a child from a broken home was reared by relatives. An adult who spoke of small children, especially of babies, could expect one to be brought to him to be reared. Captives were taken and reared by both Araucanians and Argentines in time of war.

Names.—A name, usually that of a deceased relative, was given the child on the occasion of the piercing of its ears. The name was selected by either or both parents. If the father did not announce the child's name to those present, one of the grandmothers did so. No prayers were said, nor was there a ceremony. The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants; some names lent themselves to translation, others did not. Feminine names differed from masculine ones. A woman's given name was generally not used when speaking of her. Until recent years there were no surnames. Adults, both men and women, but not children, were given nicknames.

The family.—A family had status in the community if it conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence. The man dominated the family, but his wife or wives, in case of multiple wives, and the children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. Peace usually reigned in the family if there was no resistance to the man's authority. In the event of a disagreement, the wife usually gave in.

Parents love their children, provide for them, teach and train them, and assist their sons in the choice of a mate. Children respect their parents and provide for them when necessary. Among themselves, children, in general, are agreeable.

Children's behavior.—A girl's hair is not cut; a boy's is. Children have keen sight and hearing. They are courteous to each other and to strangers, and most respectful to older persons, having been taught to be so by parents. They are also taught to be helpful; not to be boastful or jealous; not to quarrel—persistent quarrelers are punished, usually whipped. Tale bearers are listened to, but ignored if the matter is of no importance. Obedience is demanded by parents of all children, formerly even after they become adults and married. If a child persists in disobeying after having been whipped, its blood is bad, the belief being that its blood is bad.

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105 Children rarely lie; they were and are taught not to. If a child steals, it is made to return the stolen thing. A boy's personality was predicted from his conduct while he was under the influence of an intoxicating beverage. With the express permission of the father, men in their twenties drank to intoxication. Chums were not institutional; lifelong friendships occasionally existed. No sex instructions were given, but in rare instances a girl was told the purpose of menstruation. At first menses, but not at any subsequent ones, the girl was isolated in a corner of the toldo. There was no puberty rite for boys. Two institutional performances were, however, sometimes transacted when a boy's voice had changed, namely a personality prediction test and one known as katan kawiñ—one similar to the katawe.

Adult behavior.—A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, and facial hair are not desired; both are removed. Bathing is done daily by many; hair is washed whenever a bath is taken. Formerly, personal adornments of both men and women were silver bracelets, earrings, necklaces, rings, and studding on belts. Women also used silver stickpins and hair ornaments; men often decorated with silver their saddles, stirrups, bridles, and the handles of long knives.

Modesty in women was highly esteemed; it was taught to girls. Courtesy, helpfulness, and hospitality were also taught and were met with everywhere during the present study, especially where old persons dominated the situation. Pride, especially pride in one's intelligence, is one of the predominating characteristics. Feeblemindedness is exceedingly rare. Anger is seldom displayed, but once aroused it is vociferous. There was very little quarreling, probably because of early training.

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death by poisoning as revenge was more frequent. Death as a penalty was institutional. Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. Suicides occur occasionally, usually due to sadness. A woman commits suicide by hanging herself; a man, by cutting his throat or stabbing his abdomen and, in more recent years, by using a revolver.

The word of an adult can generally be relied upon. Seldom was anything stolen in the early days; in cases of theft the cacique ordered that the stolen article be returned. Today, there is seldom anything stolen from an Araucanian; but sheep are occasionally stolen from non-Araucanians. Drinking to intoxication, formerly, was a communal affair; today individuals drink to excess whenever sufficient chicha or wine can be obtained.

Teaching the child.—Parents were the primary instructors of the child. Methods used were those of direct verbal instruction, observa-

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tion and participation, and sharing responsibilities. Today children attend local rural or village state schools. 105

In general, small children grew up without much interference by adults. Customarily a child was not rewarded for work well done; usually the adult interested the child in what it was expected to do. Compulsions consisted in talking to the child in a serious manner, scolding it, and, if necessary, switching it.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one of the parents is non-Araucanian. School-age children and all adults, except very old persons, speak Spanish, also. Informants told of methods used by their Spanish conquerors to teach them the Spanish language. Dialectic differences were pointed out; so were words incorporated from the Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní languages. There was no written language in the early days. Pictographs found on rocks in the areas are ascribed to unknown peoples. Oratory, a highly esteemed ability, was formally taught.

Children count on fingers, and on toes if a greater number than 10 is being counted. Numerals range from 1 to 1,000; there is no zero.

Time of day is told rather accurately by the lengthening of shadows; on sunless days time is merely guessed. The divisions of the day are based on the position of the sun, and are so named. Days were not named, nor were they grouped into weeks. When necessary, days were counted, as each one passed, by tying a knot in a cord or thong. One's age was associated with events of general interest. Seasons had names.

Weather forecasts were possible for only particular local areas because of land contours and altitudes, except for such general forecasts as that a very red moon indicated hot weather; black clouds, rain.

An eclipse of the moon or sun predicted disaster. The morning and the evening stars and several constellations were identified by names.

Signaling was done by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and by the sounds of the trutruka at all times.

Linear measurements were parts of a finger, hand stretches, arm stretches, and distances between hands. Lengths were often noted by knots made in a strand of yarn, which served as a measuring tape. Measurements on the ground were stepped off. Today, a meter is also used for linear measurements. Clothes were fitted to the person for whom they were intended.

Quantity measurements were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls.

Diversions.—Visiting was, and still is, a popular pastime. Generally

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105 conversation during visiting is about current topics of interest, but legends and stories are also told. Children are always listeners-in; sometimes legends are told for their benefit. During visits older men usually smoked a mixture of plant substances in pottery pipes. Today a cigarette is usually passed from person to person.

Formalized conversation was carried on when a woman's immediate family paid its first visit to her after her marriage; at the time of her marriage she moved to her husband's toldo.

Musical instruments were a drum, a wind instrument, two types of whistles, a tune pipe, rattles, and an instrument made of the lower jaw of a horse. There were no traditional recreational dances; today, modern dances of the Argentines are participated in.

A game of chance was played by men, and by boys among themselves. A competitive game, known as chueca, is still played by opposing teams from different areas.

Small children played with sticks, stones, or insects, and when a little older, with tops and other things that they themselves could make or find about the place. Dolls were not part of a girl's play life. Domesticated animals were not pets, but a young orphaned guanaco or rhea was raised and became one. Today, an occasional child has a kitten or cat, a dog, or a chicken as a pet.

All children learned to swim; today, mostly boys do so. Formerly, all children rode horseback, and many do today.

Health.—Certain measures taken when children were young, it was believed, would insure good health and result in long life. If ill health occurred in either children or adults it was ascribed to sorcery. It was believed that sorcerers had either put poison into one's food or had inflicted harm in a mysterious way from a distance. Antidotes known to others or to the sorcerer had to be applied in the early stages of sickness if a cure was to be effected. Often it was jealousy that prompted use of sorcery to cause sickness. Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. If it occurred, it, too, was blamed on sorcery. The inflicting sorcerer knew the antidote.

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists, and also by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers or only sorcerers. Machi and herbalists were of both sexes. The machi exercised their curative powers during a performance known as machitun.

Herbalists, as specialists, are practically nonexistent today; but plants and other things used as household remedies are known to many, even to children. The human anatomy is not well known.

Marriage.—Formerly, a cacique had three or more wives; commoners not infrequently had two. Simultaneous wives were seldom

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sisters. Each wife with her children lived either in a section of one large toldo, or in a separate toldo, or in one of several attached toldos. 105

Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. Preferential marriages were those between persons of the same jurisdiction. All other marriages were tolerated, but not favored. Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate. In the early days men were usually in their thirties when they married; women, past 25; men sometimes married a last time when about 80 years of age.

Traditionally, the proper way to arrange a marriage was for the man to tell his parents of his wish to marry a certain girl and for his parents then to speak to the girl's parents about it—the girl's wishes were seldom consulted. The girl's parents talked it over, but it was her father that gave consent and set the bride price. In more recent times, the man himself has obtained the consent of the girl's parents. Today, often the man asks the girl directly, and then together they ask the consent of the girl's parents. Child betrothal occurred, but whether or not it was institutional was not ascertained. Elopement was never considered proper form.

Objects used as love charms were not known, but sorcery was exercised to obtain love. In recent years, young girls have sought to learn the kind of husband that might be theirs through the interpretation of ink or soot blotches. The families of both sides participated in the marriage ceremonial.

Desertions were, and still are, very rare. In cases of infidelity, formerly, the paramour of an unfaithful wife, especially of a cacique's wife, was usually killed.

A formalized welcome was given the relatives of a woman on their first visit to her after her marriage, as already stated. Mother-in-law-son-in-law taboos were institutional, but not so father-in-law-daughter-in-law or mother-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos. No evidence was found that joking relationships were institutional.

Religion.—The belief in God as creator and the belief in God as one interested in the welfare of the people both exist. God is addressed as "father of all" during the tribal ceremonial, the gillatun. There are no minor deities. A woman said to be with God is not a deity, informants insisted; nor are stones resembling figurines, to which something akin to veneration is shown. Private prayers were said to avert harm and to obtain favors. During thunderstorms they were, and are, accompanied with a small offering of anything edible. In one place, a special dance was performed to avert floods. No informants claimed personal supernatural powers, or knew of anyone who did so except sorcerers.

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105 The tribal religious ceremonial is a 2-day public community prayer, accompanied by sacrifice, offered as a petition for the welfare of all the people and as a thanksgiving for blessings received. The cacique is the officiating officer. Generally the ceremonial is held following seeding time and at harvest time. Prayers are directed to God as the father of all and to the woman in heaven as the mother of all. Sacred dances are performed to the rhythm of a drum.

Sorcerers were of both sexes. They are sometimes hired by jealous persons to perform their black art. There is a belief in hobgoblins and visions.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Death is omened. Sorcery is believed to be its cause, unless it is known that violence, accident, or secret poisoning has caused it. Relatives attend a death, and remain until after the burial. Burials may have been in caves; it is known that they have been in cemeteries for generations past. Bodies found in excavated graves are in supine position. All early burials face the rising sun. Personal belongings, including a man's horse, were buried with the individual; the dead was not brought to the place of burial after interment. Grave markers—figurines cut out of wood—can still be seen in several cemeteries. There is a belief in life after death.

There were no exterior signs of mourning, but bereaved families often moved to another locality and remained there for some time.

Government.—The government was under the control of the cacique. His jurisdiction comprised a lofche, that is, so to 60 families who recognized him as their cacique, and who, when spoken of, were designated by his name. In the exercise of his powers he could rely on the assistance of two men and on the advice of all men of his lofche who had considerable ownership, whenever he called them together. No evidence of clans or gens was found.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a specific area of land. Within the area each family owned land, but it was within the cacique's power to redistribute the land. However, he had no power over the animals owned or grazed upon the land. Other important duties of the cacique were to set the time for the tribal religious ceremonial and to lead its performance, to lead his men in time of war, to enforce law and maintain order, and to punish violators.

Upon the death of a cacique his eldest son inherited the position, unless he was not considered fit, in which case, or in case the cacique had no sons, the men of the lofche elected a qualified man. Formerly, no woman was a cacique; today, one woman is so recognized. The cacique had an emblem when exercising his authority; he could be distinguished at all times by a distinctive earring worn by him. Arau-

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canians today are Argentine citizens with he privileges and obligations of citizens; hence, the powers of the acique are very weak and are greatly limited.

Land, subsistence, and trade.—To a degree, it is correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land xisted. Grazing grounds, however, were owned in common. There is no security in land tenure, today; and grazing lands are leased. Wealth in the early days consisted of sheep and cattle, and more recently these and horses. Today, ownership of 4-footed animals is restricted by the Argentine Government.

Wheat and corn have always been cultivated. Plowing was, and is, done with a wooden plow drawn by oxen; seed is scattered by hand. Every family today has a vegetable garden; many have fruit trees. Horticulture probably began with the introduction of apple trees; groves of wild apple trees can be seen in many parts.

Domesticated animals, since post-Columbian days, have been cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and in more recent days, turkeys and geese, also. Animals were not branded formerly; every owner knew his own.

Old informants recalled the days when trade extended as far as Buenos Aires in the east and Valdivia in the west; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north. Most frequently trade was by barter. Cattle sold in Chile, however, were paid for in silver. Although Argentine currency is used today, trade is still often by barter.

Transporting both persons and baggage by horses already existed when old informants were children. Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. The introduction of the cart was vividly recalled by old informants. Snowshoes were used when snow was deep; ojotas, when the snow was less deep. Lakes and streams were crossed in dugouts, formerly; today, flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamers are used. Land, today, is traversed on foot, on horse, and in carts.

Chief among wild animals hunted were the guanaco, puma, rhea, wild boar, Patagonian hare, bounal, Patagonian deer, and the armadillo. Wildfowl, too, were hunted. Hunting was done with traps, snares, sticks, bolas, bows, bola perdida, lasso, and spears; bows and arrows were not known to have been used. Dogs were used to chase the bounal to exhaustion. Hunting is practically nonexistent today.

Fish were speared by men and were also trapped in containers by

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105 men and women in close formation. A bivalve shellfish was collected by women and children.

Food, shelter, clothing.—In the early days, the meat of wild animals was the chief food; it has been replaced by mutton, lamb, beef, and pork. A variety of dishes is prepared from meats. As formerly, fish today are eaten fresh and dried. Eggs of rhea, waterfowl, and chickens are also eaten. Whole grain and grain ground to flour are prepared in various ways. Vegetables consist of wild roots and plants, and of cultivated ones, chief among them the potato. Fermented potatoes were a favorite dish. Other foods eaten were the araucaria nut and wild apples.

Among implements used in the preparation and serving of food, in the early days—all of which are still used to some extent today—were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates, bowls, cups, knives, pichañas (apple scoopers), spoons, lupe (pottery for toasting wheat), baskets, and winnowing trays. To these were added in recent years factory-made implements and improvised ones.

In the early days, cooking was done in a shallow-pit fireplace, and is so done in the open today; today, second-hand cooking stoves are in general use. Most desirable firewoods were fire and chacay; these gave off much heat and little smoke. Fire was formerly started both by rubbing or by striking two objects, accompanied by the singing of an appropriate song.

Several meals were eaten every day, hunger indicating the time for each. Women cooked the meals. All persons present squatted in circular fashion around the olla or wooden dish containing the food, and each served himself.

An uncontaminated spring supplied drinking water. One beverage was muhai made of fermented wild or cultivated grain or araucaria nuts; and another, a refreshing decoction made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Pülku, an alcoholic drink, was made from berries of mulwig (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and from wild apples. Today, yerba maté, an imported non-Araucanian herb, is the favorite drink.

The early dwelling was the tukio, a collapsible, transferable tent of hides. Informants called it ruka (the Araucanian word for dwelling) or trakie ruka (meaning ruka of hides). An occasional family lived under a rock shelter, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed one or more walls. During the season of favorable weather, families sometimes lived in the shade of large trees.

The building of a tukio was a community affair in which both men and women participated. At its completion, a plentiful meal, including

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mudai, was served. Toldos were either shaped like an inverted V or were 4-walled, not unlike a lean-to in shape. Both consisted of a framework covered with tanned hides of guanaco, horse, or cattle. Women tanned the hides. Women, too, sometimes painted the inside of the toldo with white or red earth mixed with grease of rhea. Today, in general, dwellings are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses. They may consist of a framework of poles overlaid with thatch or straw or overlapping boards or shingles, or they may be of logs or slats of wood with bark; or they may be made of the leafy ends of colihüe stalks, with the spaces in between filled with adobe or covered with pieces of tin. 105

House furnishings are very meager. Sleeping is usually done on blankets or pelts on the floor; the floor, in general, is the ground. Food is stored in the home dwelling; other things, in an attached or separate shed.

In the early days, clothing was woven of guanaco wool. The man's traditional clothing consisted of a chiripe (pants) and a poncho. In general men were barefoot; ojotas were worn by some. A woman's complete outfit consisted of a kapam (dress), an ekull (shawl) secured with a tapu (stickpin), a headband, silver neck and breast ornaments, and earrings. Women were barefoot. Boys' and girls' clothing followed the pattern of adults. Today, everyone wears factory-made clothes like those worn by Argentines.

Clothing was, and is, washed in rivers or creeks; crushed leaves of chacay are used as a detergent.

Domestic handicrafts.—Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and into household and saddle equipment. Today, sheep's wool is used for any weaving done. The traditional spindle is still in use, and spinning is done by women in the traditional way, either while sitting down, standing, or walking. Girls old enough to learn are taught to spin.

Women do the weaving, also, and teach their daughters as soon as they are old enough to learn to do so. The loom is a rectangular framework of poles, and the weaving is done upward.

Articles woven today for family use or for sale are ponchos, bed blankets, saddle blankets and saddle bags, throws, and rugs. Occasionally designs are woven into articles; in general, designs have no meaning.

Guanaco wool was not dyed, but was bleached white when it was desired for borders on shawls; white clay was used in bleaching it. Sheep's wool is dyed after being spun into yarn by being boiled either in a decoction which contains the dye substance of barks and roots,

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105 or in one made with commercial aniline dyes. Plant dyes are set by boiling the article in human urine; commercial dyes, except purple, by boiling them in a solution of alum; purple, by boiling in a sulfate solution.

Baskets were woven by both men and women; winnowing trays were coiled by men. Baskets were used in carrying, in sieving, and occasionally for threshing wheat with the feet.

Women modeled pottery by the old method from either lumps or coils of clay. Generally, yellowish-red or white clay was used, mixed with sap of maqui and sand as adhesives. Today, pottery is seldom made for household use. Ollas and cántaros, pipes, cups, plates, and whistles are occasionally made for use at the ngillatun. There were no standard sizes or shapes for pottery, and in general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. If a glaze was desired, the surface was smeared with sap of maqui after firing. Polishing and the application of painted or incised decorative designs, if used, were done before firing. Designs were meaningless dots and lines. Paints were made of earth cooked with specific plants, except black which consisted of earth alone.

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APPENDIX A. PHONETIC KEY TO THE ARAUCANIAN LANGUAGE

The equivalents listed below will indicate rough approximations to the Araucanian sounds. They are based on transcriptions made by Félix José de Augusta for his Diccionario (vol. 1, p. xiv, 1916) and his Lecturas Araucanas (2d ed., pp. v and vi, 1934), and on observations made by the writer while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile during the field work of the present study.

a as in *car*
ch as in *church*
d a sound between d in *day* and th in *thing*
e like a in *may*
f like v in English
l as in *lemur*
ʃ like j in French je
k as in *kitten*
l as in *lay*
ll as in *million*
m as in *man*
n as in *net*
ŋ like ng in German *Songe*
o as in *cotton*
ɔ as in *cotton*
p as in *pen*
r as in Spanish *pero*
s as in *such*
ṭ as in *tongue*
tr like ch said with force
u like oo in *cool*
w like oo in *foot*
y as in *yet*
ʔ, ʔ, and ʔ pronounced with tip of tongue between teeth nearly closed (Félix José used a dot in place of an apostrophe)
ʃ pronounced like the German a but with much force and from the throat as if gargling without water
ɔ pronounced in the same manner as ʃ but with less force

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APPENDIX B. PLANTS USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

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Names of plants are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; La Salud por Medio de las Plantas Medicinales, 1929; and Enrique Amadeo Campos' and Roman A. Perez Moreau's Flora Argentina, Zona de Nahuel Huapi y Lanin, 1944. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

I do not know whether all plants listed below are indigenous to both Chilean and Argentine Patagonia. Plants recorded in field notes taken among both Chilean and Argentine groups are preceded by an asterisk (*); those recorded as being used by the Argentine Araucanians but not found in the field notes taken among the Chilean groups are preceded by two asterisks (**); those without an asterisk were being used by Chilean Araucanians, but I do not know whether they were ever used by the Argentine Araucanians. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 689-700, for additional plants used by Araucanians.)

**[illegible] or carrito de la sierra (*[illegible]*) (*Senecio [illegible]*)
**[illegible] (——) (*Tetramerium officinale*)
**[illegible] (——) (*Alternanthera [illegible]*)
[illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible]*) (*Capsicum annuum*)
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Allium sativum*)
[illegible] (——) (*Propolis [illegible]*)
[illegible] or [illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Foeniculum [illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]*) (*Lithraea [illegible]*)
**[illegible] (——) (——)
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Viola [illegible]*)
**[illegible] or [illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible] [illegible]*)
**[illegible] or [illegible] or [illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible] [illegible]*)
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Alyssum*)
[illegible] ([illegible]*) (*[illegible] [illegible]* or *[illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]*) (*[illegible] [illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
**[illegible] or [illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible] [illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)

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**brochela or crochilla or grochela (——) (——)
**cadillo (cf. amorseco)
calle calle (kallekalle) (*Libertia iridoides* or *Libertia coerulescens*)
canelo (foique or foye) (*Drimys winteri*)
**cardo de la sierra (cf. abrojo)
*carrizal (piliaroral) (——)
centella (lumirka) (*Ranunculus minutiflorus*)
**chacay (chakai or tamen wayun or kurü wayen) (*Discaria trinervis* or *Discaria serratifolia*)
(——) (chakaiwa) (*Berberis darwinii*)
**chamico or estramonio (miaya) (*Datura stramonium*)
(——) (chafichafi) (*Scirpus setaceus*)
chaura (chaura or charwa) (*Gaultheria myrtilloides*)
**(——) (chichai) (——)
*chili (cf. aji)
(——) (chillian) (*Nertera depressa*)
**chilichili (——) (*Azara microphylla*)
**chirivia (cf. apio)
(——) (chukiri) (*Eucharis racemosa*)
chupón (kai) (*Greigia sphacelata*)
cicuta mayor (pinalca) (*Conium maculatum*)
**cilantro or coriandor (——) (*Coriandrum sativum*)
**cilantro del campo (——) (——)
ciprés (——) (*Libocedrus chilensis*)
*circunilla or notro or trumulo (notro) (*Embothrium coccineum*)
**ciruela (kamcha lawen) (*Centaurea melitensis*)
coelayayo (kollof) (*Dorstenia utilis*)
*coihue (koiwe) (*Nothofagus dombeyi*)
**colorin (pakiya) (——)
*cola de caballo or limpia plata (pichaipichai) (*Equisetum bogotense*)
*colihue (ragi or rüni) (*Chusquea culeou*)
copihue (kollipin) (*Lapageria rosea*)
coral or aquarto or pilli or quilimoja (pangarewü or pala) (*Lomatia spp. radicans*)
*corcoro (korkoro) (*Geranium corcoro*)
**coriandor (cf. cilantro)
**crochilla (cf. brochela)
cuarentillo (kuffin'tamen) (*Alliastrum chilense*)
culén (cf. alhuapilla)
aquarto (cf. coral)

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**[illegible] blanco (rupa wayun) (*Rhaphitamnus cyanocarpus*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
**(——) ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Solidago microglossa*)
[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Phacelus vulgaris*)
*[illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Fragaria chiloensis*)
*[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Fuchsia macrostigma*)
(——) ([illegible]) (cf. [illegible])
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] grande (alpe) (*Aloephila peumeta*)
**[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Foeniculum vulgare*)
[illegible] (wawa) (*Laurelia serrata*)
[illegible] (——) (*Abutilon [illegible]*)
[illegible] (dea) (*Caesalpinia [illegible]*)
**[illegible] (——) (*Scirpus californicus*)
**[illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Juncus procerus*)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
(——) ([illegible]) (*Gratiola peruviana*)
(——) ([illegible]) (*Pennisetum [illegible]*)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
**(——) ([illegible]) (——)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
**(——) ([illegible] or alpa [illegible]) (*Lardizabala biternata*)
**(——) ([illegible]) (*Clarus [illegible]*)
(——) ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Pseudopanax [illegible]*)
(——) ([illegible]) (*Brassica [illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Laurus nobilis* or *Laurelia aromatica*)
(——) ([illegible]) (*[illegible]*)
**[illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible]) (*Cruciferae purpureum*)
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
*[illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) ([illegible] sp.)
[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Pavon [illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]) (*[illegible]*)
**(——) ([illegible]) ([illegible])
**[illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) (*Plantago major*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
(——) ([illegible]) (——)
[illegible] ([illegible]) ([illegible])
[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Myrtus [illegible]*)

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**[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Maytenus boaria*)
[illegible] del monte (de[illegible]) (*Myrceugenia ovata*)
[illegible] (mapu or mapu) (*Drimys winteri*)
**(——) (mañío) (*Podocarpus chilina*)
**(——) ([illegible]) (——)
**[illegible] (*Empetrum rubrum*) (*Pyrus malus*)
*mapul (kal'ue) (*Aristotelia maqui*)
[illegible] or palqui or pacqui (relo) (*Cactrus pacqui*)
**(——) (mawida pañil or fuqki) (*Discaria serratula*)
(——) (mil) (——)
*[illegible] (mañal) (*Berberis darwinii* or *Berberis vulgaris*)
(——) (mañío) (*Myrceugenia planipes*)
**(——) (mañeq) (——)
(——) (palmapalm) (*Eryngium paniculatum* or *Panax dendroyanus* var. *chilensis*)
*[illegible] (palla or pagla) (*Gomortega nitida* or *Gomortega chilensis*)
**(——) (fuqki) (cf. mawida pañil)
**(——) (mapu) (——) "plant with tuberiferous root"
[illegible] (mayu) (*Solanum gayanum*)
**(——) (mum) (*Mutisia spinosa*)
(——) (pil) (*Alstroemeria ligtu*)
**[illegible] (lion) (*Drimyhypnum [illegible]*)
(——) (lolla) (*Grigiria [illegible]*)
*mapul (mañal or mañ) (*Lomatia obliqua*)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
(——) (lolli) (*Gymnochlaena [illegible]*)
(——) (mlipi) (*Viola [illegible]*)
**(——) (mipu lolli) (cf. [illegible])
(——) (pimum) (*Amomyrtus [illegible]*)
[illegible] or pale [illegible] or [illegible] (illo) (*Aristotelia [illegible]*)
[illegible] (mapu) (*Drimyhypnum [illegible]*)
*[illegible] (lion) (*Drimyhypnum [illegible]*)
*pale (pilla) (*Chusquea [illegible]* or *Herrania [illegible]*)
(——) (pañíum) (*Myrceugenia [illegible]*)
**(——) (pañíqui) (——)
pale [illegible] (cf. [illegible])
pale [illegible] (lolo or [illegible] or [illegible]) (*Lepidoxylon [illegible]*)
**pale [illegible] (mapu) (*Phoenix [illegible]*)
palqui (cf. [illegible])
*pañil (pañqui) (*Podalyria [illegible]*)
*[illegible] (pañil or pañq) (*Embothrium [illegible]*)

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**[illegible] (——) (*Adenanda barnadesiae*)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible]*) (*Elbes glandulosum*)
*[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Baccharis angustifolia*)
[illegible] or [illegible] ([illegible]*) (*Mycoangenia planipes* or *Mycoangenia pilosa*)
(——) (*[illegible]*) (*Hydrangea integerrima*)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
*[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
(——) (*[illegible]*) (*Cassipidium chilense*)
**(——) (*[illegible]*) (——) "grows in swamps"
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Dagbeus philippiii*)
**(——) (*[illegible]*) (*Fitela macrodata*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Lomatia dentata*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (——) "a species of [illegible]"
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Polypodium [illegible]*)
**[illegible] (——) (——)
(——) (*[illegible]*) (——)
(——) [illegible] (*Acaena [illegible]*)
(——) (*[illegible]*) (*Rugosia [illegible]*)
**(——) (*[illegible]*) (——)
**[illegible] (——) (*Aspidosperma [illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] ([illegible]* or *[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]* or *[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
**[illegible] (——) (——)
[illegible] ([illegible]* or *[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]* or *[illegible]*) (*Lomatia [illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*[illegible]*)
[illegible] ([illegible]*) (*Kutchubaea [illegible]*)
[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Cultum chilense*)
**[illegible] (*[illegible]*) (*Eulimnium hypocarpum*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] *chilense* or [illegible] *pallida* (*[illegible]* or *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*) (*Kutchubaea [illegible]*)
[illegible] (——) (——)

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[illegible] (pillawell) (*Rumex vesicarius*)
*[illegible]illo (krakow) (*Lomatia ferruginea*)
(——) (rilmil) (*Oxalis lobata*)
(——) (rilma) (——)
(——) (rolid) (*Escallonia pulverulenta*)
[illegible] (——) (*Polygonum sanguinaria*)
[illegible] del diablo (trarumamull) (*Pseudopanax laetevirens*)
**[illegible] verma (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] [illegible] (Hapiln) (*Sphacele campanulata*)
*[illegible] (——) (*Glycine max*)
(——) (tema) (*Tessa dimorphum*)
[illegible] (kinka) (*Calceolaria pumicalata*)
[illegible] ([illegible]) (——)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] (chakim) (*Thymus vulgaris*)
*[illegible] or [illegible] (——) (*Marrubium vulgare*)
*[illegible] (trumu) (*Cyperus vegetus*)
(——) (trafrawlell) (*Cassia stipulacea*)
**[illegible] ([illegible]) (*Trojanelum speciosum*)
**[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] (——) (*Argylia huidobriana*)
[illegible] (cf. [illegible])
[illegible] (quilqu) (*Eucryphia cordifolia*)
[illegible] [illegible] (pulul lolil) (*Muehlenbeckia tamnifolia*)
(——) (wanitre) (*Baccharis concava*)
**(——) ([illegible]) (——) "a vine used in basketry"
(——) ([illegible] or [illegible] rolid) (*Solanum [illegible]*)
(——) (wulaqqur) (——)
(——) (wilbi lacha) (*Carex darilua* or *Carex [illegible]*)
(——) (wulaw) (*Chloichoria litoralis* or *Chloichoria pedalis*)
(——) (wulidiatrow) (——)
yerba buena (——) (——) *peppermint*
yerba del chuchuqui (——) (*Solanum crispum*)
*yerba santa (——) (*Ilex paraguariensis*)
*yerba vinagrillo (kulin) (*Oxalis acetosella*)
yuqu (pulul) (*Potentia compactrix*)
(——) (yulwin) (*Nassella chilensis*)
zapallo (yuqin) (*Cucurbita pepo*)

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APPENDIX C. MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISHES, AND SHELLFISHES USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

The names of mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names, when known, in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; John M. Cooper's "The Araucanians," in Handbook of South American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, p. 705, 1946; Hans Schmidt's Argentiniache Vogelwelt (no date); Perito Francisco Moreno's Viaje a la Patagonia austral . . . 1876-1877, Anales del Museo de la Patagonia, vol. 1, pp. 91, 121-138, 1945; and labeled specimens found in the Museo Nahuel Huapi in Bariloche, Argentina. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

Mammals

armadillo (kofür) (*Chastophractus villosus*)
guanaco (l'uan) (*Lama guanicoe*)
huemel or guemal (shamam) (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*)
jabalí (kütrekütre) (——) wild boar
llama (chilihueque or rehueque) (*Lama glama*)
(——) (mara) (*Dolichotis patagonica*) Patagonian hare
pudú (truli or püdu or pofo) (*Pudu pudu* or *Cervus humilis*)
puma (panji or trapial) (*Felis concolor*)

Birds

avutarda (——) (*Chloëphaga leucoptera*)
bandurria (raki) (*Theristicus candatus melanopis* or *Ibis melanopis* or *Theristicus melanopis*)
cernícalo (pishem or üshem) (——)
(——) (chanchito) (——)
(——) (choñchoñ) (——) nocturnal bird
choroy (yawilma) (*Psittacus leptorhynchus*)
chucao (chukao) (*Rhes pennata P.*)
cisne blanco or ganso (——) (*Coscoroba coscoroba*)
diuca (diuka) (*Diuca diuca diuca*)
ñandú (ñandú) (*Rhea rothschildi*)
flamingo (pital) (*Phoenicopterus ruber chilensis*)
gallareta (pollolla or pideñ) (*Fardirallus rytirhynchus*)

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jilguero (ſiwü or chirif) *(Spinus uropygialis)*. Has yellow plumage 825
loica (kika) *(Trupial militaris)* robin
martineta (ſadu) *(Rhynchotus rufescens)* partridge
perdiz grande (cf. martineta)
picaflor (——) (——) hummingbird
rhea (choike) *(Rhea americana albescens)*
(——) (tinamou) *(Nothoprocta perdicaria)*
tordo (kareu) *(Molothrus bonariensis)*
tregle (troqell or kiltru) *(Vanellus chilensis)* Chilean lapwing
zorzal austral (wilki) *(Turdus falklandii magellanicus)*

Fishes

cauque (ñaiche) *(Atherina sp.)*
corbina (kolükalen) (——). Has tail of coffee color
pejerry (remü or kauke) *(Patagonia hatcheri* or *Atherinichthys argentinensis)*
peladilla (pelolo or peloilla) *(Haplochiton taeniatus)*
perca (lipag) *(Percichthys trucha)*
puyen (upesh) *(Galaxia maculatus)*
robalo (kudwa) *(Pinguipes chilensis)* haddock
salmon (——) *(Salmo salar sebago)*
sierras (——) (——) sawfish
trucha arco iris (——) *(Salmo gairdneri)*
trucha criolla (cf. perca)
trucha de arroyo (——) *(Salvelinus fontinalis)*
trucha marron or trucha europea (——) *(Salmo fario)*
(——) (——) *(Perichthys sp.)* flatfish
(——) (——) *(Mugil sp.)* mullets
(——) (——) *(Sparus sp.)* porgies
(——) (——) *(Austromenidia regia)* silverfish

Shellfishes

ariasa (——) (——)
jaiba (ranlim) (——)
loco (loko) *(Concholepas peruviana)*
mucha (mucha) *(Mesodesma donacia)*
(——) (manilose) (——)
(——) (piure) *(Piura)* ascidians or sea squirts
(——) (——) *(Mytilus sp., Amphidesma sp., Tellina sp.,* unionids) bivalves
(——) (——) *(Aegle sp.* and *Paratacus sp.)* crustaceans
(——) (——) *(Strongylocentrotus sp.)* sea urchins

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INSTITUTIONAL REINTEGRATION IN A PATRILINEAL SOCIETY OF CENTRAL CHILE

L. C. Faron

ILLINOIS STUDIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY NO. 1

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Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years. 121

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all native populations for many decades and upon many for several centuries, it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to 121 177

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121 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or
179 later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evi-
114 dent. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from
121 the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamapistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely for subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural population. 177 [167]

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage ceremonialism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many home crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions – for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational context since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation – that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be readapted functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve,

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177 while the latter will approach types that are emerging among rural populations in many other parts of the world. Underlying processes everywhere will include improved farm methods, access to markets, acceptance of national laws including concepts of land tenure in severalty, greater literacy, and increasing face-to-face contacts with the basic national population. These processes are breaking down lineage units, enhancing the importance of individual effort and cash returns, creating new class alignment based upon wealth, and gradually secularizing values and attitudes. While these processes have barely begun, let alone culminated, they seem clearly discernible among the Araucanians.

JULIAN H. STEWARD

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:56). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. 114 197 [182]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrium. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between 121
those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in 121
which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the 197
way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multiterritorial ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society. 182 177

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation. (2)

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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Professors J. H. Steward and E. H. Winter and Mr. Sol Miller for reading painstakingly through more than one version of the manuscript and for suggesting numerous improvements and providing fresh insights. I am of course quite pleased that Professor Steward consented to write the Foreword.

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Finally, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made research among the Mapuche possible.

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Mapuche

Part One

THE ECOLOGICAL BASIS OF MAPUCHE SOCIETY

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which rippled throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the more significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucania (see Map 1). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous area.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Geraldo Cifuentes Salazar, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,200 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the Juzgados of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 408,818 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 400,000 hectares.

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in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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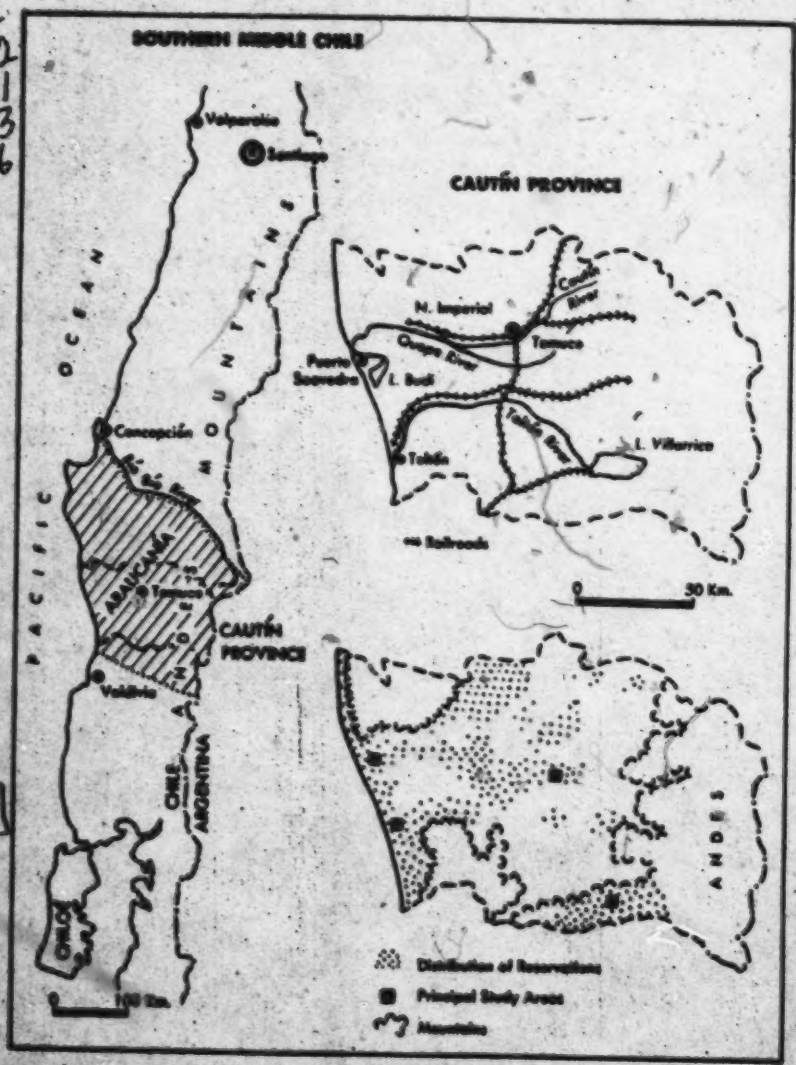

MAP I

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Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

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There are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

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The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

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Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

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The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 100 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960a:239–307.

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tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

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Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

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By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1946:890 *et passim;* Canals Frau, 1946:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división,* whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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The Agrarian Setting

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Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

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FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

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With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

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road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Government agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización*, along with a number of private companies and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms through *latifundismo*.

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos* where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization, thus *funderos* bring marginal land under cultivation in much the same way *parceleros* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parcelero* or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

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porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition, the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

Parcelas are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacarería*.[2] This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the parceleros are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they sometimes engage in cooperative labor (*mingaco*) with their neighbors during times of peak agricultural activity.

The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacarería*, and by cattle and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.[3]

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930–50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

[2] *Chacarería* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

[3] Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria annual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

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seen that both the area planted and the annual volume of the harvest have increased about 7.5 per cent, while the returns per unit have diminished about 0.3 per cent. According to government statistics for 1950-51, the number of hectares in Cautín Province planted in wheat was 153,765, an estimate which includes Mapuche reservations. Many Chilean farmers see the acquisition of Mapuche-held land as one solution to the problem of production. C 433

Despite serious erosion, the soils are moderately fertile and offer possibilities for increased production, provided organic matter is conserved. Aside from the larger *fundos,* there is little use made of lime phosphate or other fertilizers, even among the Chilean population. Dry farming predominates in the province, although there is some small-scale irrigation on certain *fundos.* A C 241

In general, a combination of field and crop rotation is practiced in a simple, if not haphazard, way. Crop rotation usually consists of one planting of wheat in newly plowed fallow land, the preparation of which begins during the third year of rest, followed by a season of oats and a season of potatoes or a leguminous crop. It is frequently the practice to sow oats a short time after the wheat harvest, in the same field, without further preparation of the soil than the necessary plowing and, perhaps, the burning off of wheat stubble. When *chacareria* is used in the rotation, it is customary to employ it at the beginning of the three-year cycle. On many *fundos,* the cycle is initiated with clover or other pasturage. However, it is not uncommon to plant successive crops of wheat in the same fields when the land is scarce. This is not undertaken on *fundos* unless fertilizer is used, but the Mapuche and most *parceleros* do not fertilize their fields and, if they do not rotate either crop or field, they obtain extremely poor harvests. A C 242 A C [241]

The short duration of fallow periods and the repeated growing of gramineous cereals, to the near exclusion of other species and of leguminous plants, are especially defective aspects of habitual rotation. Chileans who rent land on a temporary basis or farm *parcelas* with the intention of making a quick profit seek only the immediate benefits of the soil and are heedless of conservation through scientific rotation and fertilization. Although the Mapuche farm in this unsatisfactory manner, their motives are different. Nevertheless, the consequences of inadequate technology are the same and may be seen in the loss of soil fertility, erosion of the topsoil, development of veritable playas in the fields, spread of parasitic diseases, and the contingent

[Chacareria includes maize potatoes beans peas and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops — ANALYST]

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A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

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rest by combined machine and manual labor. Potato harvesting is completely manual.

Among *chacarería*, potatoes and peas are of greatest importance, potatoes being grown on about one-third of the area set aside for *chacarería* annually. For the three to five years preceding 1953, however, the province suffered from a severe potato blight (*tizón*) which greatly reduced output.

Depending on the topography, potatoes are cultivated in two ways. The hillsides and sloping ground are sown early (*tempranera*), while the lowlands, being more humid, are sown late (*tardía*). *Tempranera* takes place in August and on a limited scale; it is destined for immediate local consumption. *Tardía*, which is sown between October and December, forms part of the harvest that finds its way to the market with the rest of the national agricultural product.

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Peas also account for about one-third of the land set aside for *chacarería* and, like potatoes, are sown *tempranera* and *tardía*. On the higher ground, wheat is generally sown in the same fields from which peas have been harvested. Among more technologically advanced Chileans, the land is fertilized before wheat is planted; but it is commonly thought that the mere change from peas to wheat is sufficient to insure adequate growth.

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An estimated 14 per cent of the total agricultural land is given over to pasture during periods of fallow. This is the sort of grazing land called *pasto natural*. Total natural pasturage, including uncultivable land such as Andean valleys, woodlands, wet lowlands, and so forth, is about 640,000 hectares, or about a third of the area of Cautín Province. Only 180,000 hectares represent sown pasturage.

Improvement of pasturage is one of the more important problems facing Chilean farmers. The number of livestock is diminishing; erosion is ruining overgrazed fallow land which could be sown in grass or clover; soil depletion is limiting the quantity and quality of *pasto natural*. Furthermore, the availability of natural pasture varies seasonally. It is fairly abundant in spring and early summer, scarce in the dry part of summer and autumn, and almost nonexistent in some regions in winter. This type of pasture is able to support about five cows per hectare annually, according to government calculations which seem to be optimal. Meat and wool production is poor; mange is prevalent but neglected. All animals suffer from pests for which they receive inadequate treatment.

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Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
[231] their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

24 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
[177] which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[265] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[962] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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Mapuche

ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, 241
women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to [177]
this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessa- [462]
tion of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens [242] and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox 241
traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows 407
(*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, [492]
if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel [184]
plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the tech- 241
nique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds 492
for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and 241
a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of 461
land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, 241
the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The [407] triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

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Mapuche

241 used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now
[407] somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[221] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and
[371] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de*
[231] *paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

132 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed
241 by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather.
[221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in
143 March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions,
[21] and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio
[433] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as
[162] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If
[231] too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture
[313] of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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Mapuche

ventory of *chacareria* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by 241
Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near [439]
Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacareria* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato [73]
blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the res- 244
ervation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of [262]
great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche
living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have [243]
been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to com- 243
bine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every 407
Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is
rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when [427]
provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an [248]
Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for
harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by [427]
fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery 243
among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears 407
a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an 433
individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price [177]
seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately [427]
regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [192] 262 [182]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [154] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [131] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [148] [169]

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Mapuche

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Whenever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments seem to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents

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Mapuche
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did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Tolten and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southwest of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 23 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *Inlulmawida* (wound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *Inlulmawida*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1940)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonquico	313	734	c. 4 ha.
Nuel	110	98	c. 4 ha.
Lemun	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	100	c. 3 ha.

Pelelun

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Tolten, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelelun means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	293	54	c. 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	c. 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	c. 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	c. 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	c. 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	c. 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	c. 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	c. 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The [illegible] reservations are among those situated on Huapi I[illegible] Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, [illegible] is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements. 241

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes. 311 [133]

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacarería* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants. 241 311

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

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Mapuche

A good part of the
311 land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *par-*
[439] *celeros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche
[314] still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[133] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are
[423] not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil
[134] erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[242] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority
[433] of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 518 hectares, more than
[627] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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361
491
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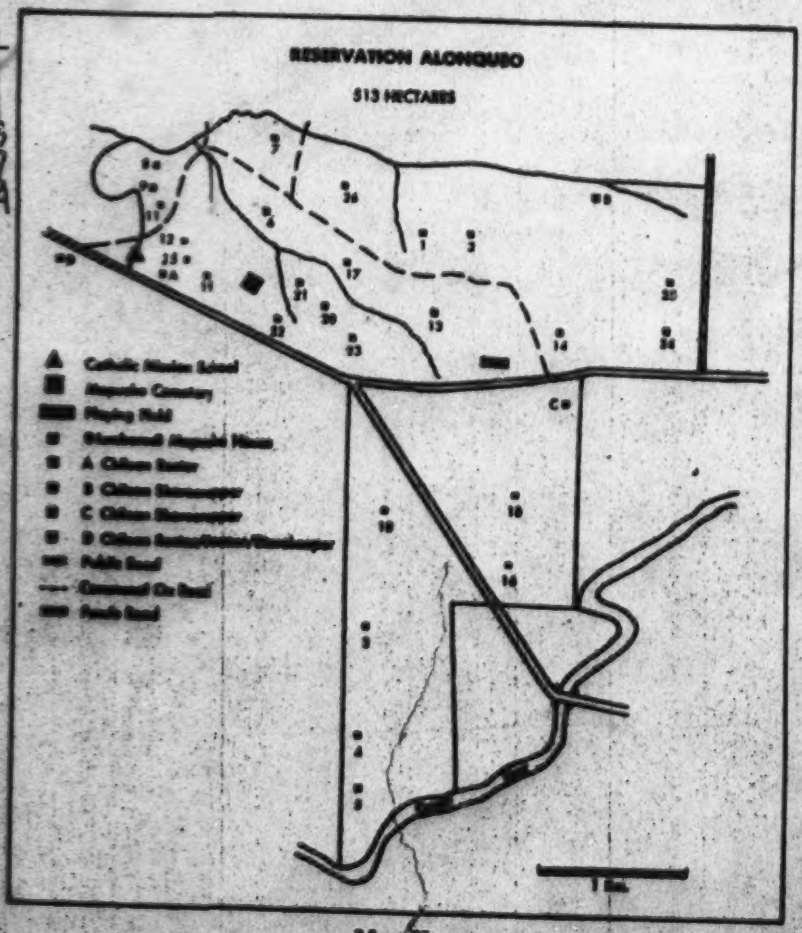
999
764



MAP II

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Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[846] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[422] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,? double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of radicación (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

? [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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Mapuche

102
797
361
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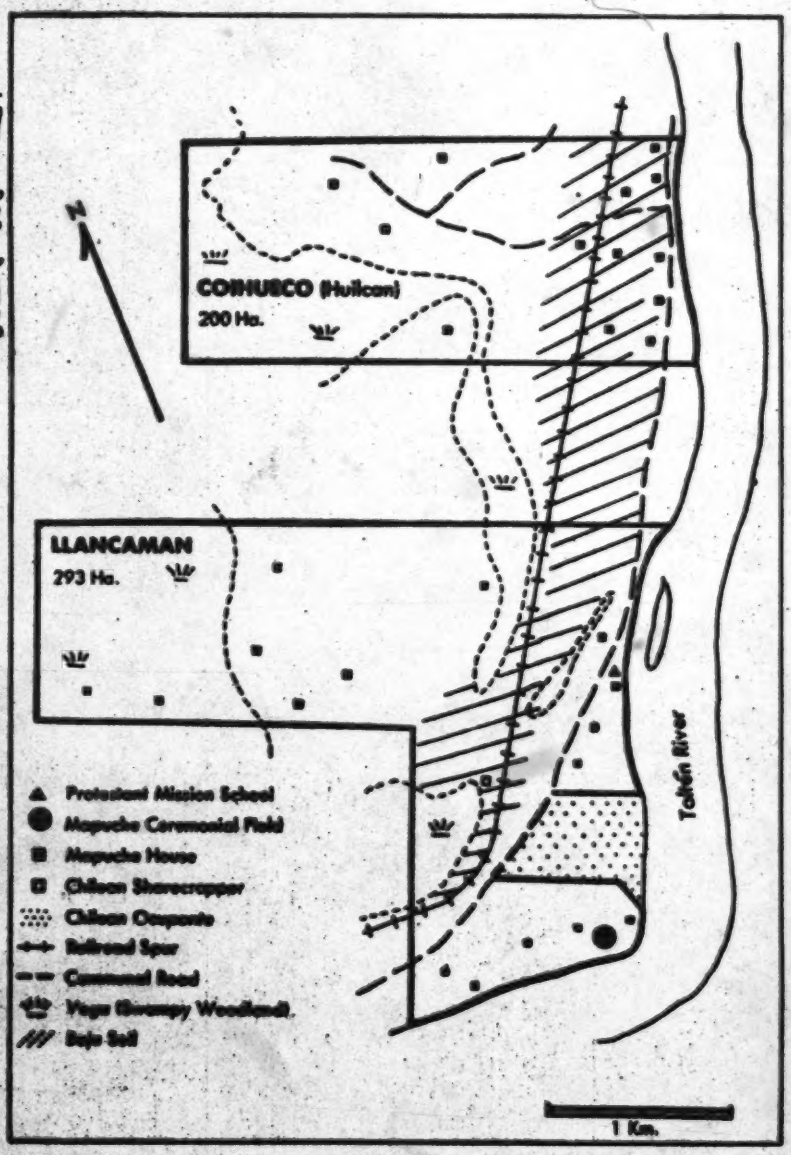

MAP III

[p. 36]

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Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [242]

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Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The up-
shot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted
for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the
participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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Mapuche

the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingaros* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 496

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaro* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratomera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaro* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*ruka*n) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [395]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [974] [373] 578 [954]

Mingaro is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 496 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [364]

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49% (work) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
24 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[SG4] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

42% Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
22 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[39] applies to draining swamplands, if a large part of the reservation is
[21] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[SG2] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a trago or two of cocoa if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

[SG3] Most threshing is done by machine today and *minguco* arrange-
[SG6] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[SG7] generally owned from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
[SG8] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as
[SG9] twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *minguco* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples
[SG5] dancing to the shrillest tune of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

49% *Minguco* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
21 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[SG9] tions in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of
[SG5]

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Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *minguco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *minguco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *minguco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally prorated over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *minguco*. However, when the prorated task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *minguco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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342
476 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
476 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco,* it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
241 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[407] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano,* and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night. 243 427

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs. [465] 243 [476] [574] 243 182 [622] [621]

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se. 422 [428] 423

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc- 423 197

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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[648]

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

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Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,508; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división)* and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true [591] for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated [182] above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the estab- [594] lishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

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tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay *al contado,* or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town [433] are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 648
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [622] to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622] by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [167] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Pri- [48] vate ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their dif- 427 ficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

427 Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [692] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are 648 by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 423 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [686] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetu- [692] ate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [675] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. 427 648 423

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land. [156]

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*. 427 648 [554] [692]

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land. [691]

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing 427 [556]

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427 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 427 648 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong [186] [621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

427 476 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[162] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[648] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital
[183] (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-á-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. 177 127

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. 177 [191] [197]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

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177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This [124] book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

177 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that 182 economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

594 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents 182 of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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ment, the maximal lineage, the residential kingroup, the multilineage reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage and ritual congregationalism. Behind the façade of rational economic judgment, the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationships which constitute reservation social structure.

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Part Two

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no conscious Araucanian idiom to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for house hold is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [112] Since *lofu* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [598] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in po- 613
lygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which [595]
still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically [976] in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of 613
Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to [976] refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, al- [592] though reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only 611
with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[994] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[994] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[982] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[996] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
114 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of
61 kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

994 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
638 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Rillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [182] [621]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 177 613 [848] [923]

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613 [199] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I[7] shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the 198 613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with [583] [591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[7] [See CAT. 116, P. 93 — Analyst]

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [22]

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613 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for
621 distinguishing lineal and residential units.
[622]

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
621 of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage.
618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913. Chap. 2:15–163, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[3] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature. 613 621 618

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality — neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case. 591 613 621

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this 613 621 596 [114] [618]

[3] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
621 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
[114] and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
[428] ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche so-
cial structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[580] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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562 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), ex-
423 tenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are condi-
177 tional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most im-
423 portant part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that
562 land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property —
177 at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however,
[556] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and
[591] the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the
621 anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of
[428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de-
[423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of
562 women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman
589 who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" [158]
(*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684]
been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626]
in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[3] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

613 562 589 [434] [437] [434]

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

591 114

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

591 [361] [613] [182]

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

[175]

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

591 613 [423] [609]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent ambilocal relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons—and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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567 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
621 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[592] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affinship and common residence.

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The preservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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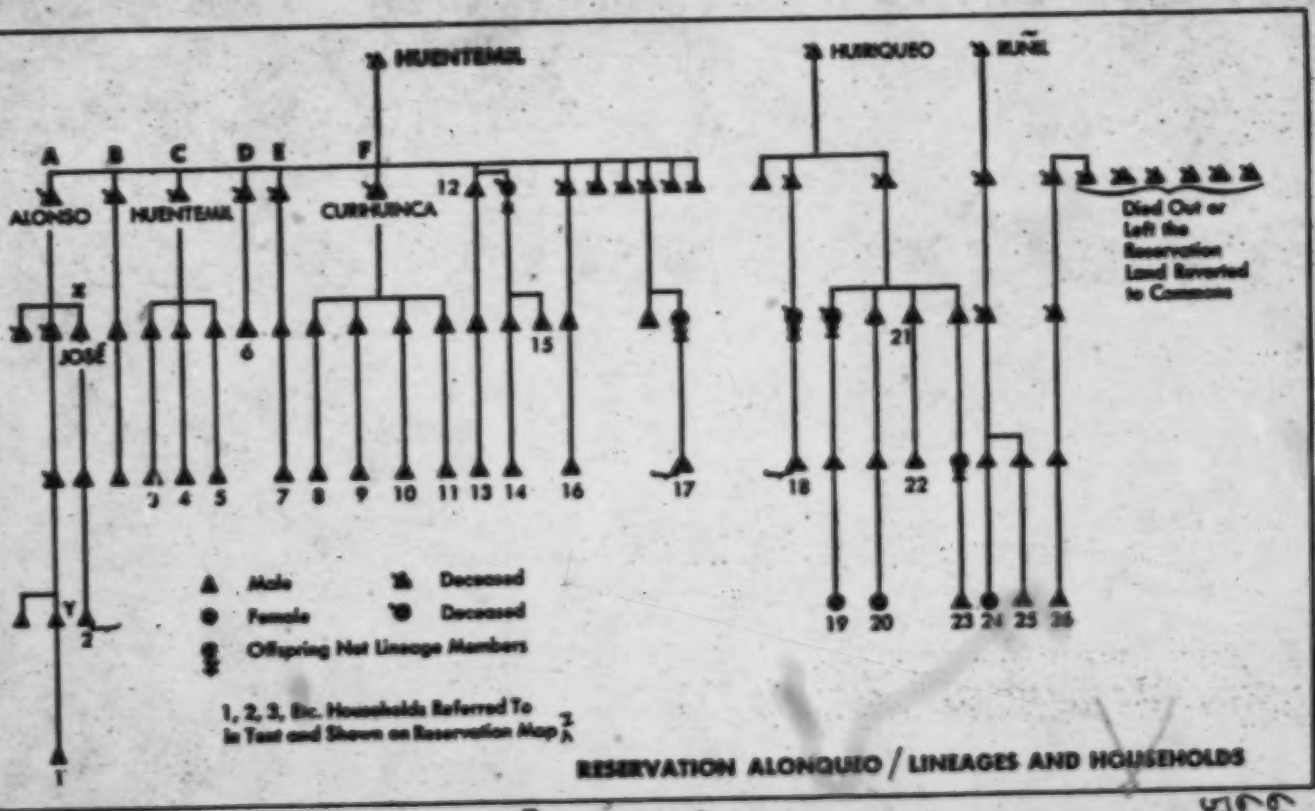
C13 1978 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed — that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

62 C13 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.



[See cat. 116, p. 32 -- Ana 1957]

DIAGRAM I

[p. 93]

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Mapuche

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Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huentemil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced*. From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huentemil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huentemil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of *radicación*. Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huentemil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huentemil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente will marry, if she does at all, *uxorilocally* — that is, bring her husband to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 50-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population — that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members — as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II). Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [149]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

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been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cap. 116, pp. 329-333 -- Analyst]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 613 [622] [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [665] 613 578 [754] [692]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 198 613 [578] [622] [681] [622]

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Mapuche

613 lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their
[178] own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to fol-
[622] low, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname* of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied
[665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; *Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their*
[428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,† a belief which is accepted by

[551] * The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice
[174] several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[532] † One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally
[193] held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings.

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterised it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which

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have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The story of this creation may be told quite simply.

After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (cacique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone looking for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dominant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of unrelated kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [See Cat. 116, p. 93 -- Ann 1967]

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tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, 613
rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indi- 62
cated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as 178
portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordi- [167]
nate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation
community will be discussed in the next chapter.

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The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*Ñillatu/e*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

[622] [128] [182]

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico-military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887—thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

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[114]

It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

[643]
[613]
[622]

Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was lavished in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [704].

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political structure [715]. 642 [501]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [716]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 69 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [716]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. [692] [648] [623] [60] [60]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche strongholds south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the patterns established during the [495]

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal division. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucania. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where division took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for division. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, removed to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [724]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to reach any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this had the following year went a step further and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations at its own discretion! [723] [722]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[8] There has consequently been a reaction to division on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the ideologies of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[8] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, states that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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195 reservation community is needed before application for *division* may
48 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

197 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
48 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
492 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

48 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[64] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[66] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of regidores, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 50,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[163] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[44] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties,
[245] through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appealing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-81 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been rooted out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1922, Art. 17) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko's* authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 621 423 578

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. 592 613 621 578

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 621 648 423 692

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
178 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
622 frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
423 dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [673]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of preservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic preservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [30] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 649

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress — for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed — when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views — essentially on whether or not he stands for *división* — he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership.

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities — a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 — the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of division. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against division while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1940's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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newly acquired land. In long-range terms I suspect this is also the stand for the more enlightened members of the *Corporación*, the difference being – and it is quite significant – that they envision a more gradual process. They have a different timetable. The rank-and-file members, however, perhaps do not see too clearly that ultimate division of reservation land and incorporation of the Indian into Chilean society is a goal of their most informed leadership.

Corporación Araucana is interested in maintaining the present reservation system and acquiring government assistance for the betterment of the Indians. The *Corporación* argues from historical evidence that *división* means, under present conditions, a transfer of lands from Mapuche to Chilean, and points to developments in provinces contiguous to Cautín as twentieth-century examples. *Corporación Araucana* emphasizes the gradual intellectual, moral, and material uplifting of the reservation Mapuche. It suggests that when the Mapuche are able to hold their own against white landowners (date unspecified), the time for *división* will have come. The reservation system is not defended on romantic grounds but on those of common sense and expediency. Among the less politically enlightened Mapuche, however, the emphasis seems to be placed on the romantic side of the issue – a preservation of the good old days.

Both groups are vocal in the public press and through elected representatives and appointees at all levels of government. The following quotation, taken from the newspaper *La Nación* of Santiago (printed in *Boletín Indigenista*, Vol. IV, June 1944, No. 3, pp. 115–117) bears this out:

> Don Ovalle Vial, Minister of the Department of Tierra y Colonización, received a telegram yesterday from the Araucana Corporation, with headquarters in Temuco, informing him that in a special meeting it was decided to congratulate him for his interest in Indian problems. The telegram went on to state that the aim of the Araucanan Indians was to change their policy and organization, to obtain representation, to reorganize their education, economy and hygiene along progressive lines.
>
> The telegram also stated that for the past ten years they had been the victims of inhumane exploitation because of the present juridical system of the Indian courts. Their present dire poverty was a result of the authorization of expropriations and illegal sales of their lands.
>
> In view of our impossible situation – due to the present Law governing Indian Courts, we take the liberty of informing you that we repudiate the present legal system and believe that, since the problem is economic and social in nature, a reform of this law should be based upon a recognition of this fact.

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664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their twofold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [504] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibirán Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, sí, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exijiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibirán su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así será.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendrán en nuestra secretaría los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaría Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political discussion it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [653] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:37n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 662 [221]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 662 [212]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [213]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [213]

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *division* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the elder brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *adecuado*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *division*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *division*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *division*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *division* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated.

The chief is opposed to division, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to division. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for division. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of division accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been convinced politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of have and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The men with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the Unión's idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their positions in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the both of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally disenchanted of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the confrontation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family

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heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to divisions, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of feasts and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

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6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit—that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
994 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
995 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[29] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1955.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words ruka or rukaftun, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
597 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
598 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
599 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Parsons' (1949) and Ai's analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tzeltal society and which seems, in broad outline, neither general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to hold off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *rukn*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family supremacy is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues to be settled but elementary units hived off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact – that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons – than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup – with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements – is a

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[97] recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (Ibid.) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, subsistence seems to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[98] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in preservation times contributed to the fragile nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation mainly inhibits the frag-mentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reserva-tion territory, but intergenerational mobility – the establishment of "nuclear" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough permanently held land to be divided among married sons.

[99] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary household units (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in dif-
[100] ferent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1960, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1952 were gathered in the
[101] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households might be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the number tend to exceed the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tendency characteristic of multifamily

[See C-17, 18., pp. 326 – 333] — Ed.

[illegible]

household organization. Females are customarily placed in areas of anxiety. Unmarried women are automatically suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other unmarried women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single siblingage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and complaints. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a parilibage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued exercise of elementary units in a multihousehold component.

[illegible]	* [illegible]	[illegible]	* [illegible]	[illegible]	* [illegible]	[illegible]
Chongore	5	0	2	0	3	10
Cheshiwan	3	3	–	–	6	15
Kidiwa	2	1	–	–	1	10
Karachawi	6	0	1	0	5	6
Pakaripan	1	0	1	1	1	0

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the process, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Maparike reservation today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households, extended-extended, and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since composition may exist temporarily, to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to man's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Disputes among the females the core of parilibage related males, which involve economic and emotional cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-crop economy have operated to modify lineage and residential kingship solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the sphere of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gaging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the
[594] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the harnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the mobile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children
[578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable
[577] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of
[552] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is channel through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology
[601] within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a
[593] gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the older remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much slowed, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then
[596] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and buildings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as fwin, a term suggesting this special status in the family. 594 [421] [401]

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways." 594 [421] [111]

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental 594 [421] 198

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554 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely
198 to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [618] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-[596] family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal 618 group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[545] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planning certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[561] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable garden
[562] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [522] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife con- 993
ceding her place to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagree- 482
ing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counterproposals if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Fam- 993
ilies in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere 482
of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the discussion from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *tonto* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting 993
children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship be- 384
havior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This rela- [151]
tionship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extra- 134
marital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the 137
ideal male performance may be characterized as machismo, or masculinity, in the Latino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overintensest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attitudes to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to lesbianism, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided 139

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139 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocularly and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the
140 wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own
178 classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that he was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

Men expect premarital chastity from their wives and punish
GS4 139 females severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [373] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [583]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañi* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who 855 dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents. 846 593 [854]

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand. 854 [855] [861]

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs. 593 [854] [854] [851] [832]

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and 593 861

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593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child
[844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
956 machi (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
[178] seem to be no misgivings about the machi's connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Rahue Huacho region, one of the few machis I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband evoke feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child. 914 914 931 979

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hillsides, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup. 914 917 934

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. 553 551 603 613 627

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It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. 861 [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. 853 [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. 863

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. 856 [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the ruka.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [521] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or chicha are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 594 [393] [831]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [393] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

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[51] work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

[52] Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

[53] [54] Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father – even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. [55] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown son, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

[56] The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions – especially those concerning the homestead – are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, [594] represented themselves with outstanding dignity.

Father and son continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and [613] older son, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative educations and abilities of father and son – and the one who sets the tone of both interfamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large.

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and [592] daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are [582] tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households [167] composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each.

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and [593] there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions [601] based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-[595] siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the [428] distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother).

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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[593] dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [612] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [614] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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brothers in the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community. [594]

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become mobile, in assisting them with marriage. [595]

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die. 934 593

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system. 596

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Eco-
[182] nomic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have opposed the extended family and the *lofche*, although the
613 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority
621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among
[604] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be-
[609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In
[608] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar-
[595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in
[182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the
[609] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. [596]

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and subordinate to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relations, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant parent-in-law, a young husband's position often becomes untenable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. [596] [595] [566]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *noyolpulen* (*noyo*, breast; *pulen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilocally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of [596] [606]

rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are resident under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the reservation of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. 583 613

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. 428

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. 154 66 578 464

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of
[583] polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights
[178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women.
[579] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or
[581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, 595
and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of [178]
polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called [601]
inan ñomo, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan ñomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher 595
bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but 583
since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in [589]
all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her 595
own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous ar-
[583] rangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives
[587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and
[754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization. 595

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir. [853] [846]

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment. 595 854 [601]

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- 595 [167] [589] [768]

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as
[837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more
[594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[612] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifeime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

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[1] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

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Courtship and Marriage

58 Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the
[85] elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of
85 children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

584 Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understand-
[86] ing, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

128 This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [931] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de- [831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier. 835 [84] [85]

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional. 833 [87]

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a [illegible] while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. Actually, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions. 833 836

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the linship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
ñillatun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances.
Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
[581] riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
423 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
[522] on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young [167]
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 896
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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836 835 the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

[97] There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Kojiwa* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *kojiwa* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *kojiwa* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *kojiwa* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
585 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities
mediated in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages
continue to be the modal means of obtaining a spouse. Under condi-
tions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material
impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval,
unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift
for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

586 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
587 there are institutional links of friendship; and friendship is contingent
where based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exog-
amous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through
his mother or another female allow of his patrilineage – that is,
groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.
588 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the
approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined
traditionally.

589 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible
today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded
practices of fifty or sixty years ago (cf. Morelock, 1958:171-89). Sec-
590 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have
tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their
frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in
the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

591 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some mar-
riages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:710). This involves a mock battle
which has been prearranged by some members of both families.
Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an em-
bellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage
steps between proud and impoverished families who are desirous of ad-
ditional feasting. Its occurrence is rare.

592 The following account is offered as a generalized description of
the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
593 puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in
the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

594 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
595 arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow
a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
596 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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Marriage may be further solemnized by catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them,

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. 583

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. 583 584

Kureyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken abstractly of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily great. 583 [613]

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal rela- [587] tives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [293]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
587 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *nafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at
[262] the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

178 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household – indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 583 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [586] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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587 595 Filial inheritance of views[1] is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps [167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

1 [possibly "wives" is meant. —Analyst]

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [837]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 428 [586] [618] [464] [167]

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Part Three

INTERRESERVATIONAL LINKAGE

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The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly. 128

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951. [127]

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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:38n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *hiñeche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 587

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587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu-
[587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche
[197] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 609 613

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582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly
601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[2]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's
[584] sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [2] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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MODEL SYSTEMS

There are, I may say, two model systems of Mapuche matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. One is that seen by the Mapuche; [3] the other is one I will present shortly. Both are abstractions which serve analytic purposes. First we will discuss the Mapuche model. 582

As already indicated, the Mapuche think in terms of closeness and distance of relationships and have their own reasons for this. They think, however, that marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother is an ideal relationship. Yet this is thought of as an old ideal, one no longer strictly adhered to, although almost universal in the past. Mother's brother's daughter marriage is said to have been "almost obligatory" (*casi obligatorio*), having almost the force of "law" (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. If this is true, why, then, is so much importance attached to courtship, and why the numerous stories about elopement today and in the past?

A superficial examination of the situation would suggest that courtship has increased in importance in proportion to the decline of mother's brother's daughter marriages, and that this situation results from the breakdown of parochial aspects of reservation life and the establishment of wider interpersonal and intergroup contacts in the indigenous zone. This is a somewhat seductive hypothesis, since it seems partly borne out by observation and is rather readily acknowledged by the Mapuche themselves. 582 178

The older people, especially, speak rather righteously about marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (father's sister's son) and tend to bemoan its passing as evidence of a general decline in Mapuche cultural integrity. Younger people say that things are changing and many of the traditional ways are being abandoned. These are the kinds of statements with which all field workers are familiar.

Genealogical reconstruction shows the persistence of matrilateral marriage into the present on a large scale, but seems to indicate that *admapu* is and has been for several generations shamefully disregarded since in only a small portion of the genealogies is marriage with a "real" mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son revealed. When this is pointed out to people in general they explain such situations as departures from the ideal form. When they realize that their own marriage conflicts with the notion of mother's brother's

[3] The brief analysis of marriage presented in my 1956 paper was made with this model in mind.

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582 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place
178 emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of
[613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of
[613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

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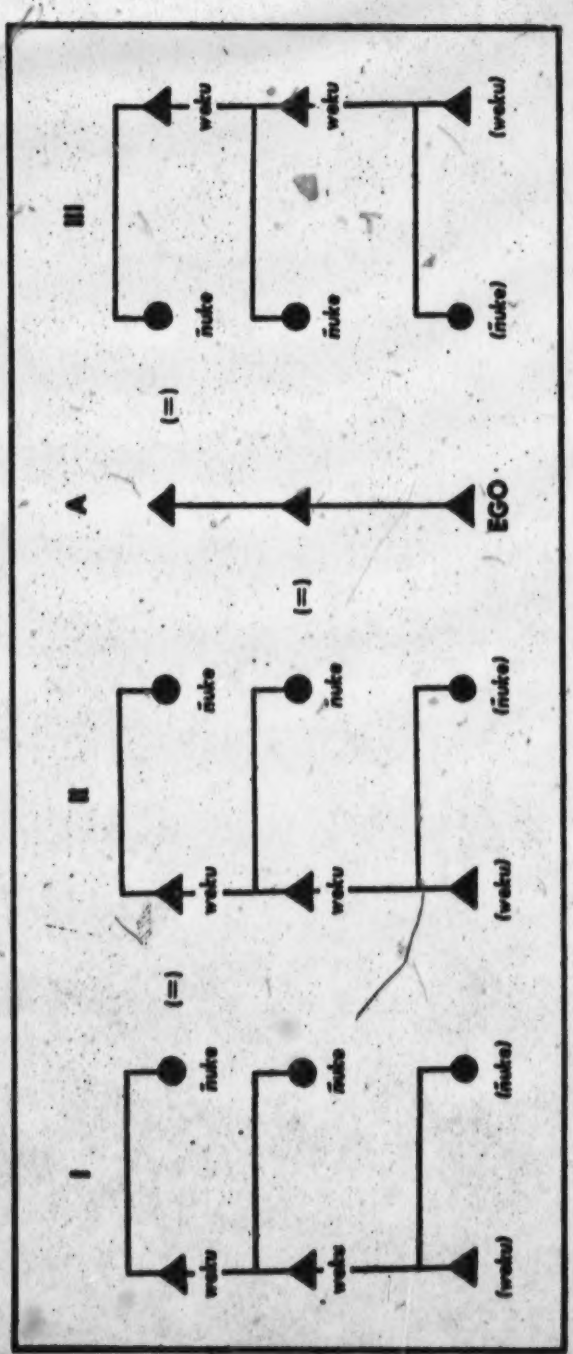

DIAGRAM II

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582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's [604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain [606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

613 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special rela-
582 tionship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *fuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (*cf.* Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships *within a matrilateral system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered. 582 613

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere. 582 [602]

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

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[7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Con- 582
ceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally.

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, 582
localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife 613
knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups.

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a 595
grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. 582
Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These 613
customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning [182]
to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons.

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[7] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

582 613 [114]

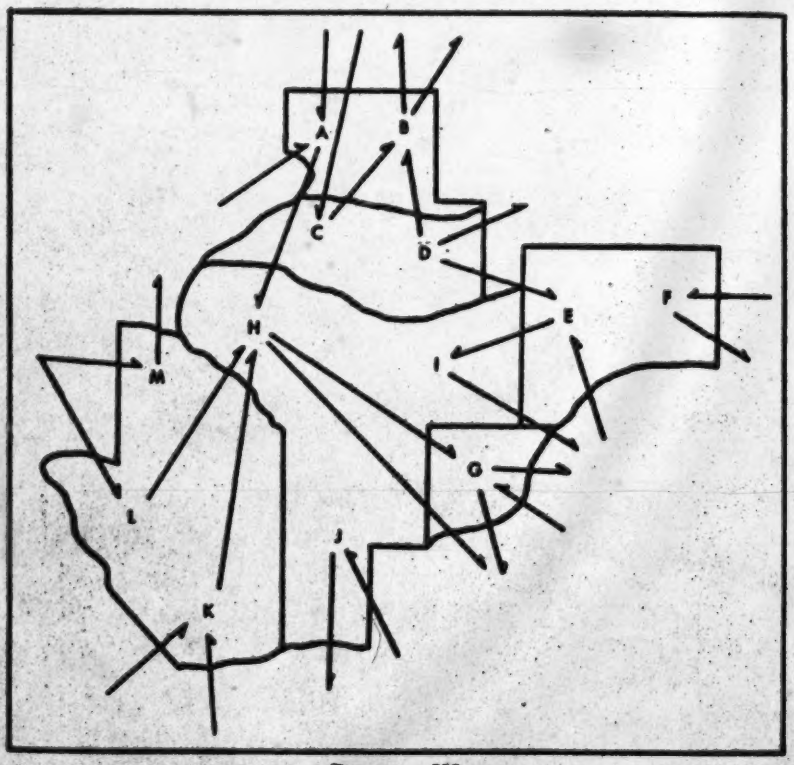

DIAGRAM III

7 [See CAT. 1K, P.6 --ANALYST]

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582 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance
613 involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200
[14] households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency
[621] for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the
613 diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional
621 marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart. 582 613 [602]

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system. [27]

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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582 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships
613 between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view mar-
[596] riage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and op-
[595] erated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in
[885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminolo-
601 gy which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-
613 organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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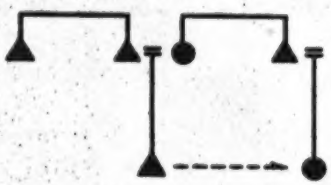

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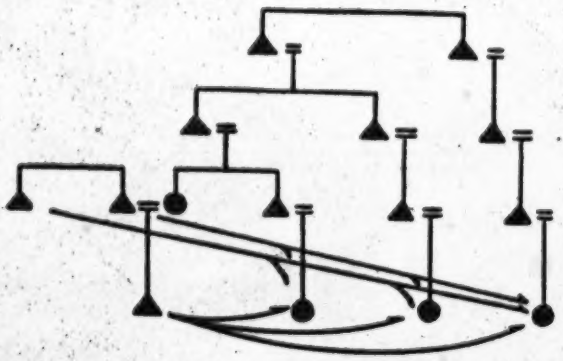

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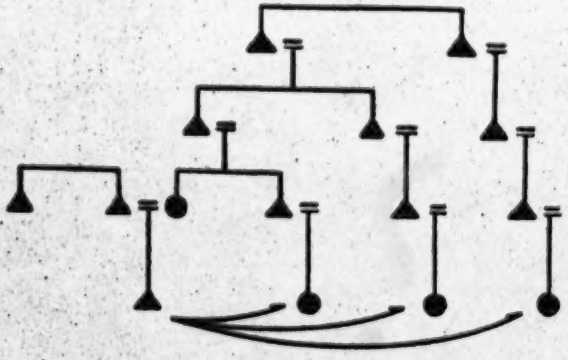

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DIAGRAM IV

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582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline
[598] in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [622] [178]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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583 the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev
[581] writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take
[178] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1953 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.) [583]

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage. [837] [423]

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land. [622]

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families, [622] [584]

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[432] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[178] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). 582 [423] [167] [589]

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. [595] [578] 601 121

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, 613 584 [622]

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584 it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage ar-
613 rangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and
[622] providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [764]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and [241]
agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[785] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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24) to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of
794 their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition
628 of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral
[595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga-
[613] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are
613 necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matri-
[582] lateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious
[178] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-
[754] congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super-
[763] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame
[754] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 791
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [791]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on [794]
successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
[754] cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem-
[754] blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182

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These are the filets of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
191 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[624] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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Interpretative Summary

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The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift

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177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
180 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
105 herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 648 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [182] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

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177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
423 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights to land.

[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:63, 73).

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

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182
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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and 177
frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework 182
for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically [595]
Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not [584]
"breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that re- [121]
integration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, 177
and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche 182
society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being ab- 121
sorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to ob- 105
scure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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105 this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche so-
177 ciety is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and
182 then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of eco-
121 nomics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have
105 worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

177 If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end
[182] cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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APPENDIXES

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Appendix A

*Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo**

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa; (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592
After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II. He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram 1. [see cat. 116 p. 93 - ANALYST]

[p. 228 is blank] [see cat. 116 p. 32 - ANALYST.]

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592 621 From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihueque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihueque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1910) Juan Pablo Huentemil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the *radicación*. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of *ruka* 3.

[595] Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's *ruka*. When Juan and Ramón married, they established *rukas* of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1950, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.
Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 5 years).
Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.
(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1910) Minchiqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiqueo was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, *ruka* 6.

Minchiqueo had two more sons after *radicación*, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1910) Widow of Marin, 2 sons (one married with no children); a BrSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Marin.

Marin, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died *c.* 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present *ruka* 7. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Marin has no direct descendants. His BrSo, Lepin, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of *ruka* 7, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepin, 2 Br, 2 Si.

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(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

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(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruka* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *título de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petron's son, Curileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Curileo, Si, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilla and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

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Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, Willr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuentru.[b]

(1910) Trollan.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

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Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

[423] [99] [231]

Reservation Llancaman has 235 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See CAT. 116, pp. 23-4 and 93 respectively — Analyst]

[Reservation Alongueo]

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
[S] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x	162
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		592
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			423
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			422
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			231
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x	427
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0			648
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	2	(0)	5	0	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(0)	7	48	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?			
23)	1	1	(0)	2	8	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	55	(25)	135	513	483	102	15	115	14	27	66	34			

[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. 116, P. 32)--Analyst]

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311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

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HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/Rented			ANIMALS Shared/Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(2)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	8M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(2)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(2)	7	8	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	7	7		7
3	1	(2)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(2)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(2)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	10C		x
2	6	(1)	8	3	0	0	1	3C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(2)	5	11	8	2	1	3C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(2)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
30	36	(19)	82	182	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

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[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	"	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x
2	3	(1)	5	6	"	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	"	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	"	0	"	"	0	"	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100		

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chacarería--includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops
división--the division of reservation land into individual titles after the voting by reservation inhabitants to give up reservation status
fundo--large land holdings
kureyewen--the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen
lakutun--the ceremonial naming ceremony
lofche--extended family groups living in adjacent houses
longo--a kinship elder
machi--shaman
mediero--a sharecropping system which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage
mingaco--communal labor
ñillanthungung--marriage discussions between the two families involved
ñillatufe--ritual priests
parcela--small land holdings
radicación--original registration, establishment of reservations
radicado, a--male or female registered at the time the reservation was established
vuelta mano--work done on a reciprocal basis
weupin--orators who represent the patrilineage of a deceased individual

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HAWKS OF THE SUN

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Silver breast piece (*trapelakucha*)—decorative heirloom jewelry with amulets, worn by Mapuche women

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Photo by Allan C. Shane

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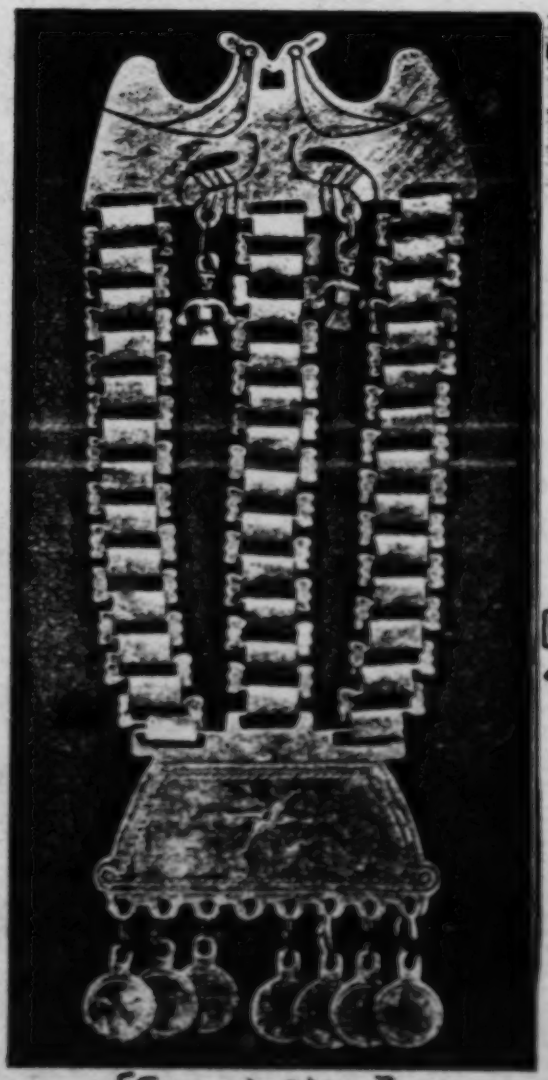

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"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

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HAWKS OF THE SUN

Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes

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A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.

DURKHEIM

For primitive man the universe as a whole is a moral or social order governed not by what we call natural law but rather by what we must call moral or ritual law.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile 131
between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, 161
an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and
have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region 361
in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in [101]
terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche
reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and
cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area,
they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated
on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche
occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning 17
indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive 648
culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has re- [101]
volved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the
dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure
exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have
lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the
Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization
was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory,
raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized
on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In 177
spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have 182
maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity.
These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to
disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society
into a more complex structure than existed in preconservation
times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent 17
efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, under-
standably, have experienced cultural and social change. They
have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration dur-
ing their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form
a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
127 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 *Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural* economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*eeu, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

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Cautín Province

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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[175] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[178] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
77 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*Nillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of 796
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some sense of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 792
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (*lekurewen*) connected with their own "society."

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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
797 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
768 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
769 thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
613 (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers
[622] are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
996 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to fit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Hambloch, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be loosely interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29). 121 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche *concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this* study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 755 754

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *ewn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
579 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious law. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapuche-land? 577 182 602

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestors—in the framework of local and congregational (multilocal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779

Customary law (*ñemapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
579 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the machi
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are newkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its context, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give context to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

579 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral force which makes
671 morality to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly normative or regulative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, diviner, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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V

I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and ordinal arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural sanctions. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, ordered as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-recorded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural data, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche society, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The female community (*ruca*) and the fertility rite (*nillatun*) are

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analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and *sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of* Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and dendritic horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
170 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is men's work, for the most part, and involves
422 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to use very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are continually overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche
[434] seem to raise crops for cash sale, potatoes are often all and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
406 Mapuche (at prohibitively high rates of interest) by Chilean
643 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
199 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scanty crop reserves. It is a system generally found upon them during the second harvest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

406 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
643 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that clash
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(leader) and wealthy men (elders) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that elders and persons designated as *lonko* or *ñuiquor* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of *residential lineages*). A lineal descendant of the original chief is whom many the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as chief leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups from with has fa- [178]
quency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when [424]
they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary [472]
economic relationships among the membership. In the light of [476]
new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the ceremonial kinship ceremony with partner as even more important than formerly for the revitalization of social responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar [622]
as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organiza- [182]
tion, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the sublineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacique* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this residue rituals expression in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or administratively expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*. 128

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature. 476 571 602

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest. 476 427 571

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the 000

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While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *füllatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation con-

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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study. 423 648

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect. 167 177 464

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often 167 423 428 [602]

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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*machitufe*) at the *nillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the
[169] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents
c who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

198 Nor is the problem of division as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into sections has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reorganized or reoriented Mapuche mentality.

613 *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*
182

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
{611} tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
{59} closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imperfect translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating secondary as the local group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including intermarried women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence gave the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the core of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fusion than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The
618 two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational
182 depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between
178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the
179 understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is
621 ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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DIAGRAM I. Model of Maximal Lineage

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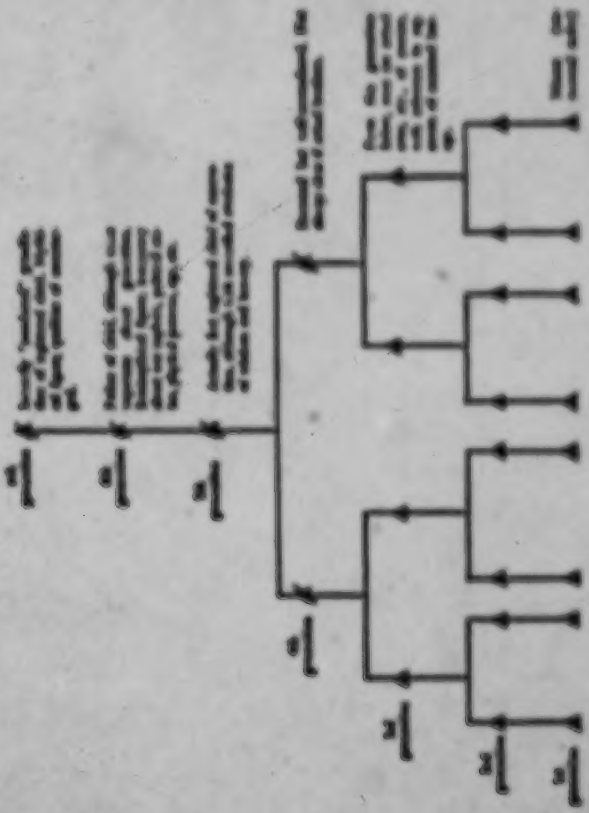

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Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "uxorilocality." Under present-day conditions, uxorilocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal and after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of uxorilocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by convention.

If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as uxorilocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or some of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint-extended family (*lafche*). It is similar to the polygynous family (and indeed may have a polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more centralized, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the rule of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the building of houses from the parental house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their own sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of neolocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to a more extent in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this 59
is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation
community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may 591
be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater
structural significance than the finer variations within the
patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend
almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation
system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an [178]
infrequently encountered living arrangement, although pat-
terned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringe- [829]
ment of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine
whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation.
It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his
own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to 591
her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able 736
to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her 602
small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the
one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a [613]
member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to
his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that 587
such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which 591.
brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If
they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on
their husbands's reservation and established a new household
with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of
widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does [583]
not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid
for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well 662
as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, 591
at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to 423
women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women [648]
born after registration). While these rights cannot always be
validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned
Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on
their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given
de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their spouse and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In re-
621 serve, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intereservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
213 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fixation of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

Dominant lineages have increased in size (lineal) to a greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and hence they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any land was about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate lineages are sometimes, in anger, called winka (outsider), thus by reference of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Correlatively, the lineal of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and stood their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very highly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (an active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Subdivisions

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its subdivisions, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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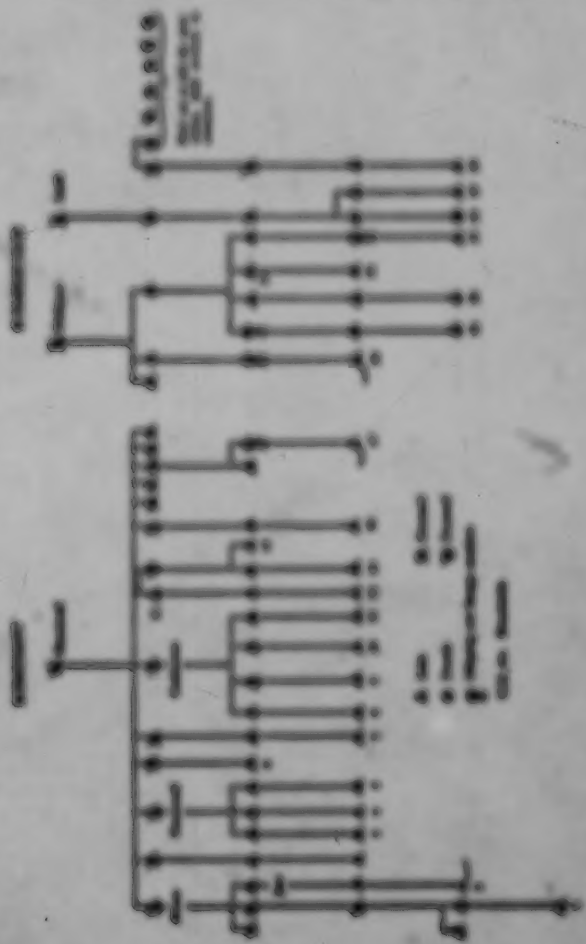

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1958) 1964
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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of loss of (602)
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which spheres out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent 621
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and where disaffected parties could easily move away from social groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineage sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
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613 rights to land receive some form of compensation. This may be
621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
425 number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
629 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
578 is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary compensation, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these subkinsgroups contract each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of citizens' individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small subkinsgroup; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other subkinsgroups on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different subkinsgroups.

613 There is, then, this sense of moral responsibility—a social
182 notion of the both rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total sectional lineage. It is the essentially sacramental, sacrificial system of religious morality which makes liaison of the subkinsgroup desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly uniform force to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is rendered in the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the sectional lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The sub-localized sectional lineage degenerated to up

12. Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
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prominent ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the exemplar. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership in economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Interhousehold Relationships

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As already indicated, the family, defined as a local-residing household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, as has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day competitive enterprise. It is the household as small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

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The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be considered. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of our family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constitution that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

[613]

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As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the household relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

000 son. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
993 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
413 in political, economic, ceremonial, and ritual activities of the
community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[17] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
[972] were in days long in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
000 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
1798 appurtenances of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military purposes). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, to the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[974] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father formed
a cohesive section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
228 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, handled
[421] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
infringement by kinsmen who are not son's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[423] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in complete independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
entirely on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche sociality,

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What is more, just the spirit of Mapuche ancestry, [illegible] 613
household, and from the rather close-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. 791
Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important household aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious unity is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the original lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to 769
be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if 613
he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral dedication is the product of generations of longer labors and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more ancestral ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes or [174]
approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's 967
father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruc- 603
tion in traditional moral law from their parents. This knowledge 893
is acquired indirectly, for the most part, from the grandfather 893
or his surrogate (e.g. any lake). The grandchild and his father [865]
are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 187 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future. 59 182 867

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1] 581

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital 584 [836] 581

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1964a).

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affair. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*ad-mapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[1]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 564 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[1] When talking to the groom's spokesman the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's spokesman, the term *wekubun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wekubun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations with "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.' This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as 'the one who has purchased' (dillen: to
583 purchase; ulen, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives weke (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as dillen and wife-givers as weke,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and
ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-
receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance,
and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value,
the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride
brings in dowry.* The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts
of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-
giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] * I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be
said that the wife-receiving group is left to harbor resentment against the
wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-
givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they
receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact,
it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] consider dillen with scorn, under certain adverse circumstances. In this
latter context is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little
means practice scorn against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy
men (dillen).

* In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to
land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *ñi*, and really
signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, to
my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-
conversion phenomenon which took the place from land acquired its primal
importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some substitution exchange is
necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron 1960:207).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
613 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
602 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
583 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is
571 attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun*: brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi dillenthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wenpin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affinship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

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During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which one additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *dillen* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "scruples" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Government, Autonomy, and Land Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total scheme. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the political units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, in such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

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The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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cless legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (división) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chilean-sized framework only the reservation community, a mapuid area, comprising the junal community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the junal community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of magical action we deal with customary Mapuche law (ñeñuque); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation, we must consider the structure of multilateral marriage; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, we must look to those larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

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In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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and those sections of Chilean society with which it comes into contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the broad area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief. 128 771

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed. 771 184

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropo-social, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date. [796]

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Nenechen and the Pantheon

996 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts shows significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

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Let us say that *Nenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *Nenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Nenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapuchelandl, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *Nenechen*'s apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *Nenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *Nenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

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Nenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *Nenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *Nenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these 796
minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *Ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *Ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a convention resulting from 796
Christian influence, but it is, as above, problematical to 199
what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as a *Ñenechen*, and the expression *wenu* (*ruki*) *Ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Newenpiwe is said to have made the earth and to rule the 796
earth, which is sometimes said of *Ñenechen*. Either or either often is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *newenpiwe* and *ñeñen* are equated with *Ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort [329]
to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *Ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche [811]
logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *kuruhues*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 913 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which created and, in other instances, have created the major natural phenomena. Newenchen made and is master of the people; Newenmapuche made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods created specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creations or, as it were, multiple creations, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of Newenchen. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that Newenchen was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a conceptual of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or cultural hero who created men, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by men.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of Newenchen, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as piecemeal, although in no sense redundant. For example, *Kupukefuche* and his wife, *Kupukelcache*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow men with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and

[182] they are beseached to intercede before Newenchen on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with Newenchen, Newenchen himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche sections and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during fiestas which are directed as a congregational enterprise to Newenchen.

776 769 The secret manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's local ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukefuche*, the *kerukuc*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (pu ce, pu lefu, kalfulu, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the kupalu. While it is to *kenechen* that food appeal is made, the only be is able to control the minor gods, the clearer the between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the kupalu supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *kalfilwche* and his wife *kalfilwache*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the central zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities a man a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become lords of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to ethnohistorians.

While the kupalu may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *kalfilwche/kache* (god and goddess of the south wind), *kelfenlwche/kache* (god and goddess of the sea), *pillanlwche/kache* or, sometimes, *pillenlwche/kache* (god and goddess of thunder), *antulwche/kache* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenlwche/kache* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with entreating or, rather, placating the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *kenechen* that they pay in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *kenechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connotation. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

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of the gods to their critics of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *weda thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and then establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *halku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*emulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *halku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *haruhue*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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aside of expansion. All accounts (written and oral) avouch that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head commences with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in preservation
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill defined locations considered as the
790 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon
195 death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

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775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits
787 return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*peuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of
775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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175 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
61 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *ñillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
776 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
184 sometimes *trakalfucha*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
776 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
184 between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *ñenechen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipellu*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestor." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *ewn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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769 of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.
775 When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because
776 of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence
754 of their heirs—they are in danger of being enamored by wily
[613] sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in
[184] the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the devil and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reasoning conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in
776 order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. Th[illegible]e, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significa[illegible]nd include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not brok[illegible] the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition
769 of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving food, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *killkill*, *huelen*, *wuthwuth*, *juree*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki*, *tregul*, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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825 787 witifu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 **Aramko and shompalwe** are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *ewchimalfew* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when [372] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere. [163]

Ghosts. While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to 775 designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died [858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received [553] no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Females do not undergo a
naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high 775
correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the [553]
greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close [562]
kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the [769]
Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young [162]
people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the
transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change
takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil [754]
ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those
which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has
become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead
become evil, they automatically become *weluple* and/or ghosts.
In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor
propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and
anchimallwe are ghosts in human-like form. They can make
themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves
into other forms of *weluple* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are
the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as
larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing,
and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallwe* are small ghosts,
usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly
luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimal-*
lwe are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of 754
kalku who have spirited them from the burial ground under 775
various circumstances. Like the other forms of *weluple*, however,
they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to
a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the
kalku. They may kill their mistress if she is off-way or powerful
enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying
enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the
roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a
witranalwe by outriding it, but that is possible only when the
ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of
a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it
proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on
horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to
change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witrenalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long. 774 775

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow. 781 776 787 776 [B25]

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wutlwutk*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

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The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with *wítranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stuck still before him. He tentatively asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the feasts in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him?" The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of tachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he 539
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fluids at one gulp, and then toured off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with witranalwe are often more hapless, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call witranalwe the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometimes ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and outside large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with witranalwe and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are competent, however, and must be dealt with cautiously. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578]
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shempalwe* described earlier. In the Lonquilo region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my 752
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shempalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

Id: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1954
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The
74 girl is said to have gone to the Santa Maria's land
776 offering for the shamanhood, in order to obtain healing both for
787 herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place,
752 where sorcerer was supposed to have been captured by one of
these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the
[782] opinion of most people I spoke to this action bounded the girl as
[777] a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as kalku, others merely
as werw kodos (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local
[122] people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had
been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority,
including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a
Pentecostal missionary apparatus), were convinced that the
shamanhood had taken all but her feet into the water to live with
him. No one should look very closely for other remains. No
funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able
to identify the feet by the shoe.

75 It is commonly believed that the soul (ane) is able to leave
774 the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either
circumstances, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch,
and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able
to retrieve or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a
[538] consulting client who responds to massage, cold-cloth applica-
754 tions, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered),
thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in
[482] stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and
death. Intensive black magic is also practiced by persons,
women being versed by all forms of witchcraft and by evil spirits
who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual
poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in
the food or drink of an intended victim. Some practices are
[illegible] to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the
substance administered is really fatal.

795 Associated spirits which return to Mapuchehood and are
796 captured by kalku, or those which never succeed in making the
transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contami-
nated before having earth, are by definition forms of evil. They
are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into
[illegible] and other forms of witchcraft, or when they return in
dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and
they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

Lb: Farm E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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for the Mapuche, and after once killing their first victim they 776
become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily 787
mean they will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they 753
do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good
omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought
that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is
nearly always some feeling that sorcerers could have, have
treated better in life and perpetrated more often and with more
ease in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appraisals in
dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a [769]
dream, a person usually posts frequent thanksgiving and offers [756]
personal prayers to his ancestors, and sacrifices even with the
counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are
actually experienced. There is a margin of safety perhaps, since
the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works
slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen,
or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness
takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his
evil fortune is prone to indulgent suicide attempts as suicide cures
and actually relieves from fear. The shaman, then, is the only [755]
available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths 773
having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from [128]
this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The impact of local variations is sociological rather than ethnological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "tuis." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical [182]
manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

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The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographics. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

> Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Galvarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

> Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

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In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

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good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests on internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forebears of its present indigenous occupants. 539

The following myth, again one of a type, is one which relates even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of the conquest of good over evil, and the redemption of the now godlike figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Toltén version is the story of Tramalcufu and Winkalcufu (in the period the myth originated *winka* meant plunderer or or raider). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours). 539 184

There were two men from this part [around Toltén] who set out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many mourners, the relatives of these men, who felt great remorse at their untimely death. These men were well liked, and were leaders [lonko] of their people. 539

In Quilliche [between Villarrica and the modern town of Loncoche] there lived a powerful kalku, who sent a message to the mourners. The message said that the kalku would promise, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was this: the mourners had to come to the house of the kalku within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the mourners were unable to arrive before the

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539 eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her rewü. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Tramalcufu and Winkalcufu, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a ñillatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word ñillatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way ñillatun originated among the Mapuche.

[776] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *lafkenfucha*, whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquián, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquián. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquián managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquián was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquián partook of the meat. Then Manquián began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to

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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. 539
When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding.

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a fienechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and [782] we offer him meat every year, when there is füillatun.

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond 539 776
between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *lafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study.

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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toos, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital resi-
591 dence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764
Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756] removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763] the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifiying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and impreeate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black 764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much 152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*, 783 during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *ñillatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 574 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *moñetun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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velañ mán (*velañ: velorio* or wake; *mán:* right), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [788]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [801]
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corps through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173]
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nordoes it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñii*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceemony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

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764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[637] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as
he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not
wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to
approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be
closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and
other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the
deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—
is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the
surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects
were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for
the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small
pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this
manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the
dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until
the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin
was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily
cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and
its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral
ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the
immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There
is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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537 764 613 829 [769] Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *ewn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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These accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *ewn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

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Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *ewn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

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The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

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766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 ### *The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun*

The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population [178] density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words: 796 [198] [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of *Nillatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory. [114]

In the following pages is a generalized account of *Nillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors. [114] 796 184

A General Description of Nillatun. *Nillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *Ñenechen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *Nillatun* is the offering of food to *Ñenechen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening 796 241 198 796 241 782 [198]

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796 24 [782 [198 and grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists today the small, family-based ritual, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the pre-reservation era.

796 622 In the absence of a ritual calendar, rituals ceremonials are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful ritual.

796 24 782 [62] Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a pensionary ritual is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and deceased and, possibly, the old men and women of the south wind. A ritual is considered pensionary if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale ritual will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*werkenmeh* guardian of *ewen*) and *ngenenis*, as well as permanent heavens, the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used, the number of black or white heavens which *machulies*, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed, what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 62 Rituals is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

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several reservations which form traditional segments of the tribal congregation. The respective chiefs and elders (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, preliminary ceremonies is not so complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 [72]

Humans are sometimes invited to these ceremonies, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood before-hand that a machi will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes diviners are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. Machis, however, might sometimes instigate different exclusions, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When machis are called in to perform at ceremonies, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 796

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All offerings that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (Kayenpiche) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the tribal congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. There begins a rather frenetic (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, chicha and mudai, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their harnesses [72] [796]

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796 jewelry, repair carcasses, clip and carry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret interior from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If

[824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of canelo, maqui, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field, sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined mentally by the path followed by the *ewu* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *lleli* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to

[782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes ewes) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participat-
ing reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congrega-
tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178]
vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take
up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of
ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive
everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are
responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to
ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the
ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among
the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to
obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At
the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes
its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the
proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a
repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual
falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early
afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants
and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial
field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each
closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is
always this repetition, even though there should be only a
morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses.
[198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one. 796 789

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum). 796 535 [301] [824] [534]

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled. 796 [535]

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a 796 782

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796 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then
[825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls
[821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then
[769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the
[776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to
[769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared. 796 782 [535] [535]

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time. 796 574 796 574 431 [564] [608]

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other. 796 [782]

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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796 I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial
793 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
956 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
956 the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis
796 about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
[613] head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibil-
ity; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance,
but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time
when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Gue-
vara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> *Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias* (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in
which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
769

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
796 whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622]

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 [622] [198] 796 756 789 536

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
796 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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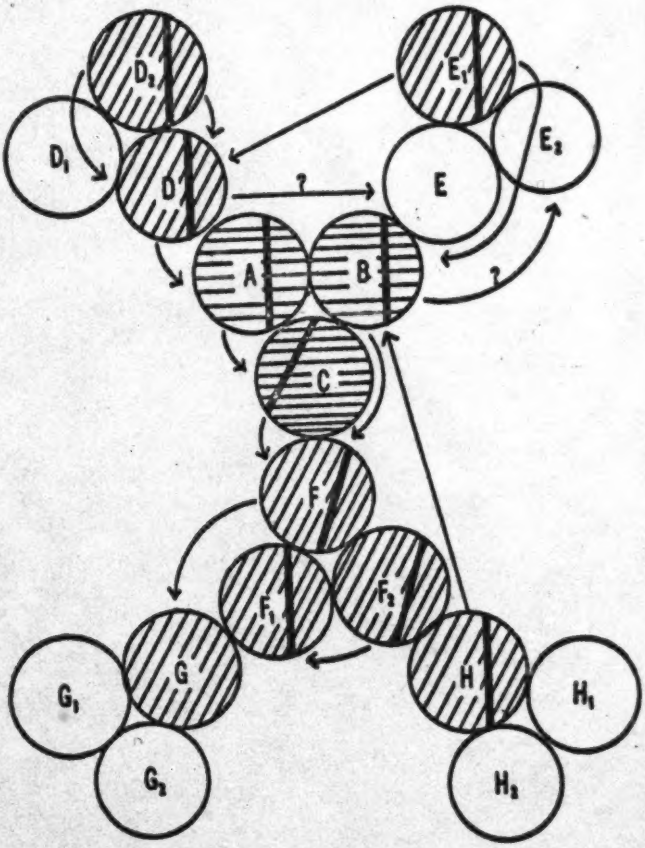
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

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celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of [623] elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Fs could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present multilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between multilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (multilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *kuke*, a term used to designate all mobile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1961), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by multilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral Order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which participate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarriage linkages (1–34) and multilateral ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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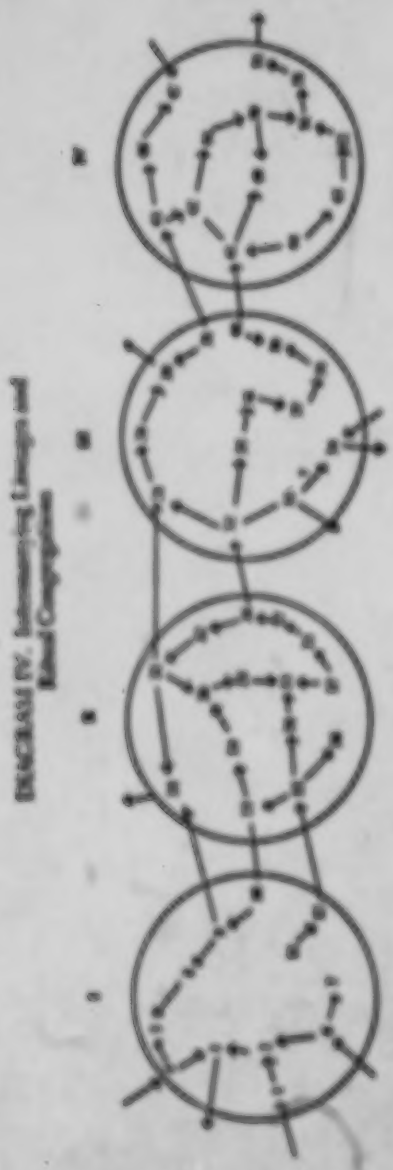

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives. 794 582 178 [595]

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category. 621 613 794

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographics for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth- 178 621 794

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178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
62 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighbor-
[613] hoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
178 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
62 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate under-
621 standing of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidal melewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation. 794 613 621 794 796 613 621

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war- 794 769 [613]

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph. [035]

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
[622] mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
[613] Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
[956] *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
622 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
769 responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
[182] chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokes- 793
man for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Ma- 793
puche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his po- 794
litical leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congrega- 554
tionalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of 571
Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the 796
same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at 182
times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; 181
rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinquishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of 764
spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify 613
through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend 602
to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in gen- 764
eral, with respect to the important institutionalized relations 121
which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the [754] presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, [776] death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa* [764] *l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The [787] Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its 775 spirit is called *l'ayen;* once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and 152 formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769
ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613
cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764]
the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as
previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769
matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* 613
may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562
female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this
manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783]
possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754]
by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613
to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602
is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
[571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
621 to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
182 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [579] [57] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *ewn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *ewn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *ewn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *ewn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Tolhin region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *ewn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *ewn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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794 [illegible] high correlation among the eighteen corporations
62 indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] more chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent corporations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-given outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a consider-
[198] ation of the relationship between affinity and society, or the
[184] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1960: 1961) I have discussed the Mapuche system of multilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some unit of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
62 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
602 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
62 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of affinity and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[illegible] [Source: see category 116, p. 111, for corrections -- Analyst]

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marriage and neighborhood. If total marriage relationships may be viewed as circular or as a system of interlocking circles, then it is the very departure from this abstraction which is important for an understanding of Mapuche morality—or at least that aspect of it considered so far in this monograph. If there were these marriage circles at the local level, then I should think the structure of ewn and perhaps fillatun would be rather different from what it is. In other words, if there were complete coincidence between the extension of marriage alliances and that of membership in the ritual congregation, then the Mapuche would either have to place responsibility for homicidal sorcery within the congregational unit or completely outside the sphere of affinal relationships. This would affect the entire structure of Mapuche morality, and, should it ever occur, it would be worth examining as a starting mechanism in cultural and social change.

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

128 754 756 THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

756 It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171] The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* [534] (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal [718] skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

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[756] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most
[554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* [illegible] to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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supernatural events and forces (e.g. as indicated by their dreams and, perhaps, visions). They also take any promising young girl into their house for training, for which they are paid well. But girls who have recovered from serious illness under the *machi*'s care are considered prime material as trainees, since during their sickness they have already dealt successfully with supernatural agents—a demonstration of their courageousness and sensitivity. It is said that a *machi* will sometimes coerce a young girl whom she has cured into becoming a trainee. *Machi* acknowledge that this sometimes happens, saying that they do this primarily to keep their profession alive for the good of the people, and that they select the most suitable girls to this end. 756

One *machi*, who was a particular friend of mine, was training one of her three daughters along with two other girls, both distantly related to her through the distaff side of her family. The story of her own calling into the profession follows: 756 159

When I was a young girl I was very sick and almost died. I had large boils all over my body [showing arms and legs] and in my hair. My family was very poor. My mother was a machi, but she had little success and did not control powerful spirits. Because of this she was unable to cure me. I recovered through my own power and from what I had learned from my mother. I did not have her knowledge, but I had more power.

One day I was tending the sheep when I saw a pure-white lamb walk out of the bushes toward me. The lamb followed me all over. Suddenly, I saw a large kultrun [drum] over the bushes. It was covered with a pure-white lamb skin and there was a blue and white drumstick with bells attached to it. I decided that this vision was presented to me so that I would become a machi. I talked about this with my mother, but she did not know what to do. She felt that her powers were failing and that she could not instruct me properly. My mother later became a great machi, but now she is too old to practice anymore.

I was sick with boils again, but this time I was able to do my work. I decided to go and get cured by a famous machi in Maquegua, near my natal reservation [a woman who was her mother's mother's maternal aunt]. Because my father was very poor, his brothers and sisters contributed to the cost of my cure and training. The machi who taught me asked for 600

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756 159 pesos [a very large sum of money twenty years ago], a new house with room enough for me to sleep alone, and some sheep. I stayed with her for several years and learned a good deal. I was a good pupil, but she did not teach me everything she knew. After about five years I was ready. I was almost as good as my teacher, because I had special power that she did not have. I called on my own powerful pillan. [Asked about this in detail, she said the following.] My mother told me that the women in our family numbered machi among them, and that it was their spirits who possessed me and made me wise.

Now I am successful and make a lot of money. It is not easy to be a machi. People think it is easy, and they say that the machi is rich and fat and does not have to work. But my husband works as hard as any man. I work harder than other women. When I am possessed by a spirit, I am close to death. It is dangerous and I do not like to do it. Young machi, as I did myself, like to have the spirits enter them because it is exciting, but I am getting older now and more careful. My house burned down last year, and even the orchard was damaged. I know the evil spirit responsible for this. Long ago I cured a man, but he would not pay me what I asked, and then he died. Now his spirit has been captured by a kalku and sent to fight me.

The story of how a male *machi* began is also of interest:

I was born blind, and they call me waillepen. My mother died because of me. I was raised by my father's sister who lived with us. My father died when I was small, and all my brothers and sisters died. My father's sister married a poor man who came to live in my father's house. He was a bad man. People called him a kalku, but he did not have any power. He was just mean. The people chased him away, though, and we all went with him. We lived in Boroa until I was a young man. There my stepfather had an uncle who was a machi and who talked often with me. I learned a lot from him, but I had no power. I never dreamed.

I used to walk a good deal, and one day I kept on walking. I finally walked as far as Argentina and all through Chile as far as Puerto Montt. I have crossed the Andes many times. I heard many things in the houses where I lodged. I worked for people making spoons, baskets, and all sorts of things. I can weave better than a woman, but they have to show me where the colors are.

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [752] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

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756 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[197] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
787 way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku's* client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

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Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

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[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the
683 traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their 751
doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any 756
community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain 182
that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they 554
frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The [769]
people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at [796]
any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective.

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their 756
wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods 556
received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of

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756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. [462] The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves [769] with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

12 *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
756 correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shaman-
462 ism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
[114] gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorpor-
462 ated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
756 sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:217). [838] [839]

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male machi, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Rosal Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that machi were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 141). Citing Emile Houze (1939:213), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

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114 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There
178 are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear
462 in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on
756 this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

17 According to the best documented sources dealing with the
756 events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach
462 and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many
[955] female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, qualifying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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756 shamanism and the dark side of the universe. Even if not
553 behaviorally, even if engaging in transvestism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "unmanageable" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his
evil and unnatural devices from the Mapuche male. I suggest
that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche think-
ing since time immemorial and that, in this important respect,
there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the bewitched lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 families are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural
machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom
she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits,
female shamans are precisely those persons in whom hands
supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands
out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands
outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete
set of relationships, and she is incompetent with respect to the
governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotentiality
in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche
life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Powers of Evil

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
99 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of experiential
quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded
myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-
century vintage they are labeled. The imperfections and incom-
pleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the
Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger
at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of
considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a
machi. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions,
this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

12: Farm E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
SC4 Arunachal SC4
Mayurbhanj

of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in past recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mayurbhanj land, and it is of great daily concern to the people.

Since all information about witchcraft is accumulated, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its kalla. Mayurbhanj give ample evidence that there are many more kalla than mashi.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some kalla are more powerful than others. These are the kalla of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people consider for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mayurbhanj, although not always with success. When the venture is great and where success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional kalla. These almost daily identifications by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful kalla are women and that among these are some mashi who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional mashi's pole outside their house.

Kalla may inherit their power from ancestors who are kalla, but mashi also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, kalla take these recruits to their cells, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a mashi, the feeling of

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power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a kalku.

Most of these persons thought to be kalku are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I know of no young sorceress having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional kalku. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or kitche), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

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Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their homes, and to play a respectable, relatively safe in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

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According to Mapuche definition, a professional kalku is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[8] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

754 761 769 796 [114]

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[8] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy by witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
622 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
756 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, find that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *rutu*, her haunt,

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *refu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *refu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *refu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the
level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live unofficially (even for obvious eco-

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683 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in
578 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of
[172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *rafu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition
[184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reñu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reñu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *reñu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships. 754 [184]

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group 756 [178]

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. [755] Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 754 182 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings. 121 182 754

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately. 754 829 648

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from 754 [128]

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [756] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

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Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

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The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
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Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublinea-
578 ges—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and counterchargeo of sorcery at the *level of the residential kingroup*, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
598 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
598 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embarrass-
593 ments by downplaying the importance of the accusations
618 made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost invariably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or violent
598 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
595 gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[632] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[642] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous
[178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first reminisce with their own wives, pretending to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

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On a multilingual reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, *a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in* which common interests have been equalized—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a chiefly active principal. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational lair terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These factors speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated consistent lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own lineage. Sometimes suspicions of murder by witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made), these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted assassination murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

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On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

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754 628 578 Intercensorational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups ... rather so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practised against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder by witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, condemnatory ones which occur between in-marital women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships involving as they do outsiders. Intercensorational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation rarely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal kinships which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 621 759 782 [illegible] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the gardens of gods. During time of general crisis, people rally to fiddleton dances, if this is feasible, or prepare for fiddleton when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable machi of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive fiddleton to meet the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *mishu*, *trafkin*, and *koschotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Mishu*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *mishu* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *mishu*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people temporarily involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and counterchanges of sorcery. And so with *koschotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Koschotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *koschotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust flows through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *kowhatuh* are practiced between males; *wizhe* often involves females as well. The mutual support and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and occasional marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. Where murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into oppositional relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku's* client) or the victim, as the case may be. Where lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that outsiders are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their search is accomplished by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the clan congregation.

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5a: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is unique to the scheme of Mapuche sociality, it could possibly be argued that concerns with these spirits in some way conditioned most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circulous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with a point remaining and between opposed to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to unfolding Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy very certainly exists in Mapuche thought, but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposition, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—categories

121 ces difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
222 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
722 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
222 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
224 this classification is possible, even if a possible interpretation
722 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative seems I suggest to, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation [illegible] Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when conceptualized. Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
222 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
722 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and
612 do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly unlinked views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural culture by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are evidable once it is recognized that the underlying world of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of dimensions but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of special interest to us, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism 121

The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honors, designations, occupations," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural productions of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960a).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are some abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960b).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding marriage. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescrip tive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of 121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention 772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in 582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association 121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an 182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For 772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly 121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make 582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in 571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal [577] descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (wekú)	afterworld (wenumapu)
hal hal	tree tree
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

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772 In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and
779 *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and
572 *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and
192 "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which foreboded evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethargan* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most
772 part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual
779 scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to
579 the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which
77 analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits
987 appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gestures to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *nillatufe* the ritual priest (*nillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *nillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *kowkoton* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, free men, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which fears of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

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823

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. There are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land, sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, north, winter, cold, ocean, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, south, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, expiation, after, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken*: ocean; *nomel*: other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu*: above; *mapu*: land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female women.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which seem to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reftu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *nillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin*: black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikayen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kurikapel* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) contrast, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

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772 554 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*longko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
secession	ritual congregation

772 562 769 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *longko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *huifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 562 There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which often private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. [623]

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorceress by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *filletufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *filleu* ("the one who has purchased"), at least a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *filleu*, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
578 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively superior social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sentimental marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing hereditary usury. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfillment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sentimental and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (an well-functioning reservation) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Maquehuehued, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer and opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their social reservation. In some cases, where feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as trapiki and kowlakun, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the new ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (cabit), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead, in return the proper bestowal of cabit binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory inclusion in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñañu*: the man who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system endures to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked unit, each always standing in either the *ñañu* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was low (*ellapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, 1964). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, *ñora*, *ñuña*, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*ednapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to somebodies or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers winka. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself. First is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Puenche (*puen*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-reservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within the ritual congregation, however, there are other important classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Scheme of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

wife-receivers (*lafken*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the Mapuche use place names. There are of these sorts: (1) original, (2) conventional, (3) demonstrational. A original name is usually taken from the most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
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tentic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promontory, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many innovations, but the regional rather than the conventional names are used for purposes of general identification. Where great specificity is called for, conventional names tend to be used. There, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in towns, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

(L13)

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The innovations are also political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for an individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the lords of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider, it is sacred and sacred to its membership. It ensures the continuity of Mapuche society.

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have meaning in relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of available values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relationship of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the role of Mapuche society and their expressions.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodations to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "shamanism," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

other things, natural and processes are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the foundations of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgement.

I am not committed to equilibrium, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualisation of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalised nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variation of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the changing innovation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilise or regulate social relationships. Contacts with Chile are do not by any means always disturb these relationships, and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalised behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognised immediately as that peculiar circular society for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. The circle of relationships may be broken, but without a conceptualisation of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are susceptible to quite different interpretation when a total structural framework has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with constructing Mapuche history and comparing the selective past with an impoverished impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

12: Faron E-4, S_ (1952-1956) 1964
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121 122 138 action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often heralded along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown painted out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply rehearsed, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and rehearsed by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their unifying system of religious morality continues to show up unwanted resistance to social and cultural change.

[E48] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my special interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the discontinuation of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect to

[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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this interest to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) change and social (i.e. institutionalized action) change, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

III

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action, but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial change if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880-81, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary family household is emerging or has already

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family household is emerging as the already [illegible] unit of economic endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Looking on expanding population on small smallholings conversions, in an area considerably enhanced from pacification days, saw the rise of significant separate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integration force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined when the last generation or so of conversation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become increasingly enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and sacerdotes than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of ritualism and even to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more homogeneous than anything described during the pacification era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-giver and wife-receiver within it—a compatible concordance of elements of the structure of religious activity. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural context is belief.

social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural context in belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed concomitantly to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from pan-organization, marriage predominance, matrilineal penetration, etc., which have been extended even before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to bolster Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Culture Shock. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the conditions to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force (or weight) of tradition, and sometimes is so few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve such unbelievable guesswork and reliance on a "common sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951-52).*

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

* It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's general commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs" (147) and, with regard to the animal the use of Mapuche sacrifice, "... as symbolic of the sacrifice of population was carried out" (148).

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Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "secularized" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of culture. Action systems are taken to constitute society. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, 121
if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from 771
definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over 178
the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if 78
not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were 128
selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as 178
exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper 183
relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing 78
with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *tillatun* or *ewn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, 178
analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is 183
of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do 78

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *fillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *fillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

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167 a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In
168 their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional
169 values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

008 But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it mark its defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spadework must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

18 What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest
179 that we may well be content with the simple observation that
178 they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapuche-land. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the fewer most suited to weld the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic inducements, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious sensibility. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are socialized at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional communal aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

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beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaningless superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

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APPENDIX

RATHER than discuss the position of various well-known Mapuche specialists in the text of this book, I append what I consider some of their more important statements on the matter of morality. On the whole, these tend to support my thesis, and I shall hold my comments to a minimum. 114

Of Mapuche morality, Guevara (1908) writes:

> Este conjunto de reglas de tradición, consideran como los principales deberes el respeto al padre, a los antepasados *i* al rito. . . . La entidad moral reside . . . en la familia . . . (225).

Here we have an indication of the religious sphere of social action, although Guevara never clearly recognized Mapuche magic as religion. This is indicated in his following remark,

> Para ponerse en comunicación con los espíritus benefactores *i* neutralizar la acción de los malos . . . ha necesitado poner nombres litúrjicos. . . . Ha necesitado además, a gentes iniciados que pongan en practica los ritos clasificados según el objeto. *Tales operaciones i operadores forman los elementos de la majia araucana* (231; italics added).

Guevara's measure of morality was not hampered by a Christian bias, but his "failure" to recognize the religiosity of Mapuche magic seems a result of his having regarded paganism as an evolutionary notch below true religion. At any rate, Guevara does not seem to have been concerned with the problem, of magic versus religion or with considerations of sacred-profane categories, although as a result of his wide reading he was surely aware that these were theoretical problems.

Latcham's work (1924) is cluttered with speculations about what he called "totemism," a topic further bogged down in an argument that matrilineality preceded patrilineality among the Mapuche. Despite this penchant for reconstructing Mapuche history, Latcham managed to present many data in a structural manner and dealt with the relationships of ancestor propitiation,

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114 public ritual, and the moral order. Latcham's totemic clans seem to have been localized patrilineages which formed part of incipient ritual congregations. Latcham's description of the beginnings of the reintegration of Mapuche society is a stimulating one, as contrasted to his speculations about its origins in the pre-Spanish era.

In the work of Augustin Edwards (1929) we find an evaluation of statements of many of his predecessors and a synthetic contribution of his own, much of which is of high quality. I would like to discuss a few points, however, with which I am in disagreement. What I consider to be a glaring misinterpretation is his remark: "In the minds of the Mapuche, morality and religion are two essentially different things" (26). Edwards supported this conclusion with a quotation from Guevara which maintains that in their invocations the Mapuche merely ask for favors and do not attempt to make amends for their faults (26). The standard Edwards applies appears to be that of Christian religious morality, as evidenced by his contention that "Mapuche morality does not make a distinction between good and evil in the same form as Christian morality does. For the Mapuche, that which conforms to his traditions and superstitions is good and that which is not in consonance with them is bad" (29). The second sentence might be generalized to include all systems of religious morality. In any case, I take it as supporting evidence of my thesis.

In writing of ancestor propitiation and sorcery, Edwards, to my mind, provides data and conclusions which contradict the statements of his I have just cited. As far as it goes, his treatment of sorcery is excellent. He writes in part:

> In the matter of enchantments and sorcery the Mapuche of the present day are no different from those of the time of the discovery and conquest of Chile. This is undoubtedly their most deeply rooted and ancient belief and the most profound and pronounced trait of the Mapuche character . . ." (28).

While this statement is subject to certain qualifications a half-century after Edwards wrote, it is still essentially applicable to contemporary Mapuche society and indicates the persistence of the Mapuche moral system. Edwards goes on to say:

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. . . there are things which are traditionally forbidden. . . . And the doing of forbidden things entails fatal consequences. That is the moral restraint par excellence (18). 114

And in continuation:

. . . all that disciplines their instincts and keeps their behavior within certain limits of reciprocal justice and equity is their veneration for their ancestors and their traditions and their fear of vengeance, which constituted and still constitutes the positive right in force among the Mapuches that have not become civilized (19).

Edwards also notes that vengeance was a responsibility of the injured person's family and was "carried out from group to group" (19). Finally, he writes that:

Evil is brought about by the act of enchantment or witchcraft and punishment is inflicted by the retaliation. This was, and still is, the essence of moral law among the Mapuche who have not modified their ideas and customs (20).

While I am not in complete agreement with this judgment, for it omits other moral considerations, it is a fair enough appraisal of an important segment of the moral system. I would like to note, however, that this and other of Edwards' remarks do not wholly support his contention that "Sorcery or witchcraft was the very essence of immorality" (18). While this might be said of those actions of the sorcerer taken solely for her private gain, I pose this question with reference to such and like Mapuche: "If sorcery is undertaken for vengeance, and if vengeance is a morally accepted practice, is sorcery, in this instance, evil?" There are some interesting implications in this matter with regard to, among other things, the definition of shaman and sorcerer, the line between good and evil magic, the function of sorcery and the existence of evil in the integration of Mapuche society.

Titiev (1951), in an otherwise highly descriptive account of Mapuche ritual and similarities and differences between shamans and sorcerers, comes to this important conclusion:

Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order (114).

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114 It is clear that Titiev, although often only implicitly, relates morality and ritual expression among the Mapuche. This, unfortunately, is not done systematically or in any detail. Nor does one find in the works of Titiev and Hilger (1951) indications of an interest in understanding the social relationships which form the structure of religious morality. Both of these authors handle the spheres of magic and religion as distinct, although overlapping, areas of ritual.

None of the authors cited above may be said to be wholly aligned with the point of view of Herskovits' statement quoted in the Introduction. That is to say, none of these ethnologists appears to have felt obliged to argue that it is difficult to consider religion and morality as social institutions, although none of them made no effort to analyze religion sociologically and did not really concern themselves with the Mapuche system of morality.

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Hawks of the Sun

ERRATA

Page 136, line 2 down: for *Diagram II* read *Diagram III*

Page 136, line 6 up: for *Diagrams II and III*
read *Diagrams III and IV*

admapu -- customary law
am -- the soul
antupaiñamko -- "hawks of the sun," a term used to symbolize all ancestoral spirits
awn -- the funeral ceremony
eltun -- cemetery
huampu -- coffin
kalku -- sorcerer-witches
kalkutun -- the ceremony performed to detect witches
kamañ -- officials at the Ñillatun ceremony
kapuka -- the god and goddess of abundance
konchotun -- a formal and public demonstration of special friendship, involving the sacrifice of a lamb; a loose-binding blood pact
kurikawin -- the funeral wake
lakutun -- the naming rite
l'ayen -- a term used to refer to a corpse while it is indoors
llani -- the secondary altar in the Ñillatun ceremony
llupe -- the ritual fire
lofche -- an extended family group
lonko -- lineage head and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages)

machi -- shamans (female)
machitun -- an elaborate curing ceremony
mafutun -- a ceremony connected with the distribution of bride price
minchemapu -- grave (infrequently used term)
mingaco -- a cooperative labor venture
misha -- the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizing that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another
moñetun -- see kurikawin
Ñenechen -- the Supreme Being for most Mapuche
ñillatufe -- the ritual priest
Ñillatun -- the great agricultural fertility ceremony
pillan -- the spirit helpers of the shaman
pillantun -- see machitun
purun -- a type of dance
ramadas -- cubicles made of boughs which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests at the Ñillatun celebration (Spanish term)
reñu -- the witch's cave
rewe -- a step-notched carved pole outside the shaman's house which the machi climbs during certain ceremonies
rokiñ -- placing of gifts in a coffin

thungulmachin -- an aide to the shaman who relates to her those things that she has spoken of while possessed by a spirit
trafkin -- the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons indicating that the individuals involved intend no harm to one another
ñimen -- wealthy men
wekufe -- evil spirits
weza -- evil
weupin -- formal orations, as at a funeral
winka -- outsider

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INTRODUCTION

SELECTION of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the |2| field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information. In the course of the last four centuries a great deal of valuable material on numerous phases of their culture has been written by soldiers, travelers, scholars, and missionaries, but this monograph provides the first ethnographic report ever compiled from data gathered in the field by a professional anthropologist.[1] It would be presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a single field trip, that one had made adequate coverage of the total range of Araucanian culture; hence a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the area covered, the native groupings, the limitations of time, and the problems and objectives presented in this study.

First, the area will be considered. Approximately three hun- |3| dred miles south of Santiago, from the Río Bío Bío, an eighty-mile wide stretch of territory extends about one hundred and fifty miles farther south. Most of this region is a valley contained between the Nahuelbuta coastal range on the west and the Andean mountains on the east. The area has long been known as the Frontera (Map 1) because it is beyond the system of forts erected by the Spaniards during the conquest of Chile. Commonly, this territory is called Araucanía, because it is the principal zone inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. At present native communities are scattered over much of the old Fron-

[1] Compare the statement of this situation in Brand (1941*a*, p. 29), whose work provides the most complete bibliography of Araucanian studies that is readily available. The late Father Cooper's excellent summary of the existing literature (Cooper, 1946) will be frequently cited to indicate earlier treatments of topics covered in this monograph. It should be noted that in 1945 Sister M. Inez Hilger made a field study, principally centered on child-rearing practices, among several Araucanian groups. For a preliminary description of her findings, see Hilger, 1946. A full report is now in press.

For bibliographic references to works mentioned see Literature Cited.

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of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[4] This is the group with which my report is concerned. 101

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Properly speaking, then, the known history of the Mapuche extends over a span of four hundred years. This study does not propose to cover such a lengthy period. A brief historical sketch will be provided in the succeeding chapter, but I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1884, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1917, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began. 101 175

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cūga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[5] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture, 121

[4] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 258–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 191–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–99.

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 722.

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MAP 1. The Frontera in Chile. The stippled area gives the approximate location of the region called the Frontera or Araucanía. (After Jefferson, 1921, Figs. 6 and 13.)

121 Father Cooper was led to write: "Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting . . . that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture."[6]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 724.

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•121 The first objective, therefore, was to obtain information on kinship and sociopolitical structure, and because Cautinche gave promise of yielding reliable and concrete data, intensive field work was initiated at that small reservation of seventeen households, about each of whose inhabitants it was possible to obtain precise sociologic information. Comparative and supplementary studies were then made at Carrarrifie and Renaco.

Another factor that strongly influenced the direction of the investigation was the knowledge that the Araucanians were currently in a state of cultural transition, having only recently been pacified and settled on fixed reserves. This situation provided an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of cultural change, a topic with which I have become increasingly concerned in recent years. It likewise helps to explain why the neighborhood of Cholchol was so readily selected as a center of operations. All studies of cultural dynamics require a sort of base-line in time and space from which variations can be determined, and it happens that Richard E. Latcham, one of the most diligent students of the Araucanians, had done much of his field work about half a century ago in the vicinity of Cholchol.[7]

In brief, this report is concerned with the recent and contemporary culture of the Araucanians who live just north of the Cautín River in south central Chile and has four major objectives: to report new information acquired in the field, particularly with respect to kinship and sociopolitical organization; to fit these aspects of Mapuche life into the total picture of their current culture; to augment existing data and to suggest fresh interpretations on the basis of first-hand observations; and to project the present situation against the tribe's former customs, with a view to gaining an insight into the dynamics of culture change.

104 Since many native and Spanish terms are included in the text, mainly for purposes of exact identification, it is necessary

[7] Latcham, 1924, p. 250. For a sketch of Latcham's life, and a complete bibliography of his works, see Lothrop, 1945.

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KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Knowledge of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 704. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1909, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

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RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

62/ 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *wekikche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Chaiché to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *lekko* of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarrile. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarrile as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarriñe had important links with Renaco. For that reason we decided to investigate Renaco on the completion of the study of Carrarrile.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarrile, and Renaco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

62/ 131 The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the pervious governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had [534] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which is so basic to cultural history; the other to divert study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, Have been made in the sixteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled done so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest portions of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Strait of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their ancestral liberty.[62]

University of California
Berkeley, California

61. One such problem is suggested by the sources. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as modern disrupted agricultural planting in the valleys, the Araucanians gained their fields in impenetrable stands. It may be that better yields in the mountains created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Juicio de Residencia to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1593 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 490); Olivares, pp. 36-38; Mariñas, pp. 76-77; Núñez, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62. Ovalle y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1604 the cavalry figures, as Lenhart reports them, were 20,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La expedición guerrera de los Araucanos," p. 58).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON
University of Illinois

121 126 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 126 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Pirenche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These [147] cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Pirenche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

124 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most ambitious students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring kinship

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hollowell 1942:489-90).

In 1949 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Chonchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Chonchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the greater divisions mentioned above: Pirenche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:498). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Pirenche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did want to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:11 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hollowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:11). But it is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febres (1765), Rosa-

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ments (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910), Guevara Silva (1908, 1914, 1929), and Montoloch (1936). Lothrop's thesis of the matrilineal origins of Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal patriarchy which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crowding focus of his book more easily understood.

Tilton views that, there is the "likelihood that Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:31), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Lothrop's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Lothrop's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Lothrop stated (a) that an Indian woman in Cayapel Valley, in the extreme northern part of Pehuenche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1934:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Lothrop cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Pehuenche woman (1934:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Lothrop's acceptance of them unwitting. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish encroachment influences.

Although Lothrop's reasoning is more robust in his differentiation of Inca (an ill-defined kinship tie), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on misjudgments of linguistic elements and the erroneous notion of the precept that totemism and matrilineal differentiation are somehow inextricably bound together in the lateral usage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722-23 for discussion of Inca and clusters of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the identifiers due to agreement that were inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1934:37).

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The second basis assumption mentioned above is that there have been considerable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3-4). Cooper wrote that: "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:726), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complications involving change than to the recently recorded Ona terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong better-day patrilineality among the Mapuche matters general expansion in the Ona pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Bidwell (1948), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in evolving kinship relations within Araucania today.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ARAUCANIAN PARALLELS TO THE OMAHA KINSHIP PATTERN

121 (*Introductory note:* At the Poughkeepsie meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1929 I presented the following paper. I never published it, mainly because I obtained the information from a single informant and hoped that I might later substantiate and elaborate my original notes. Such an opportunity never arose. But during the subsequent years no one else, so far as I can discover has reported the occurrence of the Omaha kinship structure among the Araucanians.[1] However, now, when attention is being increasingly focused upon all things South American, it seems worth while to place my information on record. The immediate stimulus to publication came from Dr. Murdock who, in a discussion following a lecture he gave before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in December, 1942, remarked that in his survey of social organizations and kinship patterns throughout the world, he was struck by the absence of the Omaha pattern in South America, although he suspected its presence among the Araucanians. Its absence in South America seemed significant because of its presence in the other four major areas of the world from which he selected his sample. I hope that the publication of the following paper, even at this late date, may ultimately lead to a final settlement of the question.)

114 In the current number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Dr. Lesser has brought a very important problem to a focus.[2] He demonstrates the fairly consistent association

[1] See Donald D. Brand, *A Brief History of Araucanian Studies* (New Mexican Anthropologist, V, 1941), pp. 2, 19–52.

[2] A. Lesser, *Kinship Origins in the Light of some Distributions* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST), 31, 1929), pp. 710–730.

[p.489]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years. 121

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all native populations for many decades and upon many for several centuries, it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to 121 177

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121 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or
179 later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evi-
114 dent. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from
121 the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one. 121 [114]

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism. 177 648

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society, 121

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121 to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Ma-
[122] puche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition,* and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I dis-
114 agree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but
177 I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most ob-
[171] vious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society
[182] a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. 114 177 [182]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrism. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. 121 None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me 121 177

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained becaus people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into thereservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the cause of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural [177]
Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. [177] [127]

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. [177] The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. [191] [197]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

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177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This ¶[124] book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

177 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that 182 economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

594 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents 182 of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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105
Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and 177
frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework 182
for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically [595]
Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not [587]
"breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that re- [121]
integration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, 177
and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche 182
society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. 121
I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of 105
what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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105 177 182 121 this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

105 177 [182] If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
[648] economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[433] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[241] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[613] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*ewu, filletun, machitun, kalkatun* (see below)—bind together

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is re-enacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalled by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of earthwallers, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and talon-toothed wilwalwe—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ülkatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The absence of the latt suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by the *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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000 (whatever) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 point (*ñiñatu*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
787 the large, public *ñiñatu*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
778 particular community and head of the dominant lineage
765 therein, but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñiñatu*
613 (which I regard as a preservation practice) in which prayers
320 are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñiñatu*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual specialty and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
969 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the dramatic personae of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless circulate a rather well-defined set of prayers, supplicatory, and exorcistic rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political institutions as well as those based on

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the compulsive sanctions that underlie all conduct (1951:29).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Cooper, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear association that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites (respectively, by priest and congregation, diviner, and sorcerer). Public rites are held publicly for the common good, characteristic rites sometimes publicly for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, divination is on the side of good (although diviners are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[598] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapuche-land? 577 182 602

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

• 121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes
[671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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V

I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121.

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and unilineal arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural ambient. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, ordered as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural dress, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*awn*) and the fertility rite (*ñillatun*) are

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analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marriage; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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121 and those sectors of Chilean society with which it comes into
128 contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the second area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
769 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
782 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794 although there are structural and compositional differences
inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied. 591 796 182 181

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse. 764 613 602

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships 764 121.

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves
[462] with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patri-
[769] potestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

121 *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
756 correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shaman-
462 ism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
[114] gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorpor-
462 ated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
756 sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. [755] Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñilletun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 754 182 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

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From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when conceptualized. Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

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The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly unfortunate views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subdichotomies are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to us, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Dualism" and Complementary Dualism

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The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honour, desirability, prerogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural predilections of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960a).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960b).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding usages. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:71). The Mapuche have a system of
121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention
772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in
572 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the structural construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

121 If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association
182 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an
772 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discernable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly
121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make
572 more sense singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in
571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions
571 which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

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Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

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Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (rutü)	afterworld (wenumapu)
hai hai	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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other things, notions, and processes are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distillation of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgment.

I am not committed to equilibrism, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variation of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the on-going reservation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilize or regularize social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships; and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular variety for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationship may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are amenable to quite different interpretation when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the nebulous past with an imperfect impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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121 177 178 action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply reforecast, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their ramifying system of religious morality continues to shore up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[648] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect in

[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[2]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[2] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
771 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
771 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
777 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *fillatun* or *ewn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

•121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PREFACE

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THE project described in this monograph was first planned early in 1941. In that year support was received from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and a leave of absence was obtained from the University of Michigan. After preliminary plans for field work had been completed, America's entry into World War II brought about a delay of several years in carrying out the program.

In January, 1948, I was fortunate enough to secure a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and an additional grant of funds from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. Accompanied by my wife I left for Chile at the end of the month and arrived in Santiago on February 19, 1948. Here we met Mr. Raúl González Mella, a doctoral candidate in geography at the University of Chile, who had previously agreed to serve as a field assistant. After two weeks spent in visiting museums and libraries and conferring with various scholars in Santiago, we entrained for Temuco, capital of Cautín province, in the heart of the Indian-inhabited territory still known as the Frontera (Map 1).

Many students have expressed such lively curiosity about the methods used by an anthropologist in locating a specific field station and in making initial contact with native informants that a short statement of the procedure followed in this instance may not be amiss.

Before we left the United States, it was learned from anthropologists conversant with Chile that the Reverend Dillman S. Bullock was one of the best informed men on Araucanian matters in that country. An exchange of letters brought a cordial invitation to visit Mr. Bullock at the famed agricultural station called El Vergel, in Angol. He received us on March 4, 1948, and advised us to plan to work in the neighborhood of Cholchol, to get in touch with members of the Anglican Misión Araucana stationed at Quepe and Cholchol (Map 2), and to

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once [622 537] a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

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[1]For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2]Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3]Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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EDITOR'S NOTE

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From February to May, 1941, Dr. Donald D. Brand (Editor-in-Chief of the NEW MEXICO ANTHROPOLOGIST, Professor of Anthropogeography, and Head of the Department of Anthropology) was a member of a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace group that visited a number of Latin American countries. While in Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, Dr. Brand visited museums and universities, and became acquainted with the anthropologists and geographers of the various countries. Being aware of the mutual ignorance concerning each other among the anthropologists of the Pan-American nations, Dr. Brand has drawn up a series of studies which eventually will cover most of the New World countries. These studies combine personal knowledge and library research. This number of the NEW MEXICO ANTHROPOLOGIST is dedicated to anthropology in Chile.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Molinari (San Martín de los Andes and Buenos Aires); Federico Graef, geologist and surveyor (San Martín de los Andes); Emelio Frey (Bariloche); Jaime F. Wood (Estancia Huechahue); Victor Muller and Enrique Korn (Buenos Aires); Horácio Fernandez Beschtedt (Río Negro); and to Dr. Alberto Anciano and Ig. Alexandro Cané (Museo de Bariloche).

To Margaret Mondloch, my field assistant in both Chile and Argentina, I owe the greatest debt of all for her intelligent and gracious help in planning fieldwork and making contacts, and for her untiring and unselfish work in taking and transcribing field notes. The success of the study is in no small degree due to her alertness, patience, and perseverance.

To Mother Rosamond Pratschner, Prioress of St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minn., I am indebted for granting leave-of-absence from my duties of teaching for the duration of the fieldwork in Chile, and for encouragement of the study from its very beginning; to Mother Richarda Peters, subsequent Prioress, for leave-of-absence for the research in Argentina. The writer is also indebted to Dr. Alfred Métraux, Director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Paris, for his supporting interest, especially during the fieldwork, and for his letters of introduction to persons in key positions in Chile; to Dr. Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, for valuable leads, particularly in connection with the study of the mental development, behavior, and play life of the child; to Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for letters to customs officers, police, and transportation authorities in the South American countries visited regarding accessories for the study; and to Wilson D. Wallis of the University of Minnesota and the late Father John M. Cooper of Catholic University for their unfailing interest and advice.

I am sincerely grateful to Elsie Lelonek for typing the manuscript and to Mary Lou Larson Braun for proofreading it. And I wish to thank members of the Smithsonian scientific staff, particularly Dr. A. C. Smith of the United States National Herberium for checking the scientific names of plants and animals; and the editorial staff for assistance in publication of the paper.

I also acknowledge my indebtedness and express my gratitude to my brother, W. P. Hilger, for financial assistance in the fieldwork in Chile; to the American Philosophical Society for grants-in-aid for the research in Chile (Grant No. 805, Penrose Funds) and Argentina (Grant No. 1341, Penrose Funds); to the Wenner-Gren Foundation

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for Anthropological Research; and to I. A. O'Shaughnessy, of St. Paul, Minn., whose generous financial grant to the Smithsonian Institution helped to make possible the publication of this work.

SISTER M. INEZ HILGER
Benedictine Sister

St. Benedict's Convent,
St. Joseph, Minn.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition,* and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Professors J. H. Steward and E. H. Winter and Mr. Sol Miller for reading painstakingly through more than one version of the manuscript and for suggesting numerous improvements and providing fresh insights. I am of course quite pleased that Professor Steward consented to write the Foreword.

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12: Farron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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[P.V]

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Lt: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a load offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa loako* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forms of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *wituwalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *kaftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *kaftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, *my* wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

KNOWLEDGE of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1929, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

●124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

104 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 880

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 587

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In [601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

582 601 [7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS
FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

creencias araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Ano III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 24, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrarrihe, near Cholchol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu. 539

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai 539

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
63 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the
[114] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[See CAT 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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8

The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly. 128

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951. [127]

[p. 184 is blank]

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart. 582 613 [602]

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system. [207]

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON
University of Illinois

121 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally
128 organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the
102 Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Pitrunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country
[147] was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Pitrunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

114 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1936), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histo-

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Hunziker, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Martin Thiery's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nicolas Kobichoff, Ministerio de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Bridger, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Haralds Malmari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Sig-Kvandal.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be defined by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 129

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

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Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Cofaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepée, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepée] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepée area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

SUBFERTILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips cut of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (ranfim), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will stick itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean [177]
society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement [648]
on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the [128]
most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more [31]
than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central [6]
Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over [162]
half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which [101]

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Cosatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1963, states that as of that date there were 2,200 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,900 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche
648 political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[623] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*billatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the ethnohistorical context in which it thrives.

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single [583] man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights [178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. [169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or [581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 857 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

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The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly. 128

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951. [127]

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I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and unilineal arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural ambient. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, ordered as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural dress, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*ngwn*) and the fertility rite (*füllatun*) are

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analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 199 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and dooryard horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 199 198

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
622 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
476 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
464 changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves [192] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases [464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called cacique (Spanish) or lonko of such-and-such line.

992 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this continue ritual expression in public economics. There are many other aspects of traditional economic
433 mentality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will [128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the more common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta* mano, the medieros or half-share system, and minguen.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are mates. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, traditional seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, often tend to perpetuate alliances between the same families in new generations mature.

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The medieros system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditures. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

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A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infraservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chilcanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies. 621 648

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marriage; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to those larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation. 121 648

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in Mapuche Social Structure); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society 121 128

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12 and these sectors of Chilean society with which it comes into
128 contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the second area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant venture over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and commonly concerning the functions of gods, ancestors, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and about performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and defined ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropocentric, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

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Nenechen and the Pantheon

[197] [128] The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denotes significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

Let us say that *Nenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *Nenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Nenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *Nenechen's* apical position in the pantheon [191] might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *Nenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *Nenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

Nenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *huwe* (good) are used when *Nenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *Nenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128].

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trewin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palihuetun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *ewn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *ewn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palihuetun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ewn* and *filletun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
• [128] confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of
marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows
indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to
a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal
number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned
(matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The
fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation
A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or
elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the
purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the
matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more
multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model.
Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not
indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the
definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the
correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore,
are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
[194] have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
198 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
an intrahousehold rather than on an intralineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material suppletive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche military relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Marshalling the Forces of Good

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always requires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the body of bodies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most emotionally active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of 121
sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the 182
"functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempt- 754
ing to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of 754
being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this 829
sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More 648
acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the 754
kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to [128]•
outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there [756] seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with witchcraft, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *eran*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INTRODUCTION

SELECTION of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information. In the course of the last four centuries a great deal of valuable material on numerous phases of their culture has been written by soldiers, travelers, scholars, and missionaries, but this monograph provides the first ethnographic report ever compiled from data gathered in the field by a professional anthropologist.[1] It would be presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a single field trip, that one had made adequate coverage of the total range of Araucanian culture; hence a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the area covered, the native groupings, the limitations of time, and the problems and objectives presented in this study. |2|

First, the area will be considered. Approximately three hundred miles south of Santiago, from the Río Bío Bío, an eighty-mile wide stretch of territory extends about one hundred and fifty miles farther south. Most of this region is a valley contained between the Nahuelbuta coastal range on the west and the Andean mountains on the east. The area has long been known as the Frontera (Map 1) because it is beyond the system of forts erected by the Spaniards during the conquest of Chile. Commonly, this territory is called Araucanía, because it is the principal zone inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. At present native communities are scattered over much of the old Fron- |3|

[1] Compare the statement of this situation in Bennett (1946a, p. 146), whose work provides the most complete bibliography of Araucanian studies that is readily available. The late Father Cooper's excellent summary of the existing literature (Cooper, 1946) will be frequently cited to indicate earlier treatments of topics covered in this monograph. It should be noted that in 1945 Sister M. Inez Hilger made a field study, principally centered on child-rearing practices, among several Araucanian groups. For a preliminary description of her findings, see Hilger, 1946. A full report is now in press.

For bibliographic references to works mentioned see Literature Cited.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarrile, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 183 ff.

[3] Brand, 1940, p. 10; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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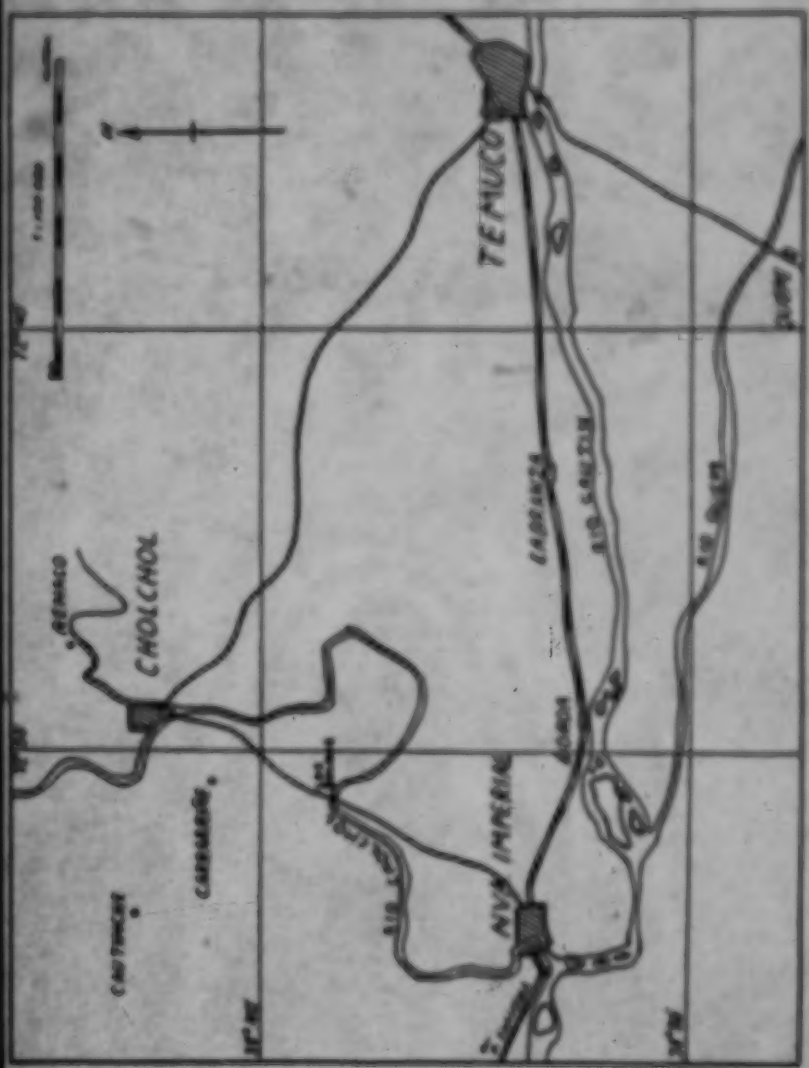
MAP 1. The Frontera in Chile. The stippled area gives the approximate location of the region called the Frontera or Araucanía. (After Jefferson, 1921, Figs. 6 and 13.)

121 Father Cooper was led to write: "Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting . . . that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture."[9]

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 704.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche



MAP 2. Cholchol and vicinity. Redrawn from an original sketch by Rolf Gonzáles.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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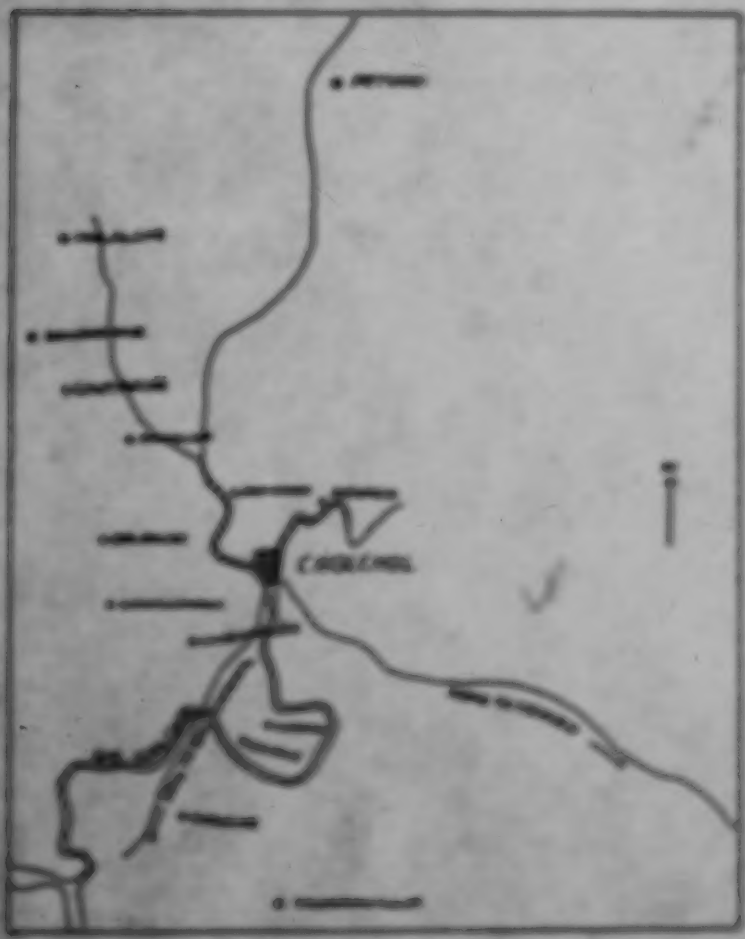

FIG. 1. Reservations near Chillán. Redrawn from an original sketch based by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Missão Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Chillán. Locations are approximate.

from who sought refuge in the mountainous sections of the Frontera. Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, many of them married Araucanian women and gradually disinte-

(7)
(8)

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

62/ 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduccion. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *wuñulche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Chaddad to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former chief of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarrille. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarrille as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In this course we learned that Carrarrille had important links with Rosario. For that reason we decided to investigate Rosario on the completion of the study of Carrarrille.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarrille, and Rosario, with a number of general ideas that come in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW

62/ 122 The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIFE

Like Cautinche, Carrarrife lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Chokchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarrife with Nueva Imperial and Chokchol. 621 [1]0 183 [245] [291]

Carrarrife is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *bijuele* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picun and Trumenquelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarrife that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarrife."* It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarrife man, Mulato Chihuailaun, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

* That part of Cuipuo which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarrife."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [38] 133

Renaco, a small reduction of 175 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Choichol. Title is held by the *lekke*, Fernán Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Choichol River at Choichol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621

Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collio Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built houses in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[1]

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In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty-nine.[2] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [38] 796

At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Tenque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a commercial area, no fiesta has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[1] Smith, 1895, p. 185.
[2] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 100,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collil Huenipilef) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collil as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have even been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestiz women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 100,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

162 164 165

Those Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Ancud. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanian groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, and bands captured when descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Fueguian Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Neuquen, Rio Negro, Rio Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Pehuenche and the like, were related north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of rotos (laborers, etc.) and inquilinos (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[1] and mixture with prisoners and settlers brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as encomienda to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

[154]

1. Gibson, in the latter part of the 15th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Cautinchin.

688 Were a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the women in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

687 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

897 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

679 Petty treat, unwarranted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, to the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (malones) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

783 835 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their bouts the most unbridled lewdness prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

68 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

579 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, in world and town. The guest is considered sacred in those under the same roof, and of the same fire or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

● 131 *Zones.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lampu-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Tilma-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ava-pinu-mapu*

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper mapu. [3]

The error was taken into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organization, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognized no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *vulon*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ulla-vulon*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [99]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmen* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their farms and commonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmen* and *apo-ulmen* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the *tiuca* one wears round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of *cacique*.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different *ulmen* or *mapu*, also called *ulmenmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *toqui*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the conquest was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *ulmenpu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 62

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,200 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

[101] 133 132

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

137

In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

[132]

[1] Since certain *Araucanian* substitial names, such as *Huilliche*, *Picunche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *ke* before *e*, *i*, and *i*, as English *ca*; *ge* before *e* and *i*, as *h*; *r*, as *h*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *n*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to latinized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1905-10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Montandon (1938).

104

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

[[32] The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperature, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

000 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking
197 peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in
181 or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S.,
174 whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverría, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pepénche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pepénche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pepénche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

131 At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bio-Bio River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bio-Bio and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bio-Bio River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Province of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

101 The tribal appellative "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "La Araucana" of 1569–89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, raq, rau, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanians* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auca* (syn.: *Aukis*, *Ouca*, *Aucano*, *Araucanian*), "rebel," from Quechua auka, "enemy, rebel," and *Promaucs* (syn.: *Promaucs*, *Promaucs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*, *Promocs*), "wild enemy," from Quechua puruu, puruu, "uncultivated field, wild," + auka, were names given by the *Incas* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipó River to the Bio-Bio River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Aucas* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

101 Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical,
131 linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:
- *Picunche.*
- *Mapuche.*
- *Huilliche* (and *Cuncs*).

Andean Highlands:
- *Pehuenche.*

East of the Andes:
- Argentine *Araucanians.*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanians* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing. 101 131

The *Pirenche* (syn.: *Picunche*), "North People," from *Araucanian* pire, pikun, pikun, "north," + che, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the Pico maqui, "north country," the territory of the *Pirenche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bío-Bío to as far south as the Tolten (Havestadt, 1883, 2:660–61), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanian*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucumán and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Pirenche* in the middle and late 15th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Colipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:883).

Latcham (1928 a, p. 128) subdivides the *Pirenche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipó River, (b) the Maipó to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promaucaes*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapuache*: Felix Jose, 1910, p. 24; 1918, 1:131), "People of the Land," from *Araucanian* mapu, "land," + che, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bío-Bío River to the Tolten River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huilliche*, *Guilliche*, *Güilliche*, *Ghuilliche*, *Veliche*, *Beliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* will, "south," + che, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Tolten, the Queque, or the Calle Calle Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli* maqui has been located at various points between the Itata and the Tolten River. (Cf. supra under "*Pirenche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Cuncos* and Chilotan *Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Gómara's of 1557–58, the canoe-using Indians (*Chono*)

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101 between Concepción Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "*Huilliche*," while Falkner used *Pidi* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the *Araucanians* from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 20-22). (On use of "*Huilliche*" for Argentine *Araucanians*, cf. infra.)

131

The *Chono* (syn.: *Junco*; in forms such as *Guinchi*, *Cuncho*, and *Cunchi* (pl.) and *Kunche*, as used by Molina, who followed Indian orthography, or as derived from him, *ch* = *k*; etymology uncertain) occupied the western third of half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 266), the Departments of Carelmapu and Ancud.

The *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "*Chono*" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotan Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929-30, 64:21), to denote groups, previously called *Puelche*, of the Cordillera. The term *Mohuche* (syn.: *Mohuche*, *Nguhuche*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* *gull*, *guilliu*, "west," + *che* (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1906-10, 2:508) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Perú" (or Coquimbo) south and including the two *Araucanian Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahue* to the Strait of Magellan. *Mohuche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Aucu*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Puhuenche* (*Pupiuche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* *puhuin*, *pupiun*, *pewen*, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the *Araucaria*, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 20′ to 40° 20′ S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the *Araucaria* range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Puhuenche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Puhuenche*" of the Cordillera between 34° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 262-65) and others. (Cf. infra under Culture of the *Puhuenche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Erdiña (1910, p. xix) and Olaverría (1852, p. 15) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puelche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Puhuenche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

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Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-*Araucanian* "*Serrano*" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "*Puelche*"). Since the middle of the 18th century, the name *Pehuenche* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine *Araucanians* with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 97; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 36; Cox, 1863, pp. 156–158; Tessmann, 1933, p. 2.)

Many of these *Araucanian*-speaking "*Pehuenche*" of the Argentine Pampas may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 15th- to 17th-century piñon-eating *Pehuenche* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine *Araucanians* or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Moluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30); *Villa-moluche* (Sánchez Labrador, ibid.); *Picunche* (Falkner, ibid.; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Huilliche*, *Pichi Huilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 99: *Araucanian*, pichi="small"); *Pehuenche*, *Puelmanche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836; Cox, 1863, p. 164); *Picun-pehuenche* and *Huilli-pehuenche* (Cox, ibid.); *Manzaneros*, *Hombres del Manzanar* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Milanesio, 1898, p. 38: Span., manzana="apple tree"); *Sanquelche* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30), *Ranquelche*, *Ranqueles* (Mansilla, 1877), *Ranquelines* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:227: "People of the Reeds," from *Araucanian*, ranqi, ranqil (r=s, dialectic shift)="reed" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Pennisetum* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelche* (*Araucanian*, puel, "east," + che) *vulgarum* (Chamico, 1783, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114–115); *Mapuche* (Moesen, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbará, 1930); *Patagon* (Molina, 1878 b, p. 402; 1901, p. 265); *Araucanos des Pampas* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:226). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "*Puelche*" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 60) considered the following to have been *Araucanian*-speaking: *Taluhet*, *Leuruche*; the following in part *Araucanian*-speaking: *Diuihet*, *Calilehet*, *Chulilauhtanu*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine *Araucanians* called *Moluche* (*Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, and *Huilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96–98), and *Maluche*, *Picunche*, *Puelmanche*, *Villamaluche* and *Sanquelche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 30–31) appears to have been massed around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

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101 south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 42° S., a little south of Lake
131 Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Puelches* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 262) had done earlier, and the *Guilicho* south of them. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* were around Antuco (1835–36, 1:381). Manzilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,6; 2:275) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Rio Quinto and the Rio Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chilean and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Puelches* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 18th-century *Pehuenche* of Pietas, or of the middle 17th-century *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the "Proceso criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Manzilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Ranquelche*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Picunche* located by Falkner from about lat. 30° to 35° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Picunche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 18th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

161 Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Bio-Bio and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Bio-Bio Rivers was at a very

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Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:234) saw an Indian give water boiled with benzoe in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Guinde, 1916–17.)

211 [212] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (*pron*) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. *pron*; Havestadt, 1883, 1:321, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1938, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxis or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

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Picunche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marino de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Marino de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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the Supreme Being (Barbarat, 1900, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for 771
wekufú. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Araucanian *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1903, p. 88; Milcamán, 1899, p. 41).

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly 778
formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1904, pp. 262-64).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture 113
of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Merino de Lovera (1665), 1662-63; Rosales (1877-78), 1650-52; Pietas (1646), 1720; Amat y Junient (1807), ca. 1760; Molina (1962), before 1767-68; Carvallo i Goyneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765-80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1826-30), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1909-10, 60:150-72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as 131
from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 19th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñones, from which, according to Merino de Lovera (1665, 362
p. 266) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

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Argentinian Araucanians

167 and horses and gradually levels an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*.
197 Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is
197 today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were
199 three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the settlement of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Puelmanche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
199 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Marino de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1553 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
199 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

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CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1750

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

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THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] These differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussions of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three zones the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

7:Padden N-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

101 131 175 increased to limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Noble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

125 The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomiendas. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the basis of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. "*Donde agora*," quoth Valdivia, "*conviene a ser señor.*"[5]

149 But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new areas portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel conceived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

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3 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the four general uprisings see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xviii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de la sublevación en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

8: Paper E-5 (1953) 1956 BG4 Araucanians BG4

Araucanian Pater-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. PARSONS
University of Illinois

121 128 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the 91 Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These [147] cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

114 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

6: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 DG4 Arauconian DG4

114

tial material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

From other Mapuche informant, Martín Calfio, and tentatively concluded that the

131
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Map of Southern Middle Chile.

19: Ridge: E-9 (1946-1950) 1937
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

[illegible] they were believed him—they were his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they to him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the new sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés. Lonkó was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among the people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was decapped in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him had these soldiers so to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that our their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spaniards first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 32° and 45° S. (1946, p. 98[1]). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Tolten, Mahuin, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain this area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Truanao Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Caburgua, Calafquén, Pelehue, Pangipulli, Riñihue, and Fierbinton. From nearly all parts of the province snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (7,540 feet), Shoshuenco (7,540) feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; ; Chilean au-

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FIG. 1.—Map of the region in Chile in which the present study was made—the southern part of the Province of Cautín and the northern part of the Province of Valdivia. (Based largely on map facing p. 128 of Guía del Veraneante, 1943, Santiago.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

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FIG. 7.—Map of the Territory of Neuquén, the region of Argentina in which the present study was made. (Based largely on a map found in Nahuel Huapi-Lanín-Los Alerces, published by the Automovil Club Argentino y la Administración General de Parques Nacionales y Turismo, 1950, Buenos Aires.)

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

[p.4 is blank]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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101

in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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C
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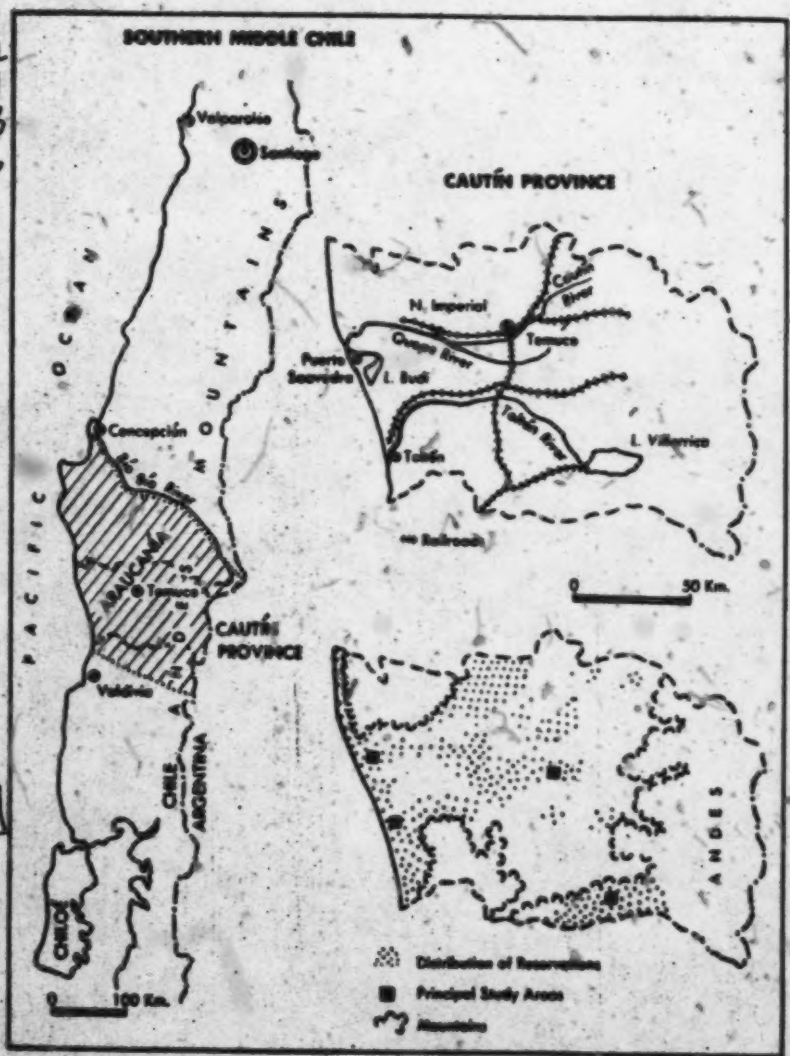

MAP I

[114]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [131] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 133 [497] C [496] C A 132

There are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

C A 131 162 A 48

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

A 361 C 361 C A [496]

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

ll:Farson E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

2

The Agrarian Setting

Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Government agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización*, along with a number of private companies and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms through *latifundismo*.

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos* where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization, thus *funderos* bring marginal land under cultivation in much the same way *parceleros* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parcelero* or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [131] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [621]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [621]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

SOUTHERN CENTRAL CHILE
Cautin Province

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361

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
● 131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [262] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* piñons as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 8). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average 133 altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the 132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bio-Bio River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bio-Bio River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral 137 type, with acacias and laurels typical.

In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bio-Bio and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus oblique* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libe-*

104 [1] Since certain *Araucanian* tribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *ke* before *e*, *i*, and *i*, as English *ce*; *ge* before *e* and *i*, as *h*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *n*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to latinalized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904-10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Marshall (1938).

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 *cedrus chilensis*). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Puelche*" country comprises the higher slopes and inter-
●[[32] cordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°30′ to 40°30′ S.

080 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q. v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking
177 peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaitecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in
101 or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher inter-
174 cordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria pifiona*, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverría, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly non-linguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 19th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Fietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1558" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Peptonche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1558" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 126, 143–44, 182, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1652 through the upper cordilleran "*Peptonche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Peptonche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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174 when the Spaniards first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 98). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 38° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Tolten, Mehuin, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Truenos Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Calafquén, Villarrica, Colmuyao, Calafquén, Pelaín, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirihueico. From nearly all parts of the province snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (7,540 feet), Shoshuenco (7,540 feet), and Lanín (12,070 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

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Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1959, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

24 [407] used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[221] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and [375] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*mueller de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff [231] is considered inferior fodder.

132 241 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. [221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 243 Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, [221] and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio [433] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as [560] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the [231] harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *ñihano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

24 [313] Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Lumaila region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 3:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[30] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[342] would do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Lumaila region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[304] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

343 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1955, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *division*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[73] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[596] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan — Antoyo]

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Chokchol. The Chokchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region which study, and at Nueva Imperial the Chokchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 1).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinchu, Carrerilla, and Rengen are with the Chileno community at Chokchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Chokchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Chokchol River at Las Boldas (Map 1). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 1), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving financial city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Chokchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Chokchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Chokchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 1) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Chokchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Chokchol became only fifteen

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol. 621 [131] 133 [245] [491]

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

[8] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Arau-* [101] *canians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average 133 altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the 132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral 137 type, with acacias and laurels typical.

[132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

104 [1] Since certain *Araucanian* subtribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *ke* before *a*, *o*, and *i*, as English *w*; *ge* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ŋ*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904-10), Félix José de Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 161
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 144
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians.* This elemental process of *Auracanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the 177
conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [133]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of 167
Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 ical material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Hallowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Collío, and tentatively concluded that the

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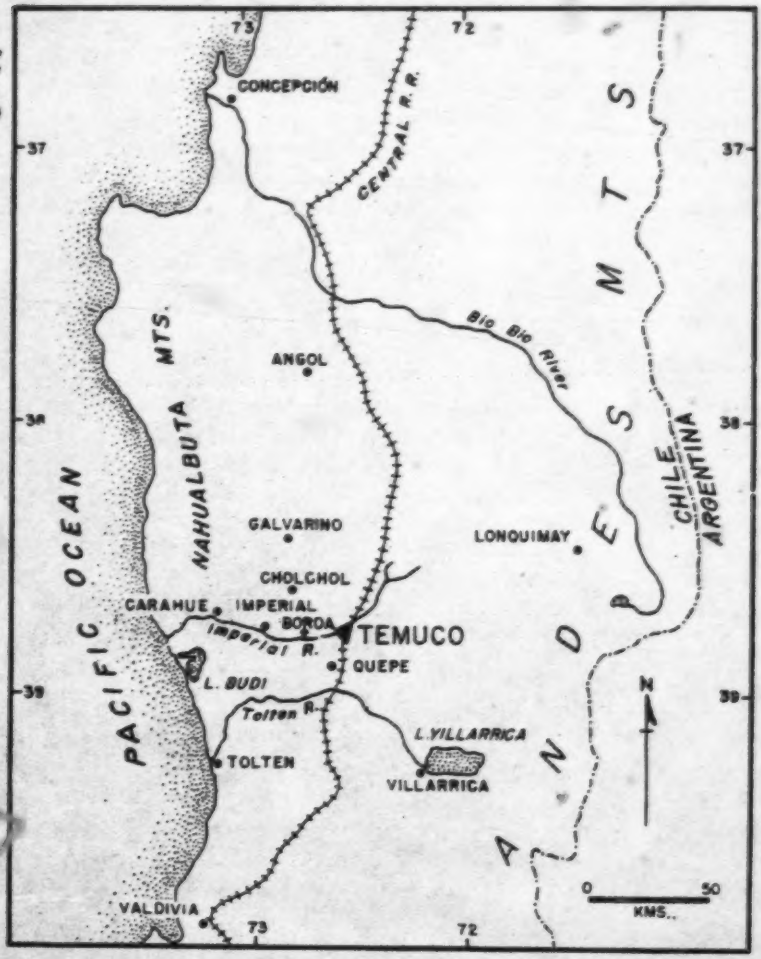

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Lienlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

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174 when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

●133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Cahuegua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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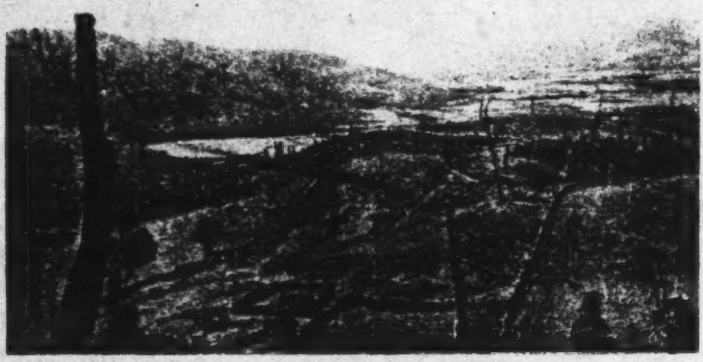
PLATE I

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond.
797 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

133 ●
241



[797]

(See legend on opposite page.)

[p. 12 (A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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142
291
264
351

Alepée schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Note burnt-over land, now being used as pastureland. 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3, Lunch time at school. (Note garden fence of logs.)

[D.28(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

342

142
857
231

133

A dwelling, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-plastered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is admitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Malleo.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eyelids.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

[p. 268 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 197
SG4 Aaucanians SG4
Argentina

241

493

241
133

1, Wooden plow (Trumpul). 2, Oxcart with tree-trunk section wheels (Quilaquina). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which wheat is threshed by tramping horses (Malleo).

[p. 364(C)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A
101

in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

A
C
102
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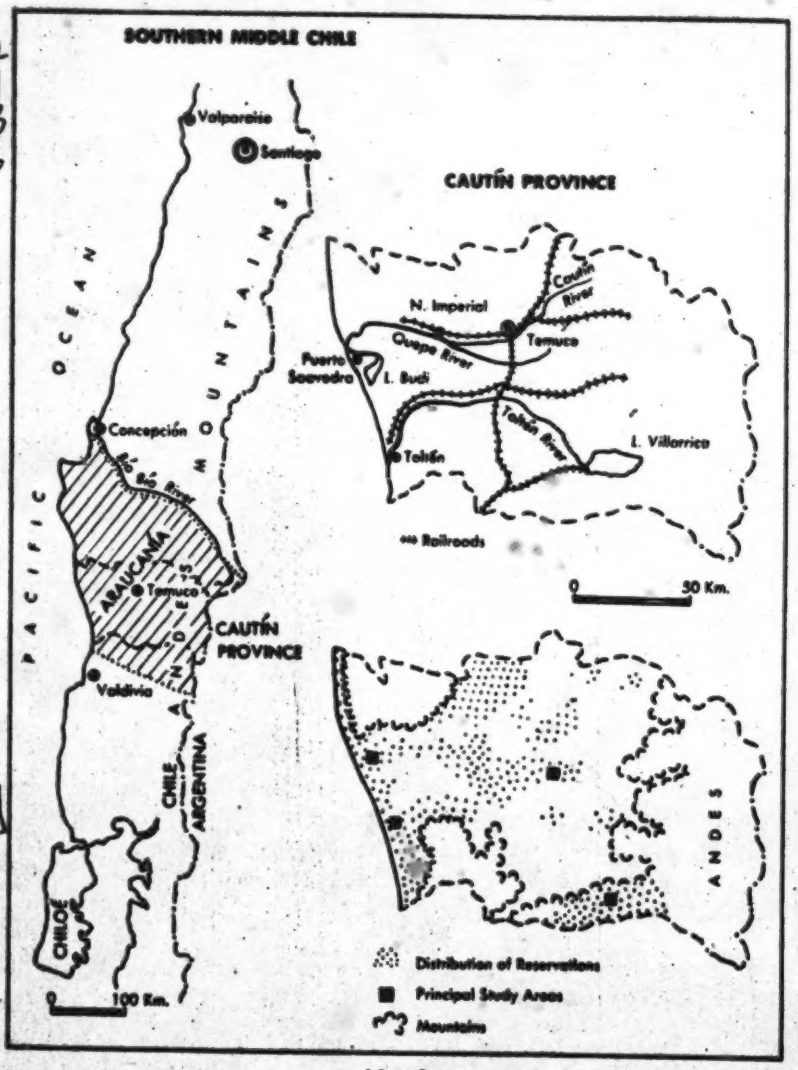


[119]

MAP I

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 933 [481] E [496] C A 132

There are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

C A 131 162

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

A 648 A 361 C 361 C A [496]

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:239–307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the har- 241
vests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural 311
lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *alturn*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *alturn*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but [133] too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and 241
chacarería (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little 311
woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the
311 land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *par-*
[439] *celeros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of char-
[314] coal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

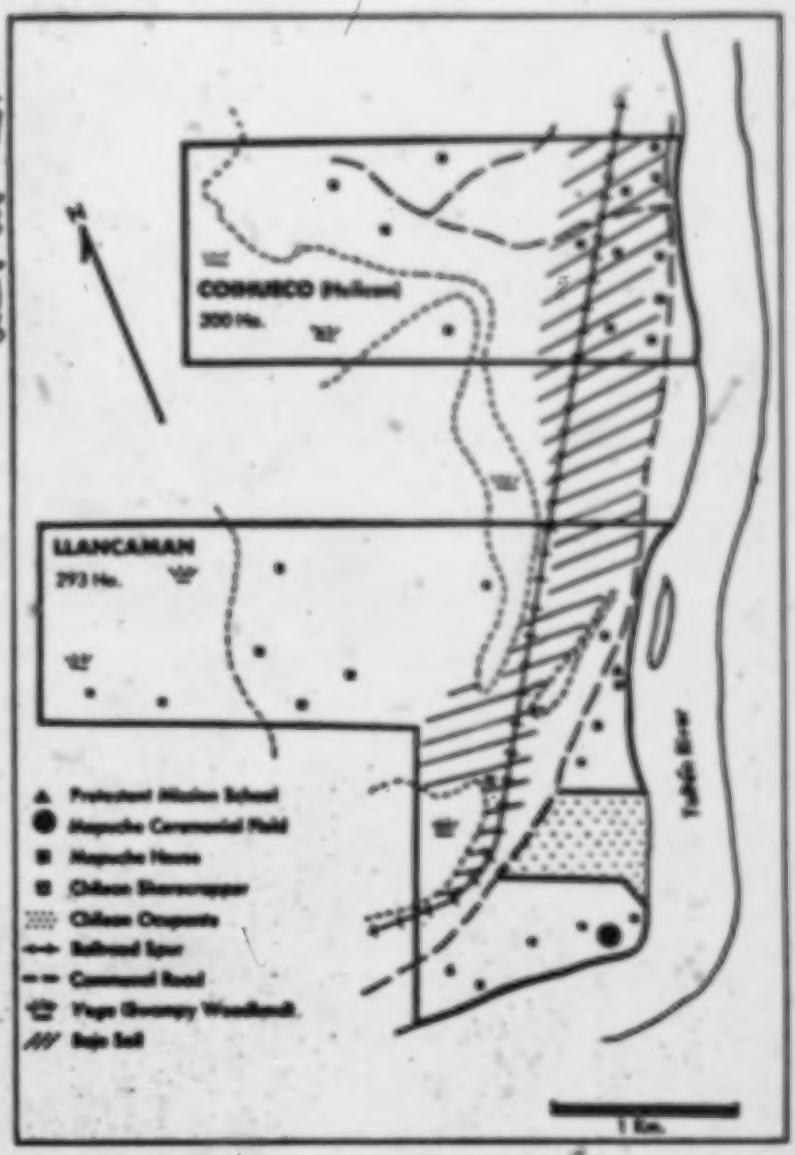
Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[233] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or other-
[423] wise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
[134] gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[242] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority
[433] of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



MAP III

[p. 56]

H:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original vendedor at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonquen, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-60 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcun: Pelehue Region

Huilcun is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcun is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *llywa* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcun has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Tolten, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancatuna, there is the notion that as many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. Division is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancatuna, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Lonquilo (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into seventy holdings in 1958, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *undivided*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of division several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded exclusive status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential claimants on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of division will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of radicación. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of division. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of radicación was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward nuclearity and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding corn, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Pastures are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

BIA Form E-5 (1952-1954)(961 SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

[p. 224]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

[31] Most of the 313 hectares of reservation Alonquen are utilized for field crops and chacarera, there being little woodland and little uncultivated territory available for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is consistently used to pasture cows, sows, horses, and sheep.

[30] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

[32] Reservation Llaycoman has 299 hectares, of which 180 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the baja.

[29] On reservation Llaycoman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original radicales, about five hectares each. Since the days of the radicales, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

[31] Reservation Llaycoman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonquen, insofar as land is classified as above (high, dry, and good for wheat), baja (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and pasture), and vega (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonquen, most of the land there is alkali, that which is not being negligible.

[31] The corresponding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

Form 1337-106, Pt. 33-4-6 (7) 195 PRT 1957 — [illegible]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[133]

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

162
592
423
422
427
231
698

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/Rented			ANIMALS Shared/Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	5C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(2)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
36	46	(13)	82	181	254	95	27	80	11	17		71		

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825 T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Checoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

A 361 T A 133 137

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. A 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4
Picunches

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
● 133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

T A 175 648

Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

T A 175 133

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
ARAUCANIANS 564

places they fell to the thickness of a yard, and in others more than two, the least thickness being a quarter of a yard.[1] The vineyards and fields of maize and wheat were buried, and the larger trees, whether bearing fruit or not, withered; while all the flocks perished for want of pasture. The sand that thus fell, covered the ground for an extent of more than thirty leagues round Arequipa. They found the cattle lying dead by five hundreds in one place, and many sheep, goats, and pigs were buried. The houses fell in from the weight of the sand, and those that stood were preserved by the diligence of their owners, in removing the sand from the roofs. The thunder and lightning was such that the storm was heard for a circuit of thirty leagues round Arequipa. The sun was so obscured by the clouds of dust that the people had to use candles in the middle of the day. They wrote accounts of these things that happened in Arequipa and in its neighbourhood, and I have set down a very brief summary of what I heard from Peru. It will suffice, because the historians who narrate the events of that period, will be bound to describe what took place in more detail.

726 The misfortunes of Chile shall also be shortly described, according to the accounts written from thence, because they are relevant to what has already been said touching those Arauco Indians and their deeds, arising out of the insurrection of 1553, which continues until this day, and we are now entering upon the year 1603. We know not when that war will end; for it seems to gather new vigour and force from

[133] [1] The formation of the coast region nearest to Arequipa consists of granite with veins of quartz. But the plains are covered with large patches of very fine dust, consisting chiefly of silica, containing potash and mica, with small quantities of the *débris* of the rocks associated with the soil. Admiral Fitzroy suggested that this dust may be the ashes ejected from the Misti (the Arequipa volcano) at some remote period. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 71. The account of the irruption, given in the text, seems to account for the presence of these large patches of fine dust.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

166 the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean
464 landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

423 All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is
● 134 aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily
242 wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

241 Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupa-
[462] tion for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANSILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chite: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians —in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [131] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land – the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[396] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[173] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[222] *ría,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *rudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huadurria*, *peyuen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *ají* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued. 224

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others. [136] [223]

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Coña describes a multiple immobile or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area. 231

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kiltho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chilihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its [236 492]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranaxus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 355). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincón; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *rego*; and parched, or *mürke*. From the first was made a bread, *kofke*, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, teca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Each family had many several pills of the
flour—the flour was an animal that lived around in the Mapuche country then; it was like a sheep, he said, but its pelt was not so heavy as a sheep's. They pulled off the ears of the grain by hand, collected them on the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried pelttids of them home, slung across his shoulder. They collected heads of the wheat in the same way in those days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

A 19-year-old girl in Cotacipe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's 1946 stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only scattered ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, *1*), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, *2*). Threshing grain in this manner is called fewilpun. The movements of her feet, used alternately for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother fewilpun, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hear the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by breaking the ears here with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, *3*). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had barely begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels into the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, forming her eyes on the further edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

Dr. Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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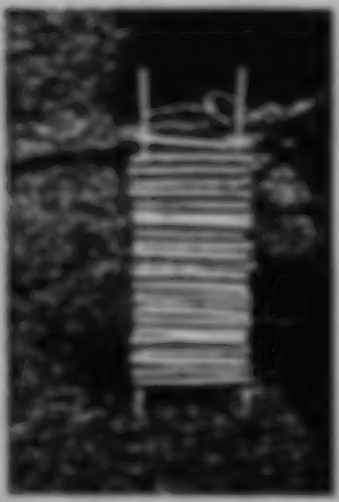

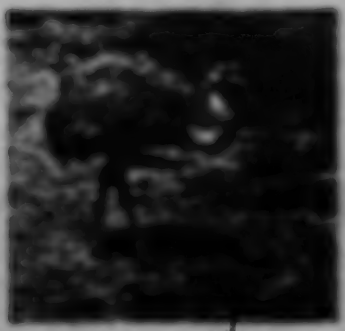

[p. 364 (B)]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

●137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [262] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* piñons as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word *ñillatuin* ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag. 796

The *ñillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *mudai*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged. [825]

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *ñillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in Augusta (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *kuliñ* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae). [137]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,
415 and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs
[531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huayen*) and rye (*mogu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond [101] fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; 133 map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the 132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipi- ● 137 tation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

[132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

104 [1] Since certain Araucanian subtribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native Araucanian words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *hu* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, as English *w*; *gu* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ng*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904-28), Félix José de Augusto (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 *cedrus chilensis*). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

[132] The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

060 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking
197 peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in
or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher inter-
101 cordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S.,
174 whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverria, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pegüenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pegüenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pegüenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the noncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñons, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta coastal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñons in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Coña, lists nearly 50 (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 30–31, 87–106). These included: Roots, and tubers—liuto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), láwü (*Sisyrinchium* sp.), huanqui (*Dioscorea* sp.), gadu (*Conanthera bifolia*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, añpe (*Alsophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—myrtle (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luna*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. congestifolia*, and others), boldo (*Boldoa fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), peumo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), kopiu (*Lapageria rosea*), kowüll (*Lardizabala biternata*), doka (*Mesembryanthemum chilense*), mulul (*Ribes glandulosum*), nüyu (*Greigia sphacelata*), mulluen (*Empetrum rubrum*), apples (feral: post-Columbian, of course), and others; "hazelnuts" (*Guevina avellana*); seeds—llenque (*Podocarpus andina*), and lanco, lanko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); ŋalka, petioles of paŋke (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and greens—graciola (*Gratiola peruviana*), placa (*Mimulus luteus*) (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 100, leaves eaten as Europeans eat salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—*Durvillaea utilis* (giant kelp), *Ulva lactuca* (sea-lettuce), *U. latissima*. Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 30) lists as scarcity foods resorted to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to ŋalka and añpe above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Yuyo (*Brassica campestris*), yerba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), yerba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. viridis*), cardo, troltro (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance: there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famines proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from rare statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 124) and Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 36), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Four-footed game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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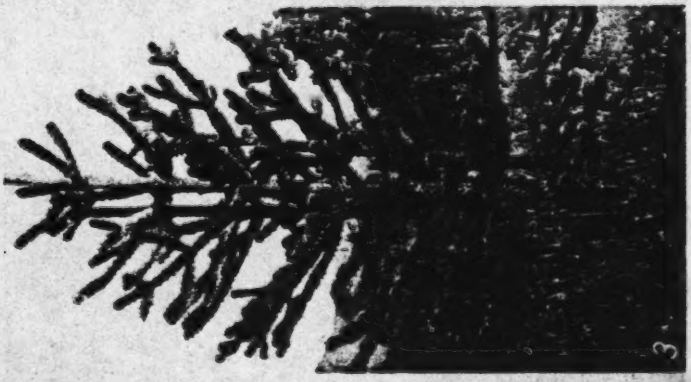

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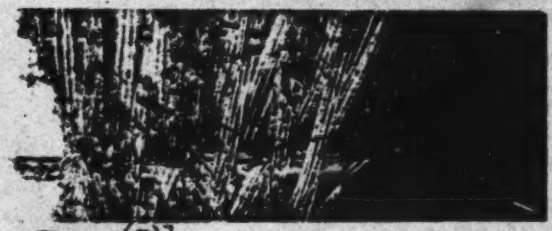

Fences, and the araucaria pine: 1, Chicken-yard fence (Alepíe). 2, Cattle pasture fence (Alepíe). 3, A young non-fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Coñaripe). 4, A fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Panguipulli).

[p. 172(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

312
482

252
354

137

1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quilaquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [173] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours. A T 525

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 137 A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calficura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Cheoeque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt A our colloquy.

439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of ● 137 Cheoeque's toldos, where animals were lazoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for T A a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been cheated by the Picunche thieves.

439 Towards evening Cheoeque sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825 T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

A 361 T A 133 137

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. A 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Chocoque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Chocoque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Chocoque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)[ ]941.SG4 Americana SG4

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

History, linguistics, and ethnography have been given far more attention than physical anthropology and archaeology. Various naturalists and ship's surgeons during the past 200 years have contributed sectional measurements and observations, and a few small series of Araucanian skeletal material are present in Chile, Argentina, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States. However, no museum has an adequate collection, and not even one anthropometric index, ratio, or simple measurement has

3: Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain [illegible] literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1902). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most auspicious recent development in the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Bonduel and Dr. Alexander Lipschitz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile, and Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodgrouping. C. Salas in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Pangiuna. Some of the earlier works include:

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Anthropometry

The anthropology of Araucania, as such, has not been done. There are no bequeathing cities to control Chile and no scientific conservation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently distinct elements of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chiriqui, Inca and other influences, are still most problematic—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

184 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 144 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ifiaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their peo-
144 ple as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

● 142 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[2] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[2] Schaeffle (1959, pp. 63-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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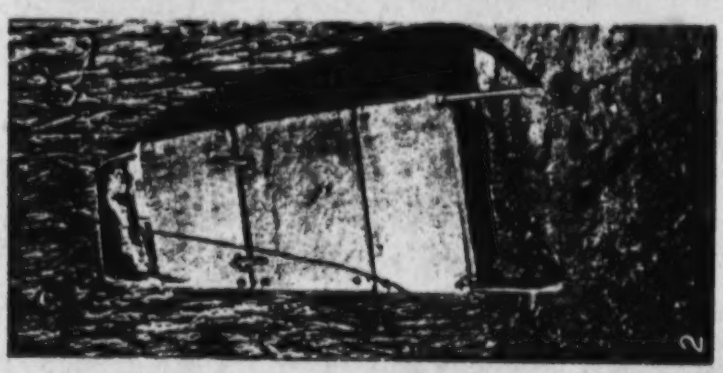

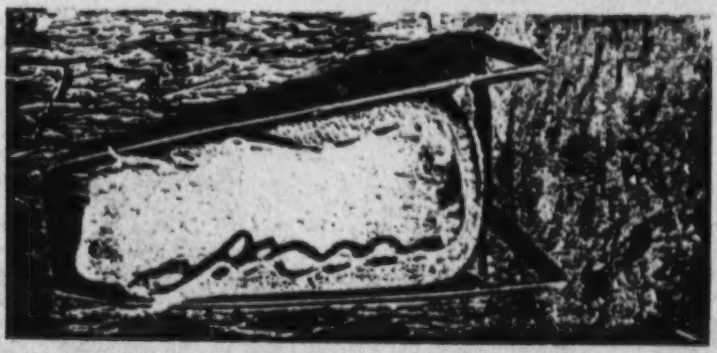

Araucanian cradle (Alepúe): 1, Front view. (Notice thatched wall of ruka.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[p. 12 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Infant and small children: 1, Baby strapped to cradle (Borora). 2, Mother nursing her 2-year-old boy. (Notice smoldering fireplace in foreground.) (Cofaripe.) 3, Boy in diaper (Alepite.)

[p.12(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[415]

Small children (Alepúe): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shoes lacking, this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p. 12(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Small children (Alepúe): 1. "We just got dressed up to have our picture taken." (Coñaripe.) 2. Older girl: "Ah, you photographed me!" Mother: "This little girl does not want to wear her shoes." (Alepúe.) 3. Two little girls from an unhappy home (Alepúe).

[p.12(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap." 846

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all. [854]

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chilenos often bulge in the back." [304]

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward [142]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

like this [running her thumb and first finger down the ridge of the nose and then stretching the nostrils wide open with the fingers]. She says to the child, 'You must have a nice nose like the bandurria.'"

Babies are often born with a dense growth of lanugo on forehead and sides of face, from temples to ear lobes. By the time the child enters school, it has disappeared, but a low hairline, a characteristic of Araucanians in all areas—one not desired by them—remains. (Cf. p. 61.)

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

For a few hours following delivery—probably two—the mother lies quietly on her back, "she must not stir in the least." Then she walks to the family's bathing place, either a river or lake or the Pacific, and there wades directly into deep water. "This brings about good blood circulation." "All the Mapuche women in Cotharipe still do that," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "Chileans around here say these women are crazy, but the Mapuche women say that they feel better if they take this cold bath."

In many instances still the midwife, or one of the other women who was present at the delivery, dips the infant into the water where the mother is taking her bath. "This bath hardens the child to the hardships of life," said a mother. "It trains the child early to physical endurance. Formerly the Mapuche could resist sickness; they were a strong people because of it. Where they are no longer given this bath after birth, the Mapuche are a weak people." No informant knew of an instance where the mother while bathing herself bathed her child, also, in a stream or in the sea after birth. "Maybe it was done a long, long time ago." Cooper's sources say it was (1946, p. 732).

Today a substitute for the baby's first bath in a body of cold water is dipping the infant into a dish of cold water or, as the Chileans do, laying it on one's lap and dashing cold water on its back and front. The midwife or one of the women who has attended the birth will do so. Generally fresh cold water is used; rarely, a decoction. The belief prevails that the cold bath is conducive to the child's great health and well-being. The dish used is one carved from a tree trunk.

The mother bathes the child frequently during infancy and childhood; many do so daily. It is dipped into a body of water, if one is near the house, or it is stood up in a dish in the rains and cold water is splashed against it. An occasional mother today uses lukewarm water or a decoction, something she learned from non-Araucanians.

A Cotharipe mother had seen a non-Araucanian mother bathe a child

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Older children: 1, "You can photograph me. I don't mind!" 2, "So does two women are North Americans." 3, "Bueno! I am standing still. It's the wind."

[p. 28(A)]

10. Midget B-9 (1940-1950) 1957
BCA Accessories 304
Chile

Children old enough to carry responsibilities (L.T) are ready now to drive one for sale in Chicago. (Above) A 3-D Pal ready to harness and leave the ranch. The horse he rides belongs to him. (Center) A "Hero, Hero" Tales also handle, of course. (Below)

Hdr: Hidgar R-9 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

[illegible] 1. Boys on their way home from school. (Note [illegible] being used as [illegible]). 2. Girls on their way home from school. (The church in the middle background is [illegible]). 3. Lonely [illegible] (Note garden hoe of [illegible])

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Young children and older ones: 1, Girls hold their play cat in position while their little brother mends it. (Coñaripe.) 2, Schoolgirls interested in the first typewriter they have ever seen. Each is waiting to have her name typed by the writer. (Alepúe.) 3, Schoolgirls lounging in the schoolyard during the lunch hour. (Alepúe.)

[p. 28(0)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Young men informants: 1, 2, Cohaique man, side and front views. 3, Alepée man.

[p 92(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Calbarigo Informants: 1, Sixteen-year-old boy. 2, 3. Two views of one of chief informants.

[p.92(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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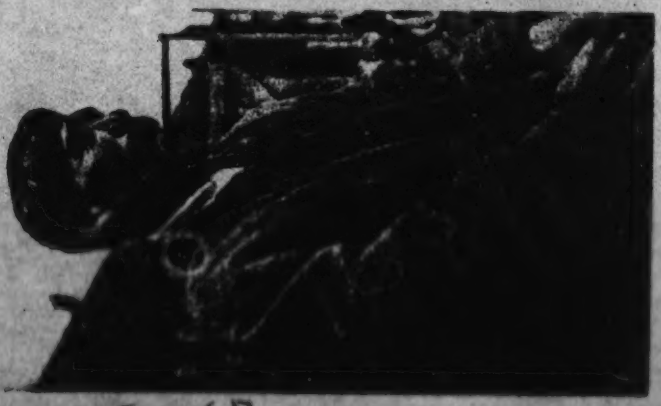

Coñaripe informants: 1, 2, Two views of one of chief informants, and 3, his daughter.

[p. 92(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Informants: 1. Domingo Huenun, chief informant of Panguipulli. 2. Cañaripe man, more than 100 years old. (Note the ojotas, native footwear.) 3. One of Alepúe's finest young men.

[p. 92(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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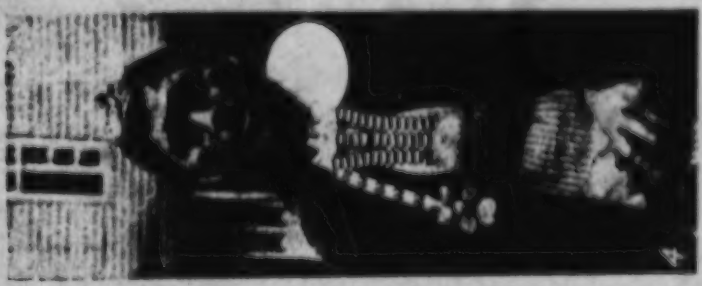
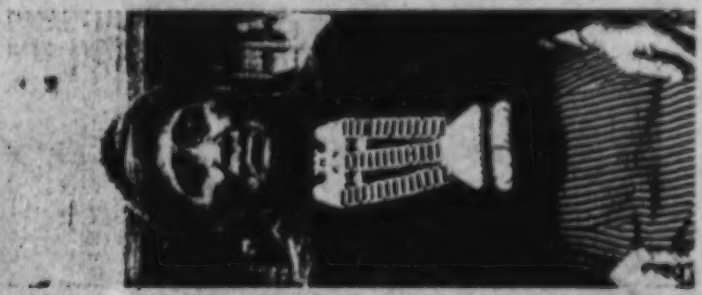
301





Pangipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huenun's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

[p. 92(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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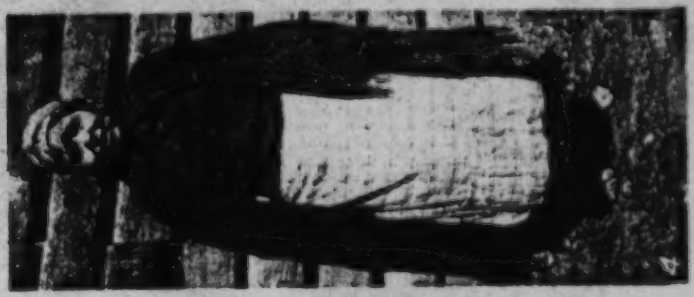

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Women's clothing (Aleptic area): 1-3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[p. 220 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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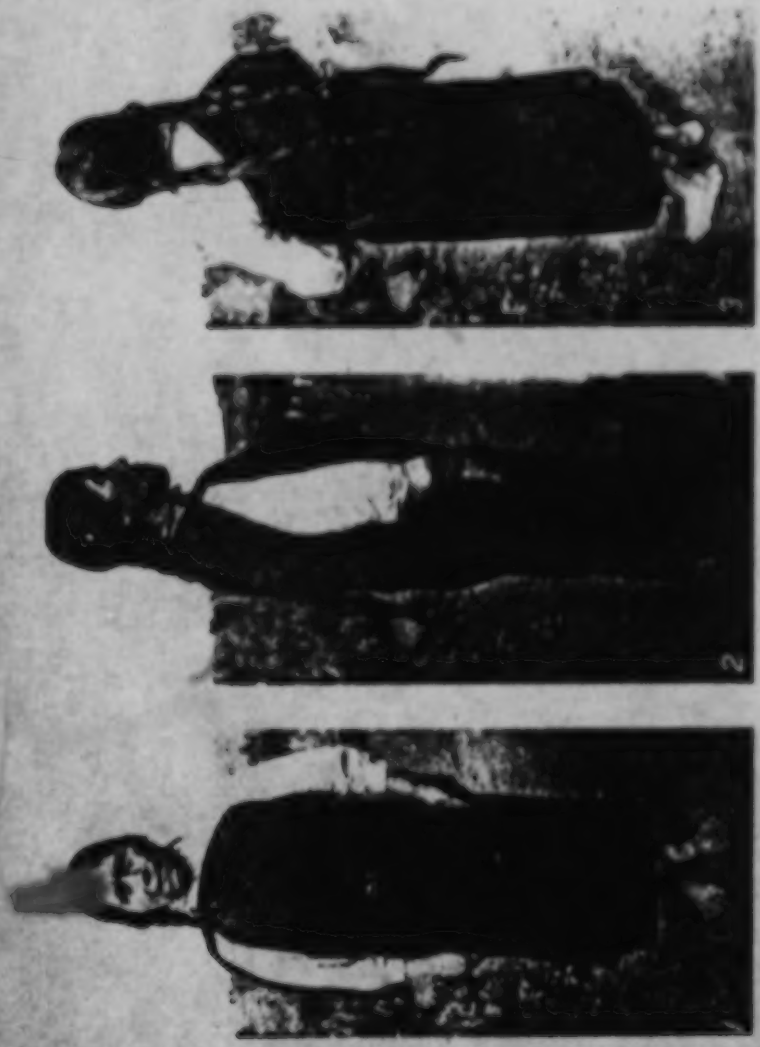

Three views of the kapam, the woman's traditional kamapam and homespun dress of black yarn (Alonso).

[p. 220 (E)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina

[p. 268(A)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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[SM]

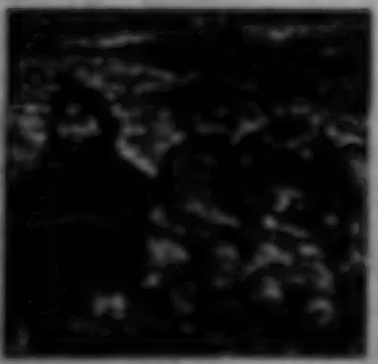
Informants, interpreters, and field assistants: 1, Obtaining information regarding the journey from Kelapun of Pitgil. To the right, Martín Ilquimán of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter; to the left, Margarita Manquilef, field assistant. 2, Interview in Quilapán (left) with Luis Pichún, of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter.

[p. 268(B)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentina



Araucanian children: a. Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Photo); b. Fascinated but playing with a non-educated toy made by his father (Transport); c. Three children [illegible] from a map in front their primary school (Transport); d. "Who are you?" (Photo); e. "I was carrying this stone" (Photo).

[illegible]

Ub: Rüger II-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Arrowsmiths SG4
Argentina

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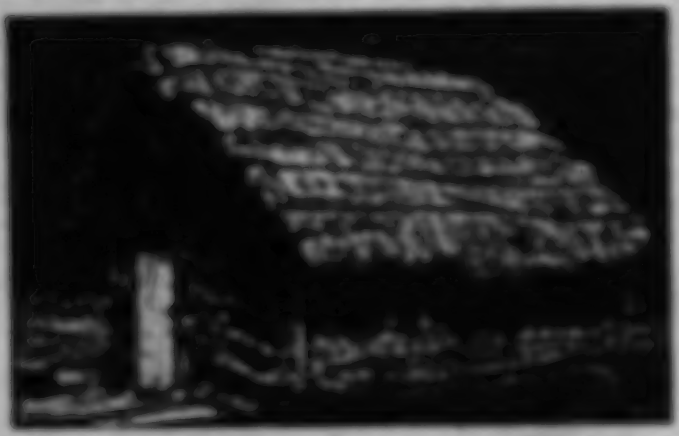

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[illegible]

Dr. Rüger E-5 (1946–1952) 1957

IGA Aeronautica IGA

Argentina

[p. 916 (2)]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A 7 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, A [291] shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young man of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A [292] noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty-seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their cyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sordo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travel- A ling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their 482 custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- A 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo. A T

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Cangoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, A 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilisation about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622
ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Cheoeque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Cheoeque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Kinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142
mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Picunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 005
came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

113, 148

Chiriguano SP10
Choroti SK8
Mataco SE7
Tehuelche SE15
Carajá SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanian SG4
Paez SC15
Cesari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SE14
Tahgan SE16

/For information on genic locations based on Strong's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see de Hill et al., SS18 Waiso, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

chiuw, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control. 756 755 [465]

All *machiuws* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampives*, who work with herbs; *ulmes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[28]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[29] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[30] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely 756 838 [143]

[28] Molina, 1808, II: 51.

[29] Lenhossek, 1904, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 130-36. Also, see Mondeck, 1930, pp. 330-49.

[30] Cf. Hunt, 1939, p. 113.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collio identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Levin ("Sekuta") Paineo playing a *lulkin* of his own make at Carrarrile. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195~
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously
[845] noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed
848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three
158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted
736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor-
593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stammer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 263), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 500,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried both white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indians" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, or all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 500,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

Those Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Ancud. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanian groups, probably Poiumche and Huilliche, sent bands eastward where descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentine provinces and territories of Neuquen, Rionegro, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Pehuenche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist, merging as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of peones (laborers, etc.) and inquilinos (peon tenants). Those Indians south of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[1] and mixture with prisoners and adventurers brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as encomiendas to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and diseases killed off great num-

1. Oliveira, in the latter part of the 19th century, reported Quechua still spoken on the north as Copiapóa.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bio-Bio and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bio-Bio River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bio-Bio River to the Rio Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncaví, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bio-Bio and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

5:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa húmeda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended uncertainty and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open conflicts with the Indians who ruled the plains. 167

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its southern neighbors the *Puelche* (Gualeche) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the *Guaycurú*. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the *Araucanians* of Chile, whose language they also spoke (map 1, *No. 18*). The *Araucanians* are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America. 101 144

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 620 miles (1,000 km.) from their orig- 167

6:Canals Fran E-4 (no date)1966 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

167 tal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*.
197 Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is
197 today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were
149 three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the *tacuarque* linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the peoples of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the settlement of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Puelmanche* (in *Araucanian*, puelmen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and influences.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
149 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1553 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the *Araucaria pine* (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolichocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient buried grounds in the same area.

101 This ancient tall, thin, dolichocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
149 cides approximately with that of the *Araucaria* pine, i. e., the Cordil-

lies between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized*. This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanian*. This essential process of *Araucanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. *Ambrosio Pietas* (1840), e. g., covers this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To possess horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous populations was intensified. The *Pampas*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses, the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also influenced cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the *Araucania* pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the inconvenience free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* influences first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually conquering the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the new-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche de Cuyo*, the second of the three previously mentioned pre-*Araucanian*

Amerindians, the results should scrupulous be identical or similar. Considering the Amerindian's manner of living, the century and a half of their conquestas of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern Amerindians remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine Amerindian eastern, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short Amerindians of Chile with the taller Patagonia and the other Pampa tribes.

According to anthropological discoveries published by Von Rath (1969), the majority (56.3 percent) of the Amerindians from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 16.4 percent are dolichocephalic like the old Pampa. This is as would be expected.

Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of Pampa origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil, use of the classic skin tents, the bolas (boleadoras) as the principal weapon, together with the spear, their diet of half-raw meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silversmith, wooden plates, spears up to 10 feet (3 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in various particulars, such as their tendency to change the r into s and the l into d.

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Cabrera, 1960; Canal Feijó, 1955, 1957 a, 1957 b, 1957 c, 1960; Cruz, 1966; Dobrizhoffer, 1779; Escalada, [illegible]; Fernández, 1945; Von Rath, 1969; Tschopik, 1947; Vignati, 1944.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[40] As incompletely as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated political-military organization, which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of contact caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a more difficult proposition because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called Pillán. This spirit was believed to be immortal, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought direction from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could win later subsequent battle in that particular place.[41] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipotent tradition of the Reconquista, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted military effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñán depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three horsemen. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal regime of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He ended in blood, each subsequent stroke and blow to the horseman, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[42] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sacrificing of blood was a

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[40] Gaspar Pons, "Noticias sobre los sucesores de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. [illegible]).

[41] Molina, p. 172; Pillán, p. 98; also see Lozano, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 155-159. Cooper (pp. 742-743) makes a valid attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

[42] Bascuñán, pp. 39-41. The cacique was a capitán of Spanish tolerance and the son of Alonso Pillán de Paula, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians armed the Indio and left an Chilión. They captured Bascuñán and took him back to their stronghold. His captors were one of three main Indio chiefs, whom he remembr and discusses as he said. He was instructed by Maulicán, a powerful shaman

[6] Gentiles give numbers varying from 15,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Huapi on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 63,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1948, p. 85.)

[7] Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (ngu mollfin che, double-blooded people); and of acculturated Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chileno blanco." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the sons of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are 'left-blooded Mapuche!'" The literature records Spanish crews and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as leaving left traces among them. Also, in Alepín area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about fifty years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepín area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

[12] Among those recognized by the Chileno Araucanians themselves as puro Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.* Both have circular mouths. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

[13] According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped (probably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants stated that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

* Schmidt (1929, pp. 39-40) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more prominent noses and less flat faces, to the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

[97] Formerly, children born crippled or idiots were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists an infanticide delivered offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrence (1946, p. 735). In Coliumpe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

[98] In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coliumpe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would dance her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her house." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPECIAL DEFECTS

[99] No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

[100] Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of its school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

[101] [102] The left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coliumpe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, ORPHANS, SLAVES

[103] [104] [105] No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a normal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in a Chilean orphanage.

39: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made 302
toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, 7; 36.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married.

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of pilacural (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on [324]
it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kodonkiten (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. [145]
An occasional person has gray hair.

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarilaqueo), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for 301
men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore [602]
them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct shape (Fig. 9, b).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tal). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the noncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñona, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta coastal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñons in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Coña, lists nearly 50 (Mosbach, 1936, pp. 30–31, 87–106). These included: Roots, and tubers—liuto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), lówü (*Sisyrinchium* sp.), huanqui (*Dioscorea* sp.), gadu (*Conanthera bifolia*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, añpe (*Alsophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—myrtle (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luma*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. congestiflora*, and others), boldo (*Boldea fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), peumo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), kopiu (*Lapageria rosea*), kowüll (*Lardizabala biternata*), doka (*Mesembryanthemum chilense*), mulul (*Ribes glandulosum*), nñyu (*Greigia sphacelata*), mulluan (*Empetrum rubrum*), apples (feral: post-Columbian, of course), and others; "hazelnuts" (*Guerina avellana*); seeds—llenque (*Podocarpus andina*), and lanco, lanko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); ṇalka, peticles of paṇka (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and greens—graciola (*Gratiola peruviana*), placa (*Mimulus luteus*) (in Mosbach, 1936, p. 100, leaves eaten as Europeans eat salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—*Durvillaea utilis* (giant kelp), *Ulva lactuca* (sea-lettuce), *U. latissima*. Coña (in Mosbach, 1936, p. 30) lists as scarcity foods resorted to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to ṇalka and añpe above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Yuyo (*Brassica campestris*), yerba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), yerba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. viridis*), cardo, treltro (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance: there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famines proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from rare statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 124) and Coña (in Mosbach, 1936, p. 26), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Four-footed game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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157 The ball games, or ball games, were frequently played together by children
572 of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

157 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and all they will go to play or to do the thing."

Jovidity and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver necklace to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much jovidity, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

● 157 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave us points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepín, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Carral, and Puerta Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the persons whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there as much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

19: Hilger E-8 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In no minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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593 of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and pro-
[855] vided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

515 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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578 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a house, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Malpuillahue on the day that the ñilatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152. 578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a chunpion (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that chunpion," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152. If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her account with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152. 578 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

strewed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!" 152 ● 128 [illegible]

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place). 152

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact cooking and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "Indios," but as "Indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba mate," said a non-Araucanian who knew every house in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. 157

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl 834

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

578 "It would not cause the cause." The
wom, generally hurled back and forth
forced out to translate. "They are
them; they are sex words related to
are so bad that should a mother be
will not call her children by them."
calling terms "ghost," "dog," and
"sorcerer." He directs the reader (1946,
pp. 30-31) for a list including gesture

An old man gave a sample of an
"even in old days." He spoke it to
wife and daughter
translated it as meaning, "Would that
be unlucky." He added, "This is the
Mapuche can say to another."

578 Murder is known to have resulted
1952 related in which relatives of an Arauca
to a Chilean came to the woman's
taking the land on which she and her
There had been much quarreling betw
the land, because Chileans, on the
live on Araucanian land. One of the
leather strap; with it, she said, she
land if he refused to leave it. When
to do this. The Chilean grabbed the
severely with it that she died a few
accompanied by his brother, immediately
civil authorities. He was sentenced to
immediate relatives of the woman
sided with the Chilean on the ground
to whip this man or any other man. The
Chilean man was not known to be a
but his temper." The interpreter
held anyone of their own who is
even a near relative. They say that
offense and is deserving of his punishment.

759 Revenge is taken upon another by
witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his
into his food or drink, or by bringing
craft. I was told of a case of a
(numerous wives) who bore her husband
wives did. When these other two
her child in her arms, the machi was

...pressions used by angry per-
...between them, informants pre-
...ly bad words; I will not tell
...m. We have words, too, that
...angry with her children, she
...oper lists among common in-
...ad," and, as worst of all,
...5, p. 729) to Guevara (1911,
...insults.

...vocation used by Araucanians,
...w tones in Araucanian. His
...re, in fact slight horror. He
...were the will of God that you
...worst thing of all that one

...from anger. An instance was
...ian woman who was married
...and told her that they were
...Chilean husband were living.
...en the two groups regarding
...ives claimed, had no right to
...omen relatives had with her a
...uld whip the Chilean off the
...quarrel was on, she attempted
...up and whipped the woman so
...hours later. The Chilean, ac-
...delivered himself up to Chilean
...ree years' imprisonment. The
...d nothing; more distant ones
...at the woman had had no right
...e informant continued: "That
...quarrelsome man; he probably
...d: "The Mapuche do not up-
...ed by the Chilean courts, not
...the person has committed an
...ent."

...ing harm to his fields through
...son by secretly putting poison
...kness upon him through witch-
...s machi (one of three simul-
...no child; while the other two
...es were found dead, one with
...cused of poisoning them.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and
157 I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we dance!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kotupan for as many years. When Kotupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminddeness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome. "Her too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is tempue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [127] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a weizufi [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

BnFaron E-9 (1952-1954)[961 SC4 Arauconiana SC4
Maguche

594 sons, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in [594] the management of the household, the garden, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the mobile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [598] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [599] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [597] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is channeled through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology [601] within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a [593] gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [408] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

155 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the rule.

155 157 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children – at least until parental patience is exhausted.

154 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [152] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses [152] her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is a fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father—even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions—especially those concerning the homestead—are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

Females do not undergo a
naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high
correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the
greatest fear of a dying man is that he will have no close
kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the
Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young
people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the
transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change
takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil
ancestral spirits in Mapuchelandt the evil spirits are those
which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has
become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead
become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts.
In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor
propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *wituan*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and
anchimalfen are ghosts in human-like form. They can make
themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves
into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are
the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as
larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing,
and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimalfen* are small ghosts,
usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly
luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimal-
fen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of
kalku who have spirited them from the burial ground under
various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however,
they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to
a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the
kalku. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful
enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying
enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the
roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a
witranalwe by outriding it, but that is possible only when the
ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of
a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it
proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on
horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to
change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12. Farron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

764 weekend. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the
cross-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the
chief's or shaman's house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of
152 sorrow on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the
adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their
hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and
the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises
are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circum-
stances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply
felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and
neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and
spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch par-
ticipate in extolling the deceased. The *wake* (*kurikewin* black
764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much
152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *ensalpoffon*,
783 during which the rites hurl invectives at the forces of evil who
are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action,
more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act,
the functional equivalent of the *ewn* (driving off the evil spirits)
during the *lillatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is
reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *ewn*
(*cuvichement*).

764 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the
574 arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the
wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors
who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake,
and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the
death they prepare themselves for the *ewn* celebration, the
major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to
the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to
attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his
relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch
on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for
this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of
mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves
ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *mofietun* (curing, sustain-
ing), *kurikewin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

12. Faron. E-4, 3 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

764 121 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

764 [1954] [1966] [764] [1989] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The hungering army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

[165]

764 1975 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'eyen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pelle* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ampellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'eyen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to 846
ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the 593
household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends
to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes [854]
husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends 854
a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the
mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are [855]
quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slap- [861]
ping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly 593
that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection [154]
toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings [854]
between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband
and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and com- [851]
panionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise [832]
atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This 593
depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and 861
training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a landholding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [166] [578] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there [416] might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613] of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608] *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571] most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572] simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628] reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- [464] sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes [24] hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [177] the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465] paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556] can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156] arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648] *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

Il:Far on E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *division* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. 427 648 423

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land. [156]

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios.* 427 648 [554] [692]

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land. [691]

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing 427 [556]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

683 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to
578 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supe[illegible]ral component. That of
[172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *reñu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition
[184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 at which the Indians are aware that they diverge most widely
from accepted Chilean norms. Contemporary Araucanians real-
157 ize that many people condemn them as ignorant, poor, dirty,
shiftless, drunken, and lazy, partly because they have different
forms of behavior and outlook. Yet the Mapuche have a nostalgic
regard for many of their traditional practices and are unwilling
to give them up altogether. Consequently, one detects un-
certainty and a marked ambivalence in their attitudes. Some-
times they seem ready to forego native customs and become
thoroughly assimilated, but at other times they try to resist
the pressure to change. For example, even those who recognize
the greater efficacy of medical science, may hesitate to forego
the ministrations of a *machi*. Within a broader frame of refer-
ence the matter of land ownership is a case in point. The
Mapuche may not like the current system of being forced to
live on fixed reservations, yet most of them realize that this
very system gives them a measure of protection, and that
their way of life would be much more likely to be lost in
competition with Chilean customs if their lands were not set
aside as reservations.

177 A final review of Araucanian culture in transition throws
light on several important characteristics of cultural dynamics.
As in any study of dynamics, it is a matter of analyzing a
balance of forces, in this case forces of sociocultural change
versus forces of inertia. Not all the former press with equal
intensity on all sectors of a given social structure, nor are they
always resisted with equal strength. With regard to the
Mapuche it is obvious that pacification and the attendant loss
of symbolic masculine values gained through boldness and
fighting ability have had a far more drastic effect than the
introduction of new styles of dress or housing and that re-
sistance to changes in material culture has been less steady
than the reluctance to accept basic Christian teachings. Then,
again, it should be noted that changes originating in one sphere
of activity are likely to spread into other areas of the culture
pattern. Thus, ownership of reservation land in severalty begins
as a material and economic shift but can be shown to exert a
powerful influence on chieftainship and marriage customs.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!" 152 828 [417]

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place). 152

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "Indios," but as "indigenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. 157

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl 834

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do.
157 And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminddedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

the Chupat, and perhaps to Santa Cruz. Jackechan's son—the boy with light hair and complexion—volunteered to come to England with me, and I consented to take him; but on hearing that there were no ostriches or guanaco where we were going, he thought better of it.

Some of Quintuhual's and Foyel's people also arrived, but behaved themselves in a very different manner to the Tehuelches. Their women and children had all been left in Geylum, and the men walked about in a very independent manner, with a proud, superior bearing, not condescending to admire anything, or to ask for any presents. One of them, on the boatman requesting his fare for bringing him across the river, refused flatly, and then drew his revolver to enforce his denial.

Last, but not least, as became so great a personage, Casimiro arrived, attended by Melia, who acted as secretary. His costume had suffered considerably from his late pursuits, and his appearance was by no means improved by a gash in his face received from a Manzanero in a brawl at Sance Blanco. He installed himself in the hotel, hired the fifes and drums of the garrison to play whilst he was at breakfast, and for two days kept open house for all comers, ending the day in an advanced state of intoxication.

At the end of this debauch a bill was handed to him which, I should think, took the value of nearly half his rations. This sobered him, and he, taking my advice, left the hotel, and crossing the river proceeded to Sance Blanco to look after his rations and Indians. On the whole, the Indians behaved very well whilst in the settlement. I saw, of course, some drunkenness, but not nearly so much as I had expected. One and all parted from me with most cordial farewells, and pressed me to return to the Pampa, as they call it, as soon as possible. Jackechan was one of the last to leave. He, as well as one or two of the others, had found an old acquaintance in Mr. Humphreys, formerly of the Chupat colony, but now settled in Patagones as carpenter. We all met in Mr.

S-Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Planche

[Pg 734] 197 fusions, epithelions, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, barbed, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1918-17, pp. 91-92). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877-78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water holding a bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:296): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot ones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916-17.)

24 [202] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Martín de Ivera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (Gonzalez de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (*pron*) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc. cit.; Bulnes, 1911, p. 16); indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Pérez, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:321, 2:755); and for other purposes.

Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua. 172

The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1930, pp. 33-5) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars. 185

Various linear measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:768); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.). 184

Marital disengagement, it may be added, in the form of milder paratasis or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 206-07). 158

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanía*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195"
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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Collaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Collaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. 145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another 153 child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Collaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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278
957

Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Pangipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canelo. Its barks are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

——— Chañihuel, found in swampy ground. "I cured my bloodsight with it."

Huiñoles grande. A decoction made of it relieves severe fever. "It is especially good for children; we have one cause to them from drinking it."

——— Kowlauh. Its leaves are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of kowlauh have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, except only the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

——— Maitén. Inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that maitén hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with cobbs, also known as ulmopulle, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on fish or meat.

Salsa del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, frogs were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe toromemil, on the hot stones."

Toromil. A decoction of it and mikie relieves fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants have no Araucanian name for toromil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158

Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and celinda machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that the sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

No case of psychosis existed in Pangipulli area while I was there. There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepin area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area. [55]

The only psychotic person in Cabulipu area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruka close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruka. "He is mumbling," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruka and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They listened to him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no place for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruka and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boroa area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One man leaves home and wanders about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and incoherently; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. Informants recalled men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the men of caciques, the nobili, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married secondary wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or chief prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional man had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were [55] [55]

16: Bilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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but who was like a human, had extraordinary powers. He lived south of here, and persons often went to confer with him regarding sickness. He was called to from a distance, and summoned from there to a strong voice, always. I remember one instance well. The unique was Chabert. Either his wife or his sister—I have forgotten which—became very ill. No one knew the cause. So Chabert sent a messenger to Chel to ascertain the cause. Chel answered that the woman had poison in her blood; they should take her middle, cut it open, and there find the cause. They did this, and out jumped a big toad. And that was the witchcraft that caused the sickness. They took the toad, threw it into the fire, and roasted it to death. This done, the woman got well. Chel no longer lives. Whoever finds his house can restore his own health by means of them. I should like very much to find a piece of one, now that I have suffered from a cold for seven weeks; I might get relief."

A fifty-year-old woman complained that a jealous man, a neighbor who had powers of witchcraft, had inflicted sickness upon her and her six-year-old daughter. They were considered sick, whereas the men had only a few pustules. A black vulture had hopped around their yard recently, one they had not seen before. It occurred to them that harm was being done to them. "We were filled with fear," she said. "That night, while we were in bed, there was much loud breathing in all corners of our house. The next day both my daughter and I were sick. We knew then that the black vulture had been sent to make us sick. We were sick for days. One day while we were feeling very sick, we heard the trampling of many, many horses. It sounded as though horses were going into the shack in which we had stored winter food for our animals. We went out to see. We could neither see nor hear the horses. We knew that old man, our neighbor, had caused many to die in our area, among them my husband, and we thought we were destined to die, also. He was in all this was known what medicine to give for the sickness he inflicts."

Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. Non-Amazonians who had lived in close association with Amazonians for several generations knew of only one case of a functional type. Another, a woman who had thyroid surgery in very recent years, was said to have on her hands drawing Amazonian weaving designs in sand while speaking coherently in Amazonian (non-Amazonians in close association with her for years did not know the spoke Amazonian). When mental ill health did occur, it was believed witches had inflicted it. An 80-year-old woman told of a uncle whom everyone feared. "I knew him. One day, when I was already a young woman, he took some apples

from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and whom he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the sandi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became broken. Her father told the curiqueo who had bewitched, and said, "You must help us." The curiqueo sent for his own brother and for the sandi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the sandi, "You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her." But the sandi would not admit it. The curiqueo, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The curiqueo had told the sandi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the sandi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the sandi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the sandi's hair—he had long hair. But the sandi kept saying, "No, sahyr. No, sahyr." Then they whipped him with 3 ladies; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 ladies, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The sandi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's house. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's house, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of lunacy, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of them few times without being harmed."

PSYCHIATRY, THE SHAMANIC

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by sandi who were either both herbalists and curiqueo, or only curiqueo. "It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Sandi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" [158]
(*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684]
been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626]
in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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supernatural events and forces (e.g. as indicated by their dreams and, perhaps, visions). They also take any promising young girl into their house for training, for which they are paid well. But girls who have recovered from serious illness under the *machi*'s care are considered prime material as trainees, since during their sickness they have already dealt successfully with supernatural agents—a demonstration of their courageousness and sensitivity. It is said that a *machi* will sometimes coerce a young girl whom she has cured into becoming a trainee. *Machi* acknowledge that this sometimes happens, saying that they do this primarily to keep their profession alive for the good of the people, and that they select the most suitable girls to this end. 756

One *machi*, who was a particular friend of mine, was training one of her three daughters along with two other girls, both distantly related to her through the distaff side of her family. The story of her own calling into the profession follows: 756 159

When I was a young girl I was very sick and almost died. I had large boils all over my body [showing arms and legs] and in my hair. My family was very poor. My mother was a machi, but she had little success and did not control powerful spirits. Because of this she was unable to cure me. I recovered through my own power and from what I had learned from my mother. I did not have her knowledge, but I had more power.

One day I was tending the sheep when I saw a pure-white lamb walk out of the bushes toward me. The lamb followed me all over. Suddenly, I saw a large kultrun [drum] over the bushes. It was covered with a pure-white lamb skin and there was a blue and white drumstick with bells attached to it. I decided that this vision was presented to me so that I would become a machi. I talked about this with my mother, but she did not know what to do. She felt that her powers were failing and that she could not instruct me properly. My mother later became a great machi, but now she is too old to practice anymore.

I was sick with boils again, but this time I was able to do my work. I decided to go and get cured by a famous machi in Maquegua, near my natal reservation [a woman who was her mother's mother's maternal aunt]. Because my father was very poor, his brothers and sisters contributed to the cost of my cure and training. The machi who taught me asked for 600

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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pesos [a very large sum of money twenty years ago], a new house with room enough for me to sleep alone, and some sheep. I stayed with her for several years and learned a good deal. I was a good pupil, but she did not teach me everything she knew. After about five years I was ready. I was almost as good as my teacher, because I had special power that she did not have. I called on my own powerful pillan. [Asked about this in detail, she said the following.] My mother told me that the women in our family numbered machi among them, and that it was their spirits who possessed me and made me wise.

Now I am successful and make a lot of money. It is not easy to be a machi. People think it is easy, and they say that the machi is rich and fat and does not have to work. But my husband works as hard as any man. I work harder than other women. When I am possessed by a spirit, I am close to death. It is dangerous and I do not like to do it. Young machi, as I did myself, like to have the spirits enter them because it is exciting, but I am getting older now and more careful. My house burned down last year, and even the orchard was damaged. I know the evil spirit responsible for this. Long ago I cured a man, but he would not pay me what I asked, and then he died. Now his spirit has been captured by a kalku and sent to fight me.

The story of how a male *machi* began is also of interest:

I was born blind, and they call me waillepen. My mother died because of me. I was raised by my father's sister who lived with us. My father died when I was small, and all my brothers and sisters died. My father's sister married a poor man who came to live in my father's house. He was a bad man. People called him a kalku, but he did not have any power. He was just mean. The people chased him away, though, and we all went with him. We lived in Boroa until I was a young man. There my stepfather had an uncle who was a machi and who talked often with me. I learned a lot from him, but I had no power. I never dreamed.

I used to walk a good deal, and one day I kept on walking. I finally walked as far as Argentina and all through Chile as far as Puerto Montt. I have crossed the Andes many times. I heard many things in the houses where I lodged. I worked for people making spoons, baskets, and all sorts of things. I can weave better than a woman, but they have to show me where the colors are.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [752] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
•159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
789 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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159.
756

When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

755 thungulmachin. *She told my father that only the kalku could*
756 *reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She*
159 *said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and* ñenechen. *Two days later my sister died.*

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku's* client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin.*

My father was a thungulmachin, *a* machi's *helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a* machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] *taken by a* kalku, *and that he might become an* anchimallen, *since he was still without a name* [*i.e. had not undergone the* lakutun *naming ceremony*].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [*a water spirit*]. *The people were happy he had not been taken by a* kalku. *They paid my father well.*

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131 tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renao, and Cholchol (Map 2).

161 There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to 101 be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class 197 as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

101 There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.

[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 ● 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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TABLE V

Distribution of Carrarrière's Population

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	224

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

J:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted (in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the result of 1869-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucania, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bio-Bio along the Rio Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucania. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautin in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1836, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884. 175 648

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase. 164 165 421

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Perinet y Garcia: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 622) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 157,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the 161 [114]

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 300,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martin Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method
162 of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a
144 full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a
175 pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bio-Bio as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

101 These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bio-Bio and
161 the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some
175 Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands
[131] eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with *yanaconas* and *mitimaes* brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as *encomiendas* to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

2. Olivares, in the latter part of the 18th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

here, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of encomiendas. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bio-Bio by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e.g., Quinchamali near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bio-Bio, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cuneo (Kunche); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cuneo with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranquelos or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[5] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1555, Mercedarians, 1548, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1843-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucania, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Rio Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

5. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Sabino Streit (1916-1924): Bibliotheca Missionum, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the first and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SC4 Araucanians SC4

/6/ south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 41° S., a little south of Lake
/7/ Nahuelhuapi. In 1698, De la Cruz (1698, p. 30) located the *Puelmaide* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampas between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 202) had done earlier, and the *Huilliche* south of them. Pompig's *Puelmaide* were around Antuco (1835-36, 1:201). Manella in 1870 (1877, 1:15; 2:272) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 32° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chileno and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Puelmaide* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 16th-century *Puelmaide of Pirinu*, or of the middle 17th-century *Puelmaide of Rumlen* and of the "Tyrano criollo de 1655"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Manella are descendants of Sandon Lebendet's *Ranquelche*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or opinion of the user.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Pirinda* located by Falkner from about lat. 32° to 37° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chileno *Pirinda*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major Araucanian invasion of the Argentine Pampas in the early 19th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chileno *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chileno *Huilliche* and *Puelmaide* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampas, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chileno *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

/6/ Estimates of Araucanian population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to six and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Río-Río and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Río-Río Rivers was at a very

early period reduced greatly. Martín de Loyola remarked (1903, p. 640) that after 30 years of warfare, when formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1596) to be reduced to 1[illegible]. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did illness, it would seem, disease (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization.

The Chiriguano, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Chapaco, 1884, p. 71; 1874, p. 302); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day Araucanian numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "Araucanians." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,116, that of 1920, 102,102, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 32) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 107,000 Araucanians. He was also told by an Araucanian leader, Martín Calfiú Rumquilleí, that a population of 200,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 200,000 Araucanians probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 32; cf. 1941 c, p. 62). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking Araucanian dialects, appear to be our best guess.

The Araucanian-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 32). In Moesdike's time, 1870, the Ranquel alone were estimated by him to number 6,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fonck, in 1895, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampas and Patagonia, including the Araucanian elements, as about 7,000 (1895, p. 10).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the Araucanian population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing.

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are usually relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e.g., *ruqued*, *tued*, *tuqued*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty

10: Rüger E-5 (1948-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

[76] [illegible] Martín did not return for years then. When he did he came home as a Chilean lord and disembarked at Cura Cura. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the new chief, Antilén, among them rice and sugar—Antilén. Lindel was the first Mapuche here to see rice and sugar. After Antilén had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a new sugarloaf with a crook of silver. The new [illegible] at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same one; it was decorated in a fox and supported by a silverpoint. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the chiefs, Antilén. He disembarked at Cura Cura with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw the bad these soldiers as to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that were their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women called. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from exhibition.

[77] The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean [illegible] to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still further north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 36° and 45° S. (1946, p. 98). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 37° and 40° S.

[78] In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Tolten, Mehuin, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Truenos Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Calaquipén, Caburgua, Pellaifa, Pangipulli, Riñihue, and Ranco. From nearly all parts of the previous snow-capped ridges of the Andes ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,977 feet), Quetrupillán (9,240 feet), Shushuenco (9,240 feet), and Lanín (10,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

[79] The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

[80] Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from [illegible] to three times their when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean es-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ifiaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün
144 che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

142 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[8] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[8] Schuchle (1950, pp. 65-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than
184 are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically
[147] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct [423] rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

[p. 4 is blank]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

C 563 175
C 175 648
A [121]
C [669]
A [61]
A [61]
A [161]
A [186]
C [186]

After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [996]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, 314
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A[2] gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[5] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[5] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[2] [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 --- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
182 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
105 herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161]. [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> *Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans* (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

621
162
592

In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[3]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

[3] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees. 621 162 592

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES 621 162

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women. 595

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two father had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the
●162 pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are
592 fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1.....	1	1	4	6
2.....	1	1	6	8
3.....	1	1	5	7
4.....	1	1	2	4
5.....	3	1	2	6
6.....	3	3	1	7
7.....	2	2	2	6
8.....	1	1	3	5
9.....	2	3	2	7
Totals.....	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Teuque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daugh-
592 ters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one
621 is a bachelor and one a spinster.

162 Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The
595 chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarrile, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

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542
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A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

621
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About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bio Bio River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collio, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collio-Painemal people moved to Carrarrile. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collio-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarrile, Antio Painen, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarrile about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarrile divided to form Cautinche. The off-

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 100,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collín Huaiquilef) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collín as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish conquerors, and Chilean settlers, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 18th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 100,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Ancud. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanian groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampean Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Pehuenche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great longer class of roto (laborers, etc.) and huaso (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[1] and mixture with prisoners and settlers brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given no encouragement to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

1. Chiefly, in the latter part of the 19th century, repeated Spanish raids carried on far south as Concepción.

[90] groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all these women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[91] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists know what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it so soon, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Cabelaje one a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with herbs.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 750) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unwedded mother of his child. She counted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, as we saw called before.

[92] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the last unique of Cabelaje were died, at about the age of ten, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[93] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

[illegible]

[95] In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often ten or more years elapsed before a man married an unfathered woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

[96] The number of children in families in areas under my observation

HR: Riggs E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

[illegible] from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of which had died. A 50-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead; the oldest was 23; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PERINATAL PERIOD

[illegible]

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing to a Araucanian] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing (Chilean dances) gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her room." [illegible]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman remarked that it might be human earlier. "But if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [illegible]

[illegible]

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian Indian. "Our most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which purchased clothes and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the writing of a grandmother had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 722) notes that Goshen Ion [illegible]

11;Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,201 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

[p.4 is blank]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 311 423 [622] did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

A 311 Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

C 311 This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

A 361 114 62 162 423 E 162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	500	102	*c.* 3 ha.

Pelehue

C 311 This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	293	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall. 242 433 311 [134] 433 241

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields. 311 [233] [241]

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. 621 [62] [311] [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people. 311 [361] [262]

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [996]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [923]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land.[1] Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

311 423 622

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

423 [648] [563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

162 [592] [591] [423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

241 [133]

1 [i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

423 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural af-
177 fairs.

[648] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

[14]
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[36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 427 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 [162] Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from [248] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally [241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 433 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most [183] cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 233 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 311 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
36 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
16 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[5] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[5] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
692 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

[1] A	HOMESTEADS Adults	Minors	Absent males	TOTAL LAND *Totals*	Hectares	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	ANIMALS Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	53	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34		

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[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

[1/A [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/Rented			ANIMALS Shared/Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	48	(19)	86	181	234	95	27	80	11	17		71		

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented					
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External		
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x		162
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				592
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C				423
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x		422
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x		427
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x		231
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x		648
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x		
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x		
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	18C		x		
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x		
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x		
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x		
Totals																
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	3	5	29	3	9	0	100				

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[62] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagonia. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [79]

Some believe there is a flying snake that dislikes pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Araucanos (Hilger, 1950, pp. 26-28); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild. [79]

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trangual 842

9: Brand E - 4 (no date)[1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on reservations, allotted to title to the chiefs representing the various family groups; led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucania, and the founding of a line of forts west of the Bio-Bio along the Rio Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians experienced their final revolt. The expedition of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucania. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1888-91. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the Frontera was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the province of Malleco and Cautin in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 300 years. During this period the main wars and interventions were ten in number: War of Indian conquest, 1598-1603, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1819-1825, 1835, 1868, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

Population

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, cholera, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became more stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, timber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living on various periods during the past 50 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. Official censuses have been taken in Chile in 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1952, 1957, 1959, 1960, and the last one in November of 1966. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1885. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1880 between 50,000 and 60,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 50 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pelissier y Garcia- Araucanos Indígenas, 1908, p. 600) to 150,000 (Cochran- Geography of Latin America, 1908, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 150,000 Araucanians. However, this number relied upon the validity of the

and placed on a litter covered with branches of cedar and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relatives. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the wake and feasting continues till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1902, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 759 787

Tulagua (Three Bears or panther), head chief or spokesman of the villagers of the upper Cacalos, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the tribe where the death had taken place. [164]

The medicine man, or medicine man, was sent for, and a messenger sent round by all chiefs of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their corps, or braves. The medicine arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a green skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green cedar wood was lighted before the door of the room contained which some than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The medicine man stood in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the dense of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the skin a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small copper-like

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization. 161 [165]

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians*." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 82). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

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Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r=s=d*, *n=ñ*, *t=tr=ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty 197

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Chevalier, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Mariñoso (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalonga*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival. [164]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had [64] one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihüe stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultruŋ (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

755 (5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally, however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are 776 of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llaŋka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llaŋka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and weathly persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1909, II: 33–56; and Hanson, 1939, pp. 217–22.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

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POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

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The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Puricot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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[114]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *euta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization. 161 [165]

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have [165] lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random. 423 648 551 553

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautiche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract. 423 [16]

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8] 423 425

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to 166

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

166 the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean
444 landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

423 All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is
134 aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily
242 wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

241 Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupa-
[442] tion for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C48 175 [167]

tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

A [166] [021]

A 648 175 C 563 175

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

A [166] [167]

C [167] A [021]

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1948:630 *et passim*; Canals Frau, 1948:781–88, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *division*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

613 562 589 [434] [437] [434]

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

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In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

591 [361] [613] [66] [182]

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

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To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

591 613 [23] [69] [66]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent ambilocal relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

§[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in pre-reservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gen-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The story of this creation may be told quite simply.

After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (cacique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than lonko (head of kinship group), had usually held some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years—the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone looking for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dominant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of unrelated kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses—size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[7] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant subdivision, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[7] See Cat. 10a, p. 73—Editor.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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Mapuche

made them a continual military threat. It was a period of interminent hostilities — raids (malones) among the Mapuche themselves and the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns.

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crisscrossed by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of division. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of division. South of Cautín Province division and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for division could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step further and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations at its own discretion!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[9] There has consequently been a reaction to division on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

[9] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, states that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle divorce. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880 the Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been evicted out of their farmer settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also considerable population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and east. Personal, single territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the civil records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his juncite for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Law No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 17*) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation to which he turns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be registered in various tribes.

In large parts of Araucanía the exploration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were pushed off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

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Mapache

and political organization of the reservation Mapache was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the pre-reservation Mapache lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the leader, and that the authority of the leader was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seem to have occurred a consolidation of military powers in the hands of leaders who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military debut or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the leader's authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapache society on the local group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the winning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiments manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and discrete against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapache under surveillance through its army and police lines, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapache themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous area. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapache-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and lodged in by governmental resolutions, the chief controlled the basic

D:Farm E-5 (952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family-oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (subsequent) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[094] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
179 an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and counterchanges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The house of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and rewe are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa húmeda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended uncertainty and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open combats with the Indians who ruled the plains. 167

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its southern neighbors the Puelche (*Gennakes*) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the *Guaycurú*. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the *Araucanians* of Chile, whose language they also spoke (map 1, *No. 18*). The *Araucanians* are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America. 101 144

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 625 miles (1,000 km.) from their origi- 167

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

167 nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling origin-
197 nally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is
197 today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were
144 three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
144 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
144 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

lara between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanised*. 161
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 144
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanian*. This elemental process of *Araucanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, *gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture*. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [33]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanised*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanised Pehuenche* was to the
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of 167
Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

•167 peoples who were eastern neighbors of the *Araucanians*. In 1658, they were still masters of their own destiny, for various persons who made statements in the aforementioned criminal proceedings knew only their own language, whereas 100 years later they all spoke *Araucanian*, and only the old people still remembered their ancient tongue. This is what we are told by Father Havestadt, a Jesuit missionary who, in 1750, visited Malargüé, the principal center of these ancient people. After that date, the *Pudche* de Cuyo disappeared as an ethnic entity, to be transformed into a mere subdivision of the *Araucanized Pehuenche*.

The second expansion was to the east. Documents point to its presence north of the Pampean region in 1708. In this same year, at a meeting of Indians of different origins held at Las Pulgas near what is called today Villa Mercedes, on the Río Quinto, some Indian chiefs who were not yet *Araucanized* had brought to the council "Andes Indians or Indians of the War of Chile." At that period, the *Araucanians* on the eastern side of the Andes were known as *Aucá* (*Araucanian* for enemy, traitor, or contrary), or "upriver."

A year later, in 1709, they were also found in the region east of the Pampa. It is stated in an official document that one of the expeditions that went south from Buenos Aires every year in search of salt had met with a great number of *Aucá* who were taking large herds of cattle and horses toward Chile. Some weeks later, at the meeting of the "Cabildo" de Buenos Aires, held on February 10, 1710, it was stated that a great number of the *Aucá* Indians from the Chilean Cordillera went to the plains to steal cattle.

At first, these visitors limited themselves to exercising their influence upon the pre-*Araucanian Pampa* of the plains and to carrying off the wild cattle. But soon they attacked the Spanish settlements and committed all kinds of depredations against stock farmers in the vicinity of Buenos Aires. In 1718, the presence of *Serrano* is noted. *Serrano* was the common term for the Indians of the Cordillera, that is, the *Araucanized Pehuenche*. Ten years later, it was suggested that an expedition be sent from Buenos Aires "in order that the *Aucás* and *Serranos* who inhabited the vicinity of the city be driven out." Thus, we can establish 1725 as the approximate date in which the *Araucanians* were definitely established in the great plains.

Once these *Araucanians* were established among the primitive *Pampa* they were the most dynamic element, and rapidly became the dominant one. That is why the Englishman, Father Thomas Falkner, could state in his well-known "Description of Patagonia" (1774) that his experience as missionary in the Jesuit settlements south of Buenos Aires showed that the *Araucanian* language "was the most generally understood" among the Indian populations of the plains.

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Puelenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea. 167

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places. 101 622

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Puelenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamill-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Rengul* (in the *Araucanian* language, *renkul* means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucú, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S. 181

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampiata* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes area near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal
178 terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting
•[167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82 all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier
591 exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this
582 change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same
177 term as their spouse. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pola*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*killan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the
582 same persons as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate,
587 the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Marino de Lovera 1865 [in 1896]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *duke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *domo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurua*. If *duke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *duke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *duke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *duke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurua* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Roguilao (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural population. 1977 [167]

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage ceremonialism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many home crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions — for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational concept since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation — that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be readapted functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve.

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Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the [133]
state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three [131]
major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the
coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the
Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense ever-
green forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the [137]
larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal
mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the
process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the an-
cestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing coloni- [167]
zation by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the
area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes.
Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and [131]
cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a
consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity
among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and [287]
one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going [284]
to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In
the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the [341]
foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, [233]
cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, [341]
although reaching 3,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in
terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly
by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, [333]
but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few [131]
colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some exten-
sive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the
coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but [131]
there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. [341]
Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production
and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which
grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts
in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large [137]
number of cattle. [333]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range,
provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the [134]
valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1968).

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural area. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.*

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.* Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

*See Gaspar, 1968-1969 or Jacobs, Cassels Pom, 1968-1969-70, for discussion and bibliographies.

*This mechanism was the policy of division, whereby reservation landowners could vote to give up reservation status.

Faron E-5 (1952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
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INTRODUCTION

After 1868 expansionist pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area west and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869-70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace reigned for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political economy of the Mapuche were lost. Gross population loss characterized the decade or so after 1883, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

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[72]
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Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of interpersonal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Many of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are uniquely protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile – land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and landowners in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strength white colonization would bring. These attitudes are considered into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4.
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "horse pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be pseudo if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective so far as they go, but they are usually simple and are infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel cheated by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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Mapuche
Chile S61

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

MAPUCHE	MAPUCHE	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pullao	ch.	[illegible]	c. [illegible] ha.
Llanlén	gen	[illegible]	c. [illegible] ha.
Huenchual	ang	[illegible]	c. [illegible] ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Rahue Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of reducción (pacification), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into ownership, the claimants who remain any claim to land through inheritance or through attachment with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices, which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female redondos (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a redondo only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also cede his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might rent some crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

credit system of which he is so less only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapache are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapache to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through division) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapache landholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, right credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapache have attempted to solve their agrarian problems in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is allowing the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapache provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to employ it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being regulated before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapache to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapache are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a supposition of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have sought more sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of usufructs was circumvented.

Rentals used to be made by showman, although Mapache who held many horses also resort to this practice. The showman is often (I am usually interested in having the reservation undergo division so that

to collateral inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives. As outsiders Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had one, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the Juez de Indios, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant parentage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married unofficially to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, one of them sons. He is an unemployed farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through securing long half-share arrangements with outsiders and Magache from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kin group par excellence, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this sector would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these possibilities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established outsiders who generally have larger holdings and few claims to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup par excellence to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF DIVORCED WOMEN

When a woman marries patrilocally she retains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An unmarried woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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Mapuche

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that orthodoxy descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 --- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
62 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
698 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
62 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublimation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least
[167] in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [Sec. Cat. 116, p. 93 -- ANALYST]

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tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublimation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter.

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal division. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucania. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where division took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for division. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the landlords of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, removed to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the título records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his families for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 17) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various títulos.

In large parts of Araucanía the exploration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [169]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of 583
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. 613
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship 622
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such 629
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [594] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [424]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization. 595

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir. [853] [846]

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (ñuke) and "other mother" (kuñuke) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called ñuño, a special term of endearment. 595 854 [601]

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of mobile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was assumed that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- 595 [647] [849] [768]

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riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 433
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land 583
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [571]
and in no way commits relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [617]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 194
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 141
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [617]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [571]
young man or his family if they are not neither closely related to him [551]

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's male kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and counteracted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker — outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

836 [1954] [167] [178]

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as only such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1952, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment — no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and more in public — at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

836 578 [628] [273]

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different subhouseholds of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and mutilational attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

836

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the lineal group where such activity was a certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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587 Filial inheritance of views is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a realenade) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

[169]

[possibly "wives" is meant. —Rosalind]

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eration system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, or least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims on land. The children born of the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides eventually on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his social group are weak -- they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be measured for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially disinherited young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservation to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

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[593] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[594] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

[423] An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
[594] made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the title de merced, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of reduccion. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[592] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[593] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[593] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[594] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children
[594] with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

[593] In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
[594] riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[594] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the mar-
[594] riage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

[593] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
[594] ments between wife given and wife received, no accumulation of wealth. The very differences of the matrilateral marriage system,
[594] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

[423] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
[594] through the division of some reservations into ownership holdings, or
[594] slowly diminished. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilineal system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 18th and early 19th), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to a new level. Incongruentional competition for wives under the conditions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by supernatural and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be so forced as a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:95). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast some doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analysis solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which stems of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances to which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has needed to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingship participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

[illegible] according to their number and the economic position [illegible] 423
[illegible] of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the [illegible] 428
[illegible] population pattern quickly was one of gloom for the Magnetic.
This, especially, is the period "golden age" to which contemporary Magnetic who, although they tend to place the time of Decadence far back in the era of modern and internal strife. From the inauguration of the separation system there have been a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic relationships, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance within study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in 169
Magnetic population and the pressure on land resources this has 177
occasioned in most parts of the indigenous area. Many 468
Magnetic have left the separation to seek employment in Chihon and Ingestion towns. Most of these are young people, who are ejected all usually from the growing separation population. They become detached from the secluded world of the separation, and their ties remain in the details of Magnetic problems of adjustment to Chihon social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those in the separation and they comprise a distinctive Magnetic participation in Chihon towns and cities. While their suggestions on the separation is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up separation life, they remain a significant diagnosis, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chihon ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual ceremonialism which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these people, the full significance of Magnetic ritual has faded, overlaid with time, and the social implications have significance as over the man's association becomes diluted to some degree.

Under Chihon law, these people are entitled to participate 169
in the inheritance of separation land, especially if the separation 423
has a schedule for division, that is, legal division into certain 428
holdings and distribution to a responsible separation community. [602]
Therefore, and usually depending on the character of the
contact they have maintained with their homes on the
separation, daughter are able to exercise such rights. Most often

169 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingsmen
423 oppose their claim for purely economic reasons, and because of
423 social considerations which place Ooogsis outside Maparika
society—from the Maparika point of view.

167 In a sense, these Ooogsis are considered to have descended
423 when their detection from traditional life appears permanent.
329 They have abandoned ancestral land, they have forsaken ancest-
ral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one
regard their often wistful (bedraggled) offspring? These
Ooogsis appear to be of little importance to most of those who
have departed from traditional conservative life, but they
are causing the distinctive questions raised by the priests
(ellatuhi) at the Ellatan ceremonies and are causing those
subjects especially honoured during funeral rites. For the
ultimate threat posed by the modes of young men is to their
forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility,
the result of sentiment and proper propitiation—and this threat
devolves upon those who have not abandoned conservative life.
Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents
who are local descendants of the original conservative chief or
who trace descent to the founder of a subsidiary lineage given
asylum during the partner decades by the original chief work
against and at the same time is supported by the claims of
Ooogsis. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem
facing the conservative Maparika.

198 Not is the problem of divisible as immediate and weighty as it
423 was assumed to be. According to government figures, there are
almost as many legally constituted conservatives today as there
were a generation or so ago. The trend toward partition for
division of land into ownership has effectively ceased. Again,
this is partly because of a growing economic and political
consciousness, partly a result of a strengthened or sentimental Maparika
mentality.

413 Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups
192
411 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
tive principles in Maparika society. They result in the most
closely related males living together and working harmoniously

(2) Farm 2-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
SDA American SDA
Mapuche

about Mapuche responses to rituals—sociologically or psychologically considered—one must understand the western-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based rule of complete or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And to live with this, to deny the systematic perpetuation of ancestral spirits, as Titon does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of continuity and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the control of some population by the annual migration of substantial (unmarried) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never sensibly see the conversions from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titon touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks were directed especially to those Mapuche remaining—to the conversions. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the choosing or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards (wealth, honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-conversion days) for respective activities are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise cannot little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1971:142).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the closing sentence, which almost fully vindicate, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the conversions. The longer part of conversion life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

a cultural and moral limbo, and express feelings of futility. In their view, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new scheme which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

DOR But what about the estimated 20,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? In Titiev's a bit interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it reach its debut? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spade work must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually collectable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is rash unusual.

What have the Mapuche been doing since 1881? I suggest that we may well be content with the simple observation that they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "issues" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly theft, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those manufactured by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapuche land. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? In my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western estimate of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the hunting and gathering

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,000 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sections by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has included armed conflict, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-81, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in preconservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and assimilation, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone emotional manipulation and disintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*ewn, tillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from male except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[74]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the house for as long as a year.[75] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kürüwapu* ("forland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu*; or underground, *minchemapu*; or across the sea, *wemel-qlkm*, or *kurkal-qlkm*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *rewé* with which they were formerly associated.[76]

[74] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 202.

[75] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[76] Hosse (1939, pp. 88-90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Patagonia

24 > reported almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:[illegible], [illegible]) — and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether
24 they practiced any agriculture in Marino de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cultivan de sembrar" (1:[illegible]), and "cogen sus trigos y cebadas [Bonpland? or the native *Arauacanian* "cebada"?] son abundancia las Pagiscudos, compra sus pavo labradores y tan muy pocos que sembran no contentan" (1:[illegible]). Pietas (1646, pp. [illegible], [illegible]) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1646, p. [illegible]).

Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:[illegible]) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "cuhoes" (Chaqueo sp. probably) to prevent sinking
2/2 in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only
in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only
mention of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Puhuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also
222 Pietas, 1646, p. [illegible]), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather
621 piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 19th century, the culture of the "*Puhuenche*"
171 between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1646, p. [illegible]) that the "*Puhuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Puhuenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Marino de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other unreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page [illegible]; on the *Pehuenche*, page [illegible]; on the *Araucanian Arauacanians*, pages [illegible]–[illegible]; and on the *Puhuenche*, page [illegible].

19: Kilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told 805
it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husband's. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Cofaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any [171] ●
one counting the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Araucanian custom.

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need 821
at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but must certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kilmewenunpei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as nakünewenunpei.

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it [191]
is attempted at all. In Alepée area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Pangipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

In one of the valleys in Cofaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Cofaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 776 [178]

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepde man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." [775 177]

According to a Pangipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kuliniwilu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had no children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that moment it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [174]

Some believe there is a flying snake that dislikes pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Araucano (Hilger, 1952, pp. xii-xiii); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild. [174]

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul 842

§92 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's honor not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

§92 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of
787 predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

DEATH

795 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it seems
§95 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PERSONAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

§93 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos
262 or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. [n] Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

§95 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
784 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived."

BABY, CORD

The attending women tie off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The cord is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had in the years they took our land from us, the cord I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of saving the cord into a beaded bag (Bilgre, 1950, pp. 60-61) and remarked, "That was not the custom over around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the well.

PLACENTA, CORD

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of spiki boiled in chicken (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicken was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the well within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse.

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a cord; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The cord was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

PREVENTING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today sulfa drops is used.

R.Farns E-9 (1932-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[24] on their mourning and
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most widely known professional studies of
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a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinions over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that liniality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

14: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent anew but will be evaluated with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolisms will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Marshalling the Forces of Good

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a machi. She always requires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the machi enters the body of holiness, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The machi is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a kultrun (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the machi), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

/[illegible]/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C
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[illegible]

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 49 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Snow-River) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /[illegible]/ I saw at Caiyipendi had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Guaicha half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Chaco have

C1
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wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 3, Fig. 31, p. 69) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Guaicha or by the half-breeds. Among

A
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the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimens pictured here.

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

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[199]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the

T-G
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184

foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

Z: Musters T-S (1869-1870)(87)
SMS Tehuelche
Araucanians 569

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a
more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and
appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but
Jackanikan, who could speak both, and Gregorio, strongly
insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. These 515
personal habits were remarkably neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 771
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 552
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save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintchani's sister was sick, her brother assumed 785
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a moolil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a cacique's forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 523
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

113 113 been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain cranial measurements and indices provide the bulk of content in the literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1902). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most comprehensive current development is the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Beuchat and Dr. Alexander Lipschitz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (*Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile*, and *Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena*) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodtyping. G. Rohn in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Fueguians. Some of the earlier works include:

113 Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'homme américain*. 2 vols., Paris, 1839.

Léonce Pierre MANOUVRIER: "Sur les Araucans du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Paris, Ser. 3, VI, 727-32, 1883. [France 1850-1927 Paris.]

Herman F. C. Ten KATE: "Contribution à la crâniologie des Araucans Argentins," *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, IV, pp. 211-220, 1893. [Dutch physical anthropologist; lived for a time in Argentina; 1858-1931.]

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on Chilean Anthropology," JRAI, XXXIII, pp. 167-178, 1902.

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of the Araucans," JRAI, XXXIV, pp. 170-180, 1904. [Latcham lived for three years in Mallecu and Cautin.]

Ricardo E. LATCHAM: "Antropología chilena," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, XVI, pp. 241-318, 1908.

Nello PUCCIONI: "Crani araucani e patagoni," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, XLII, 1912. [Italy, 1881-1937.]

Luis de HOYOS SAINZ: "Crânes fuégiens et araucans du musée anthropologique de Madrid," JSAP, n. s., X, pp. 181-194, 1913. [Spain, 1881- .]

ARCHAEOLOGY

114 172 The archaeology of Araucanía, as such, has not been done. There are no imposing ruins in central Chile and no scientific excavation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently dubious channels of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chinca, Inca and other influences, are still moot matters—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

3:Brand E-4 [no date]1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

satisfaction. From the Río Maule to Chiloé Island the chief archaeologic items are pictographs and petroglyphs, stone projectile points and holes and other weapons, stone rings (weights for digging sticks, or mace heads), mauling stones, polishing stones, hammerstones, mills, adzes, hoes, gravers, burners, "hunting" holes, spindle whorls, stone and pottery pipes, tupsis, and pottery. The chief archaeologic sites are boulder paintings, caves, coastal kitchen middens, small habitation, refuse and burial mounds (concrete is term used for same), potsherd areas, and ruins sites. The area between the Maule and Río-Río rivers is much richer than the wetter forested country to the south.

The men at present most active in the archaeology of Araucanía are Mr. Dillman S. Bullock, of El Vergel, Angol (Bullock lived some 19 years farther south in Araucanía, ca. 1907-1917, before coming to Angol in 1931), and Dr. Carlos Oliver Schneider, of the Universidad de Concepción. Latcham, Cyrarzin, Lenner, and others have worked in the area from time to time. Mr. Bullock (Methodist missionary, agricultural expert, and ornithologist, as well as archaeologist) has a small but excellent museum at El Vergel. Other museums containing material from Araucanía are in Temuco, Concepción, Santiago, and Valparaíso. The Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation in New York has the best collection of Araucanian material in the United States.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Any corrections of errors of commission and omission will be greatly appreciated. It was impossible to compare many titles with the originals, and errors in pagination, volume, date of actual publication, capitalization, punctuation, and accentuation must occur. A common practice in Chile is the reprinting of separates from serials and periodicals with a different date, different pagination, often without mentioning the medium of original publication, and sometimes with a different title. In the case of many writers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, dates of birth and death are given variously by different authorities. The author has attempted to give these dates for all individuals concerning whom information was readily available. In the case of many individuals born in the middle third of the 19th century, it has not been possible to determine if they are still alive. [Date-?] means probably or definitely dead, but date not known. [Date-] means probably or definitely alive as of 1941. The names of the writers of non-Spanish origin often appear both in original form and in hispanized form. An attempt has been made to give (with the first citation) the complete baptismal form, wherever known, even though the name does not so appear on the work in question. Chileans are even more prone than most Latin Americans to use the complete form including surnames of both father and mother. [*Cf.* Luis Thayer Ojeda (1877-): "Orijen de los Apellidos en Chile." *Proceedings Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 61-112, 1917.]

3 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SO4 Araucanians SO4
Pehuenche
Argentine Araucanians

Río-Río River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Pirwanche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practised as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Cheape (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 139).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapoche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalonko were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy maces, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marino de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46-47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Pirwanche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Pirwanche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Marino de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

10. Bilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
504 Araucanians 504
Argentina

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colonists. I want to help you; but you must speak our language." Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Días!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamill (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In that time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

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Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fuke; his brother and sister each as pilic; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as *fot'un*, and his daughter as lawe; a woman speaks of both as pulell.

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The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Salas, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Brush, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Mamuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collúm Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junin de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Pictographs in Vega Valle near San Martín de los Andes: 1, Lolasing pictographs under the guidance of Jaroslav ("Sailko") Swarycewski (right) and Sergio Shajowski (center) of the offices of Parque Nacional de Lanín, San Martín de los Andes. Left, Margaret Mouflech, field assistant. 2, Pictographs found at the site.

[p. 316(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

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Pictographs: 1, "Salko" pointing out pictographs found at site shown on plate 68, 1. 2, Pictographs at the same site chalked over by "Salko" to facilitate photographing them.

[p. 316(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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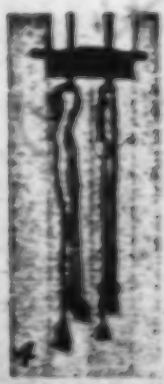
[145]
[172]

[276]
[411]



778

Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (mesawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kussler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Tromen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumina, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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415 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put
172 them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

Both metate and muller (kudi and fiúmkudi) were of stone. The
412 metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches deep.

The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toast
415 ing grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of colihüe bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Huapi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of maqui or michai; guanaco color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

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FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Collín Có.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Collín Có in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family. 105

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified
621 date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
●173 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his government connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

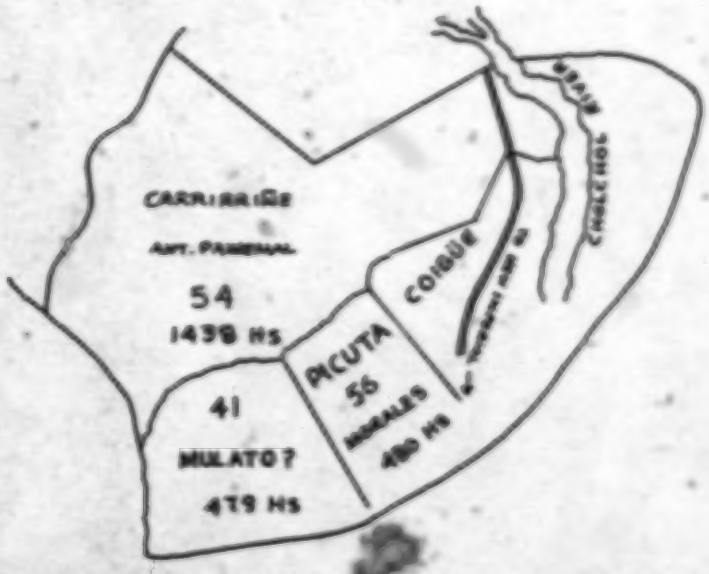

FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarriñe. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarriñe residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarriñe's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Trasahuillín.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

a woman. According to the other version a large group of 621
Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at 173
Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *lonko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family.

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, 621
Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous 578
offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, 526
these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools.

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to 621
Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some 578
land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in 871
Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

10: Hülger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

173 619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be hümke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Ñamkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefin, and Ñamkeful were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

velatí mán (*velatí*: *velorio* or wake; *mán*: night), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *ad mapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [188]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [301]
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corpse through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173].
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

T 164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the con-
A 755 tinued illness of Gravial and the others. Towards evening of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Los Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then
A retired.

● 173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Mafia, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked
A an armed man.

431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylcm, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the reserve, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintulual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

1: Titiev. E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

If one wishes to understand the process by which the contemporary situation of the Mapuche came into being, it is essential to know some of the salient aspects of their past. For that purpose an effort will be made to provide a historic outline that will include only those events which have had the greatest impact on the development of the tribe's culture.

Broadly speaking, Araucanian history may be divided into five parts: a pre-Spanish period before Almagro's arrival in Chile in 1536; the Spanish period, between 1536 and the establishment of the Chilean republic about 1810; the early decades of the republic, between 1810 and 1884; the era of pacification and settlement on reservations, from 1884 to 1917; and the time of the allotment program since 1917, featured by the allotation of land in severalty. It is with the last two periods that this monograph is primarily concerned.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD, BEFORE 1536

Neither historians nor archeologists have yet been able to establish the date when Araucanians first settled in what is now called Chile,[1] nor does any one know the extent of the territory that they originally occupied. Events remain obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Araucanian domain was invaded from the north by the powerful Incas. During the struggle that followed the Mapuche were forced to yield some ground, but they seem to have been successful in establishing a frontier at the Río Maule (Map 1). No doubt the Incas sometimes penetrated far beyond the Maule, and their comings and goings unquestionably affected the lives and customs of the Chilean aborigines, yet it is generally agreed that the Incas met with such stubborn opposition that on the whole "the in-

[1] New light will certainly be shed on this topic when hitherto unpublished reports of excavations in the Cautín Valley become available. According to a note from Lothrop, Mapuche log coffins and unpainted pottery have been found stratified over stone box graves and painted pottery with Inca-influenced patterns.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 656. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1909, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941a, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere the re-
582 ported.[8] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collio in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collio denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *fukr* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collio sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter
613 is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

050 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[9] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

● 174 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[8] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[9] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

1: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.* Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,* an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law taboo.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."* Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."*

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

* Latcham, 1924, pp. 255-256, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, 1: 161 ff.

* Latcham, 1924, p. 360.

* Murdock, 1949, pp. 206-7.

* *Ibid.*

179 611 his he had at his command. These conditions provide the sociocultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineage is in its most highly developed form.*

179 615 There still remains for consideration the question of whether the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such veiled connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, prohibitions, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,* but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.*

179 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

179 678 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

* White, 1939, pp. 369-70; Murdock, 1949, p. 140.

* Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *lagu* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 710-13.

* Titiev, 1943, pp. 318-19; 1944, pp. 46-48.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

nuclear family."[20] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[21] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[22] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[23]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[24]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[20] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[22] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[23] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[24] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

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About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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spring groups became politically, spatially, and economically detached from the parental settlements, but they established sociological links with one another through the agency of cross-cousin marriage.

To venture just one step further into the realm of hypothesis, there is something in the social composition of the reductions that makes them appear like patrilocal units which are dispersed into a number of multilocal residences. If one imagines a vast roof extending over the entire limits of a reservation, each of them could be viewed as an old-fashioned patrilocal, unilocal residence. In other words, a small reduction, such as Cautinche or Renaco, probably contains much the same association of individuals as would have made up the traditional *loñko's* household and following; and a large reservation like Carrarriñe comprises an aggregation of several such households. In some ways the dynamic process by which new Araucanian communities were formed resembles the kind of segmentation which has been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Hopi and other societies.[12]

Great, indeed, is the contrast between the theoretical organization based on the unilocal practices of the past and the actual state of affairs in the present. Each married man usually lives in his own dwelling, which averages six occupants. Few ties hold together the coresidents of a reservation, and divisive tendencies may be noted on each reduction. Relations between communities likewise tend to be slight, but complete isolation is prevented through contacts brought about primarily by reservation exogamy, school attendance at near-by reductions, and participation in *ñillatuns* and the large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun*.

[12] Titiev, 1944, pp. 46–48; 1943, pp. 522–30.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 *cedrus chilensis*). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

[132] The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

000 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking
197 peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in
101 or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S.,
174 whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverria, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly nonlinguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pegüenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pegüenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pegüenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431–38). 197 101

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143). 174

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions. 174

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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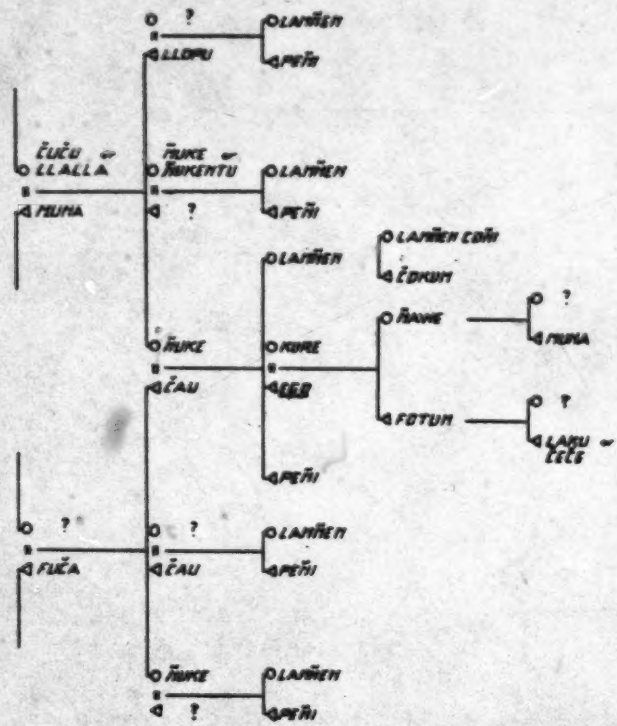

DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lomñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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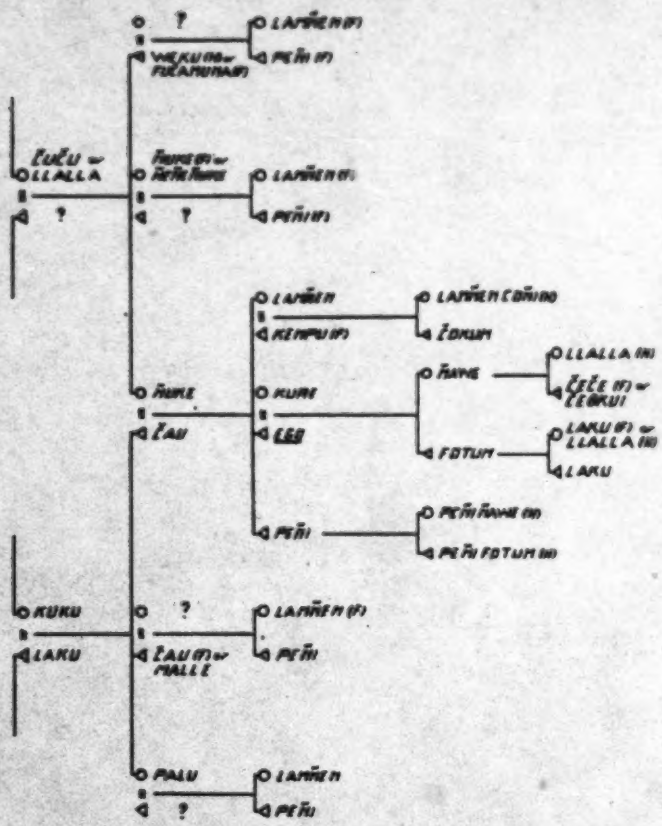

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*hurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*kenpu*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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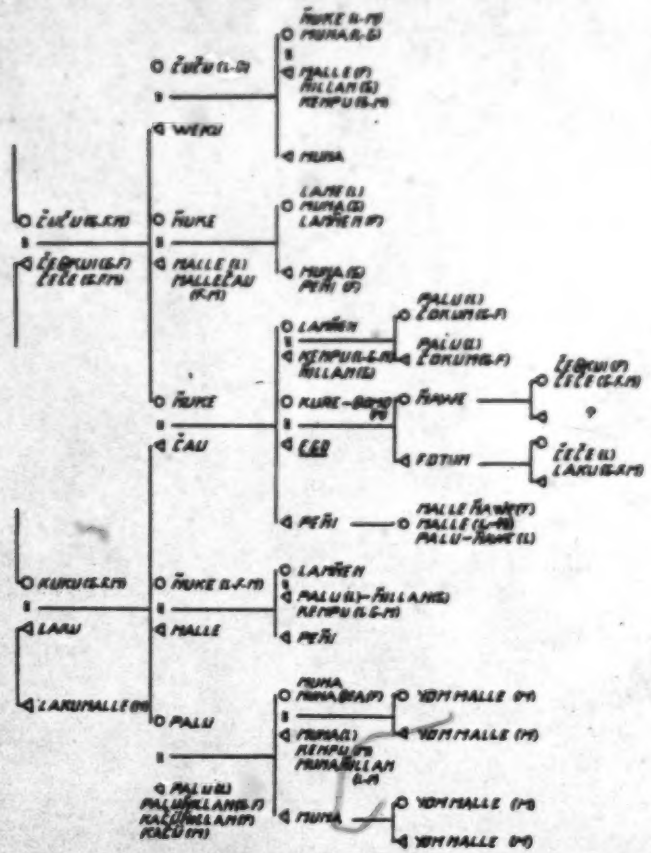

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[8] 595 601 611

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*ñuwa*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 595

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

8: Faron E-5 (195) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

●174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g. *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Lacham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[8]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *θomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 601 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. 174 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [177]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pseu-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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175 they saw believed him—they saw his wounds and believed the he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Llenial was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same one; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

131 The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile)
●174 when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Cabuégua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

132 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

161 Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
621 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel
that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely
that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its
performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early
reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 narianmente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors
of the family group or generalized forebears of regional popula-
tions. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized
ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized
lineages developed and their membership increased, *i.e.* during
the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congrega-
tions became defined according to participating reservational
membership, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially
significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written,
"hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based ri-
tuals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that
Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial as-
semblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had
become more complex than anything described for prereserva-
tion times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes
proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro
grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger
ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He
never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral
to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[4] This is the group with which my report is concerned. 101

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Properly speaking, then, the known history of the Mapuche extends over a span of four hundred years. This study does not propose to cover such a lengthy period. A brief historical sketch will be provided in the succeeding chapter, but I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1884, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1917, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began. 101 175

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cũga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[5] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture, 121

[4] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 258–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 191–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–99.

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 722.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

If one wishes to understand the process by which the contemporary situation of the Mapuche came into being, it is essential to know some of the salient aspects of their past. For that purpose an effort will be made to provide a historic outline that will include only those events which have had the greatest impact on the development of the tribe's culture.

Broadly speaking, Araucanian history may be divided into five parts: a pre-Spanish period before Almagro's arrival in Chile in 1536; the Spanish period, between 1536 and the establishment of the Chilean republic about 1810; the early decades of the republic, between 1810 and 1884; the era of pacification and settlement on reservations, from 1884 to 1917; and the time of the allotment program since 1917, featured by the allocation of land in severalty. It is with the last two periods that this monograph is primarily concerned.

PRE-SPANISH PERIOD, BEFORE 1536

Neither historians nor archeologists have yet been able to establish the date when Araucanians first settled in what is now called Chile,[1] nor does any one know the extent of the territory that they originally occupied. Events remain obscure until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Araucanian domain was invaded from the north by the powerful Incas. During the struggle that followed the Mapuche were forced to yield some ground, but they seem to have been successful in establishing a frontier at the Río Maule (Map 1). No doubt the Incas sometimes penetrated far beyond the Maule, and their comings and goings unquestionably affected the lives and customs of the Chilean aborigines, yet it is generally agreed that the Incas met with such stubborn opposition that on the whole "the in-

[1] New light will certainly be shed on this topic when hitherto unpublished reports of excavations in the Cautín Valley become available. According to a note from Lothrop, Mapuche log coffins and unpainted pottery have been found stratified over stone box graves and painted pottery with Incas-influenced patterns.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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175 the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 648 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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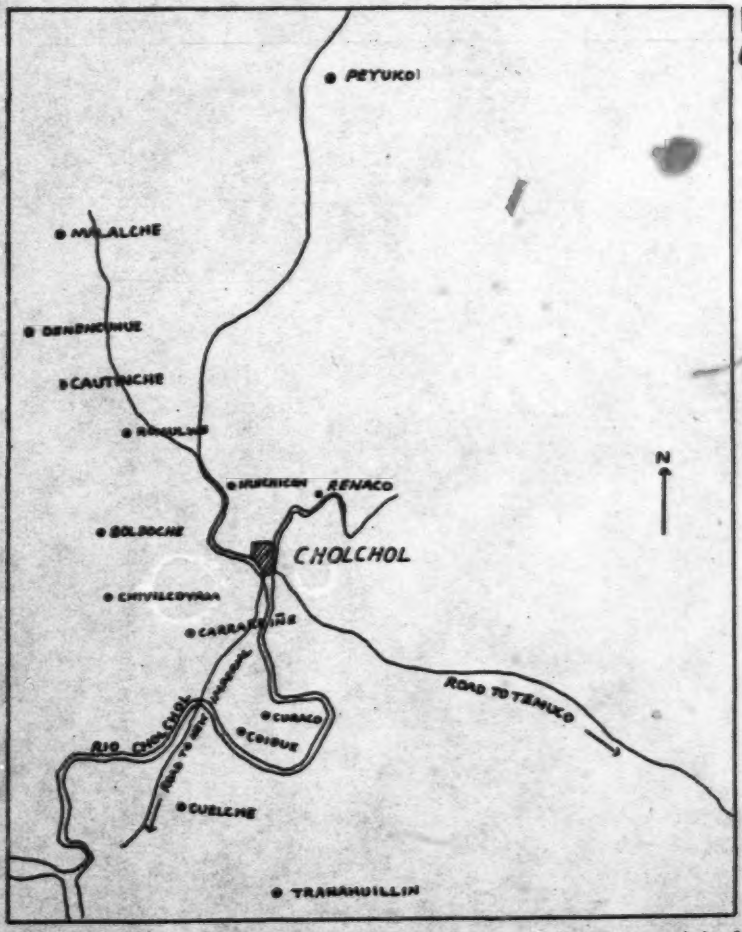

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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175 648 strated that Indians and Chileans could learn to live peacefully together.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Araucanians continued to be on their guard and to oppose any large scale encroachment from the direction of the country's capital on their north, but during the administrations of President Manuel Montt (1851–1861), they found themselves cut off at the south by the arrival of German and other European immigrants who came by sea to establish settlements that extended out from Valdivia. Thereafter, relatively peaceful penetrations from north and south succeeded, where frontal assaults had failed, in opening parts of Araucanía to white settlement. To encourage this movement, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from losing their land, the government passed a law in 1866 that provided for the establishment of large reservations or reductions, which could not be alienated from the native occupants. Whatever parts of the area were left unassigned, however, were sold on easy terms to colonists. Unfortunately, as the region was unsurveyed and unmapped, no definite boundaries could be set up, and since the filing of legal titles was not always required, the matter of land ownership in the Frontera soon became subject to utter confusion and endless bickering.

It must not be thought that the Araucanians, with their long tradition of fighting in defense of their territory, made no protest against the new invasion of their homeland. They revolted violently in 1868–70; and, when Chile became embroiled with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific (1879–83), they took advantage of the absence of troops in their area to stage a major uprising that continued from 1880 to 1882. This turned out to be their last major effort to regain their lost independence. As soon as Chile began to feel assured of victory in the War of the Pacific, she sent her seasoned soldiers to the Frontera, with the result that by 1884 the Araucanians were thoroughly defeated and pacified.[7]

[7] Galdames, 1941, p. 337. Dr. Lothrop said that in Latcham's opinion the use of modern weapons was a decisive factor in the final defeat of the Araucanians.

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PACIFICATION AND THE RESERVATION SYSTEM, 1884–1917

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When the government of Chile, in the year following the victorious termination of the War of the Pacific, succeeded in pacifying the Araucanians, it took the stand that the Mapuche deserved to be punished for their disloyalty in revolting while the country was at war. Accordingly, it was decreed that the titles to their tribal reservations were to be cancelled, and their holdings were declared state property.[8] The Indians were permitted to remain on the reservations previously set aside for them, but all of Araucanía was politically subdivided to form several of the present provinces including Bío Bío, Malleco, and Cautín. In fact, it was upon the establishment of the last-named province in 1887 that "the whole of the Frontera was incorporated in the organized national domain,"[9] and to all intents and purposes the Araucanians thereafter became an ethnic minority group of Chilean citizens living within the borders of the republic. New towns and cities sprang up all about them, lines of communication crossed and recrossed their former territory, roads and railroads were built throughout the region, and within a short time every section of the Frontera was penetrated as increasing numbers of colonists laid claim to the unreserved portions of the area.

In this way the Araucanians, soon after their pacification in 1884, came to be confronted with a major problem of cultural readjustment. Whereas they had once been accustomed to wide stretches of free land, they were now hemmed in on fixed reservations; where they had developed a way of life that was successfully adapted to the conduct of long-drawn out wars, they were now forced to modify their customs to suit the conditions of lasting peace. It is the study of this aspect of cultural dynamics that provides one of the central themes of the present monograph.

[8] Housse, 1939, p. 282. This move may well have been influenced by the need of finding new economic outlets for veterans who were returning from four years of service in the army.

[9] McBride, 1936, p. 296.

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THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1917

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Toltén the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1930 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.
[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old asked only that the government should give them adequate legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

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There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175 ●
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to
their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and
to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such
as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and
beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few
game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived pri-
marily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and
potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and
onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to
improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations
and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin
group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and
assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership
applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that
land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to
McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting
individual holdings had become established, though probably a
family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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509 621 minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

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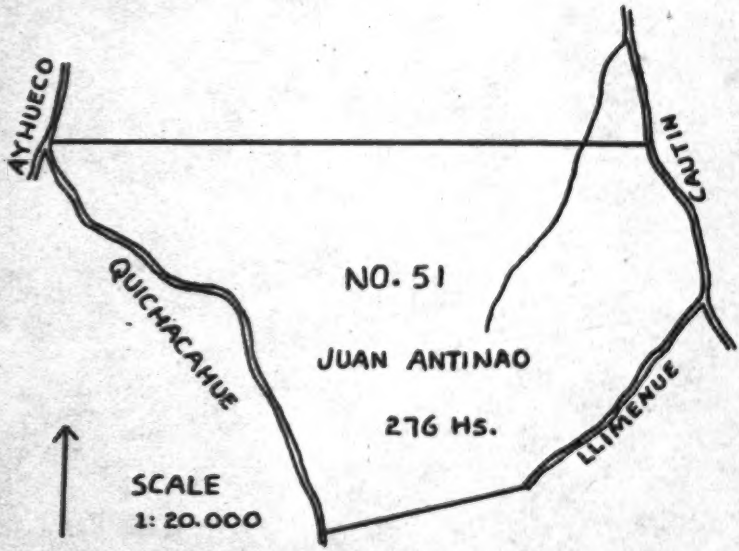

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

•175 621 Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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Cautín River, not far from house No. 13 on Figure 4. For this reason the settlement came to be known as Cautinche ("people of Cautín"). There are conflicting stories concerning Antío Paineo's reason for moving away from Carrarriñe. Some say that he was driven out for misconduct, but others claim that he was only an alert pioneer who took advantage of an opportunity to lay claim to a good piece of virgin territory. Cautinche's founder chose wisely, for he picked a spot that was both well watered and well drained and that unquestionably had excellent forest and plant cover in those days.

As the founder of Cautinche, Antío Paineo became its first head man or *loñko*. He had several wives and begot a number of sons who, in keeping with unilocal and patrilocal residence practices, lived with him permanently and served as his followers or *kon·as*. Antío Paineo also had a sister, Jacinta, who had gone to live with her husband near by, but her spouse had several wives and treated them badly. After a time, Jacinta left her husband and came to live with her brother, bringing along a son named Juan Antinao Paineo. Antío Paineo reared his nephew with his own sons and apparently gave him training as a *werken* and a potential heir to the chieftainship. At any rate, when Antío Paineo died, his succession was disputed between his son, Dionisio Paillao and his sister's son, Juan Antinao Paineo. Although the son was traditionally favored to succeed, he was judged in council to lack the force of character and oratorical skill that were highly regarded in a leader, and Juan was elected *loñko*. He proved to be an able leader,[3] and during the period when reservations were being formed he was given an official *título de merced* on December 19, 1893, that entitled him to 276 hectares for the use of forty-four kinfolk (see Fig. 5). One gathers that Dionisio Paillao and some of his brothers were not satisfied to have their late father's prerogatives transferred to a nephew, for they soon began to leave the paternal roof and to build separate homes of their own. Since no one in those days had a precisely defined individual plot of ground, much

[3] While the main facts of the story are doubtless correct, it should be borne in mind that this narrative was told by Juan Antinao Paineo's son.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

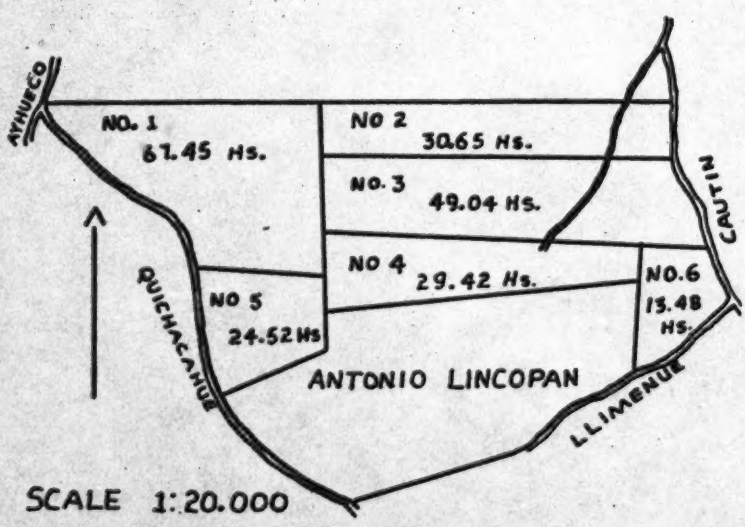

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

●175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.
[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century). 175 648 114 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826. 175 648

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HISTORY

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The 285 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading histories of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucanía should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

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*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e. g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1518-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 26 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos,* 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverria,* etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1784-1859]

Alonso de GÓNGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NÚÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz . . . y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1655.]

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1. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANSILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard Edward LATCHAM CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians—in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

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POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

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The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 300,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method 162 of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a 144 full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly 175 blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

101 These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and 161 the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some 175 Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands [131] eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with *yanaconas* and *mitimaes* brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as *encomiendas* to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

2. Olivares, in the latter part of the 18th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

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bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e. g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[3] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1535, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

3. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit [1875-1930]: *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

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Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (*cf. Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine)*, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

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The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Paillalef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 648 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncavi, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 648 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the *Araucanian* diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Fúrlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Roca and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

144 By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cunco*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Picunche*

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

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THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] Those differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. 1, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. 1, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

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interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Manle River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo sucedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

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There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw 114
an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position 177
and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning 175
of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 20.
12 Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which is so basic to cultural history; the other to divert study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the sixteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled done so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest portions of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their coveted liberty.[62]

University of California
Berkeley, California

61 One such problem is suggested by the sources. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planting in the valleys, the Araucanians moved their fields to impenetrable sierras. It may be that lower yields in the mountains created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Julián de Bastida to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1563 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olaverría, pp. 36-38; Marmolejo, pp. 76-77; Nájera, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62 Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1664 the casualty figures, as Latcham reports them, were 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos," p. 58).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times. [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

PART I. THE ARAUCANIANS OF CHILE[1]

INTRODUCTION

175 The recorded history of the Araucanians of Chile begins with the Inca invasion of their territory, probably about 1448-1482. Their first recorded contact with Spaniards was with a Spanish army that penetrated their country in 1536. From then on, until the last half of the past century, Araucanians and, at first Spanish, then Chileans, fought each other. Old Araucanians today remember the last days of the struggle. An Alepúe man gave the following account:

In 1860 when Joaquin Perez was President of Chile, the Araucanians were still fighting the Chileans. This type of fighting was called malón—malón is a Spanish word [a surprise attack, as by American Indians]. The Mapuche did great damage to Chileans: they stole animals from them, even oxen; they captured girls and women, especially girls whom they admired, and then forced these to marry them; they stole land; they destroyed small villages—they set fire to the village of Imperial twice and completely destroyed Cañete and other similar small villages. To put an end to these malones President Perez ordered Colonel Bochef into our country. When Andrés Lienlaf, the chief cacique in our area, heard this, he set out for Valdivia [Chilean military headquarters] to speak with the Colonel. He took José Martín with him as an interpreter. These two went along the coast [Pacific] on foot, as far as Los Molinos. Here they made two rafts from saplings and on them got as far as the island of Teja. From there they again went on foot until they reached the river Valdivia, across from Valdivia. They again made themselves rafts here and crossed the river to the town of Valdivia. The river is very wide here. As they were leaving the rafts, they were taken prisoner and brought before the Colonel. The Colonel treated them as traitors. José Martín defended Andrés and said that they had come to negotiate for peace and not for war. The Colonel had received orders to exterminate all Araucanians from Valdivia northward to the province of Arauco. To convince the Colonel of his good will, Andrés got on his knees and took an oath that he would tell all Mapuche under him that they must put an end to these malones. The Colonel then gave him three months of grace. Andrés was to return to the Mapuche and tell them to end their attacks. Andrés returned. He talked to the caciques. Some would not agree with him; they said that he had turned traitor to his people and land. In Imperial the Mapuche beat him to the extent that even his head had three gashes; they, too, called him a traitor. He stayed there until he could go to his relatives in Queule, and later back to Alepúe. After some days he was well enough to return to Valdivia. Here

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the history of the Araucanians as herein given is based on Cooper (1946, pp. 687-705).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

175 they now believed him—they saw his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for some time. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the now sick cacique, Andrés, among them rice and sugar—Andrés Lienlaf was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Andrés had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Andrés. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him lead these soldiers on to our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The women wailed. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

131 The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile)
174 when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 30° and 43° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

133 In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,600 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mehuin, Crucis, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Tromen Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Cahuegua, Calafquén, Pelaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetropillán (7,740 feet), Shoshuenco (7,740 feet), and Lanín (12,270 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

132 The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as puelches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

161 Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chilean au-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 175 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written, and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 619 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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173 619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be hümke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Ñamkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefín, and Ñamkeful were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer. 114 121

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion. 121 [122] 175 177 [648]

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers. 121 177 648 [6]

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other 177 [12]

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:299–307.

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tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

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Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

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By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1946:890 *et passim*; Casals Frau, 1946:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

241 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[265] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[462] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[4] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

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UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

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In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

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In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

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To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

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[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent subsidiary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico-military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

642 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [501]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [683] [681] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 423

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

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The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities – raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*! [621] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [131] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [21]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [21]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[48] [622] [793] [592] [613]

[195] [2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagones as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 175 648

Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

T A 175 133

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T. A. 175

far as Mendoza, thus keeping the Salinas Indians quite inside the chain, and driving the Araucanos up to their native valleys of the Cordillera.

This plan was never carried out, and the post, to which the name Isla de Rosas had been given, was abandoned. Rosas was, notwithstanding his having beaten the Indians back, very popular amongst them, and on his overthrow a relation of his, Don Pedro Rosas, took refuge in the Salinas with his artillery and battalion. Orkeke and several friends of mine often inquired after Rosas, saying that 'he was a good man,' &c.

T 175

The next expedition up the river occurred only a year previous to my arrival in the Rio Negro, when the steamer Choelechel ascended as far as the island, accompanied by a land force under the Commandante Murga. Indians were found occupying the island, and a European was reported as resident among them, and as exercising the authority of chief. Although he refused to hold any communication with the Argentine commander, it is most probable that this was the famous Frenchman Aurelie I., who was said to have obtained a supply of arms landed in the Rio Negro, and brought up to this island. The expedition did not think fit to disturb the Indians, and returned with little to show as the result of their journey.

It was in contemplation to despatch another expedition, but I have as yet heard no news of its progress from my Patagones correspondents, and it is probably postponed till 'Mañana.'

The large island of Choelechel, which I know only by description, never having visited it, appears to be not only an important station in a military point of view, but also admirably adapted for cultivation; there are, however, some reasons against its occupation for that purpose: the first is the undoubted hostility of the Indians to any enterprise tending to occupy what they consider their country; secondly, its distance from Carmen or Patagones as a base

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

175 the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects
177 that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean
648 republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lonko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarūloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarūloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

•[177] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[33] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[34] and the others purchase what they want

[33] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[34] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarille and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

•177 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the
241 contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

KNOWLEDGE of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1929, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[48] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[49]

[48] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[49] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *fiunechen*, and are said to 776
dwell in volcanoes.[10] The essential dualism of Araucanian be- 796
lief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible 771
at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent dei- 776
ties: *Küla-añi-fücha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wenu-kuse* ("First" 796
or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon-a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of 796
regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *fillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *fillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several [m] communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[10] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 530–38 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *fiunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF CULTURE

177 Much that has been written in the preceding pages provides ample evidence that Araucanian culture is in a state of flux. Dynamic forces impinge on every aspect of Mapuche life, and the people betray uncertainty and uneasiness as they find themselves increasingly called upon to give up the ways of the past and to conform to conditions of the present. By way of recapitulation and conclusion a review and analysis will be given of some of the salient features of the process that is bringing about the changing pattern of Araucanian culture. The forces of change do not, it is evident, operate independently in isolated segments of culture, but interconnect and interact on each other at all times. For purposes of analysis it occasionally becomes necessary to disentangle some of the elements concerned and to discuss them separately, but wherever possible an attempt will be made to treat each aspect of change within a broad cultural context. The earlier phases of Araucanian history will be disregarded and the warring period in the nineteenth century in which a strong patrilineate prevailed will serve as a point of departure. Attention will be focused on the changes that have taken place since pacification and reservation life began.

It would not be hard to show that in the realm of material things the principal effects have been a loss of traditional arts and crafts and the substitution, wherever circumstances allowed, of Spanish-Chilean products, raw materials, and styles. Changes of house type and costume have been noted earlier, and attention was called to the greater conservatism of women in matters of dress. Abandonment of native industries is not, however, a simple matter of recognizing and accepting the greater utility and convenience of modern gadgets. Not only did the old system of handicrafts provide satisfying work for many artisans, but methods for distributing the finished products were adjusted to the rest of the socioeconomic structure. Today, one either pays for a trade object in cash or does

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without. Yet the Araucanians have not developed the concept of money, and their opportunities to acquire cash are exceedingly limited. As a group they have so little purchasing power that they are merely on the outer fringe of the Chilean financial system. The government lacks the resources to subsidize the Indians in any way whatsoever, and private manufacturers and traders can find little reason for making concessions to such poor customers. Consequently, the natives who cannot buy the things they need are discouraged and dispirited, and the shift in material culture has serious ramifications that result, at least for the time being, in a lowering of efficiency and morale. 177●

Another aspect of transition that has a material base but extends into other areas of culture is the matter of drunkenness. Reverend Juan Antinao repeatedly affirmed: "Alcoholism is the curse of the Mapuche." No doubt he was influenced by Christian teachings, but there is much point to his statement in sociologic terms. In times past when a man became drunk, he was among friends and relatives at home or on a friendly reservation. He did not pay money for his liquor, nor did he put into jeopardy much more than his own health and comfort. Nowadays the pattern of drunkenness tends to run along different lines. The favorite drinks are not "home brews" of one sort or another but cheap wines sold in every town and city at numerous establishments that operate with or without legal license. To buy liquor one must pay cash, and when the craving is sufficiently strong a man will resort to all kinds of practices to get funds. He may sell bits of needed equipment, stores of seed or food, standing crops, or unborn animals, and he may even turn to thievery and robbery. Furthermore, while intoxicated, he may go so far as to dispose of his land, a contingency that could not have arisen in the old days. 177 733

A typical example of what may befall a drunken man concerns one of my informants who, in his youth, went into Chaichei with a cart drawn by two fine oxen and loaded with wheat to be milled. He remembers having had a few drinks. The next day, he woke up half-naked under a bridge. Gone were his cart, his wheat, and his bullocks. Similar tales are told of

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●177 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but
733 even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unrewarding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one.
[554] Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a *werken;* and if he combined these qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

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in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Araucanians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a nascent system of peonage.

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by reservation life and the allotment program is the disintegration of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Patrilocal and unilocal residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bonds of attachment were forged at assemblies at which the retainers of one or two friendly *loñkos* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their men into fighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *loñko* was expected to supervise the training of his retainers' children, and through his *werkens* to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he

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177 622 needed the support of allies. There is a suggestion that *loñkos* were once reinforced in their authority by supernatural sanctions, and Latcham may well be correct in claiming that group ceremonies used to be led by caciques.

At present every aspect of chieftainship has been drastically modified. Whatever native leadership the people still have is so vaguely defined as to be of little importance. As long as men hold individual titles to their land and its usufruct, they do not need to rely on a *loñko* to tell them when or where to farm. They find it equally unnecessary to seek his advice on the disposition of their crops or other goods, or to consult him in regard to marriage. Disputes are not referred to a cacique for settlement, nor can any leader order suspected sorcerers to be 177 punished or expelled. Chilean courts have the same jurisdiction over Araucanians that they have over other nationals; there is a police station in each town; and the carabineros have the right of investigation and arrest on any reservation within their territory. In practice, the police seldom interfere in the internal affairs of the Mapuche, and those natives who resort to government courts are rarely pleased with the treatment they receive. As is so true elsewhere, litigation in Chile is apt to be expensive and long drawn out. Complaints of unfairness are often heard, and the phrase, "there is no justice," is frequently repeated. The Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización maintains an office in Temuco over which presides a judge of Indian affairs. Court is held about three days a week, and crowds of natives come in from outlying districts. Almost inevitably, they seek adjustment of land titles. If they can establish their identity and show that they have an authentic claim, they generally get a legal document of ownership, but this court only confirms previously assigned holdings and does not allot new land or grant titles to other than presumed heirs of previous owners. Incredible confusion arises from the Mapuche custom of duplicating names, from failures of men to list all their wives and offspring, and from the lack of accurate records. Even the wisest and best intentioned of judges must, inevitably, make numerous mistakes, and the natives often leave the courtroom feeling

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that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders. 177

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school. [578]

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding 177 871

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177 871 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 562 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural readjustment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 582 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from population changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

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tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

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177 at which the Indians are aware that they diverge most widely from accepted Chilean norms. Contemporary Araucanians real-
157 ize that many people condemn them as ignorant, poor, dirty, shiftless, drunken, and lazy, partly because they have different forms of behavior and outlook. Yet the Mapuche have a nostalgic regard for many of their traditional practices and are unwilling to give them up altogether. Consequently, one detects uncertainty and a marked ambivalence in their attitudes. Sometimes they seem ready to forego native customs and become thoroughly assimilated, but at other times they try to resist the pressure to change. For example, even those who recognize the greater efficacy of medical science, may hesitate to forego the ministrations of a *machi*. Within a broader frame of reference the matter of land ownership is a case in point. The Mapuche may not like the current system of being forced to live on fixed reservations, yet most of them realize that this very system gives them a measure of protection, and that their way of life would be much more likely to be lost in competition with Chilean customs if their lands were not set aside as reservations.

177 A final review of Araucanian culture in transition throws light on several important characteristics of cultural dynamics. As in any study of dynamics, it is a matter of analyzing a balance of forces, in this case forces of sociocultural change versus forces of inertia. Not all the former press with equal intensity on all sectors of a given social structure, nor are they always resisted with equal strength. With regard to the Mapuche it is obvious that pacification and the attendant loss of symbolic masculine values gained through boldness and fighting ability have had a far more drastic effect than the introduction of new styles of dress or housing and that resistance to changes in material culture has been less steady than the reluctance to accept basic Christian teachings. Then, again, it should be noted that changes originating in one sphere of activity are likely to spread into other areas of the culture pattern. Thus, ownership of reservation land in severalty begins as a material and economic shift but can be shown to exert a powerful influence on chieftainship and marriage customs.

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As the forces of change continue to manifest themselves people grow hesitant and uncertain and often become dispirited and maladjusted. While their morale is at low ebb feelings of shame are apt to arise, especially when they contrast their situation with that of a neighboring group which appears to possess greater stability and self-assurance. Nevertheless, the sense of shame does not necessarily engender complete willingness to abandon traditional customs. The net result is a series of compromises whereby old traits are modified rather than lost or replaced by totally new ones. Specifically, not every Mapuche lives in an old-style, thatched *ruka*, yet other kinds of houses are in a distinct minority, and even frame houses are likely to be straw covered so that they resemble *rukas*. Nearly all women regularly wear modern aprons and blouses, yet a woman entirely dressed in an old-fashioned costume is no rare sight, and combinations of native and Chilean garments are very common. Some new varieties of food and drink are not infrequently consumed, but there is still a marked taste for Mapuche bread and for native beverages such as *mudai*. Although aboriginal arts and crafts have almost disappeared, enough craftsmen remain active to keep most households supplied with basketry trays, wooden spoons and bowls, handwoven ponchos and blankets, and old-style ornaments and musical instruments. Polygyny is unquestionably fading out, but men with multiple wives may yet be found on most reservations. Mapuche religion which, apparently, was never strongly organized, is slowly yielding to missionary pressure, and medical science is gradually replacing shamanistic practices; but a host of pagan beliefs survive, and *machis* are still called upon to effect cures and officiate at *nillatuns*. Hockey has lost its former significance for training warriors, but as a competitive sport it is highly popular and much esteemed. Education along new lines and the use of Spanish are being widely accepted as a part of modern Araucanian life, but it is most significant that no segment of the old culture has been more completely preserved than the use of the Mapuche language. Every man, woman, and child that claims to be an Indian has a fluent command of Mapuche no matter how acculturated he may be in other respects.

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177 Above all, it is apparent that the process of culture change is slow, nonsymmetrical, all-pervasive, and cumulative. It operates not so much by the sudden displacement or elimination of established traits, as by means of a series of successive modifications. After powerful forces of change have once been generated, they cannot easily be dissipated before they have run their full course, even if the people affected are made unhappy and ashamed in the interim. Inertia may slow down the process somewhat, but in the end enough trait alterations are effectuated to make the traditional culture unrecognizable. So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will persist only as memories.

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ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [01] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, by Tomás Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautín valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

•177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [942] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilization. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual tolda or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-186.

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As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way. 177

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader. [231] 241]

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink. 648 273 733

Clothing.—Prior to the Incaic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed outwards between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured woollen band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the other skins, using spines needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, flower grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There 291 [281] 302 292 [284] [177]

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283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *icalla* or *macuayi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *icalla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macuayi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trariloan*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *lienzo*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

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of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 ● 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ché*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitation.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 30 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 20 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, sprawling skins on the beaten earth floor where heavy distress [513]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called chicha, making a similar liquor from another fruit called sauté.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the Asiapee.

They make their chicha in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The chicha is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitimas, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Rio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was unmolested, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely crude. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a pointed stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [771]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognize no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent, as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, just who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pillí* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their pillí have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirious tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporal and visible to the pillí. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that these partake dreams about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of pillí or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their philosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and complicated conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most continued and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its results. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected their relations with the Spaniards. 776

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (nauvelchem). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 his blood.

Cele-cele (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pilonchequi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Ano*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their shade returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drough, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went to an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same cares were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the women, peculiar and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried alive or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucano Indy some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain whales transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the island tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

● 177 The stories of araucano converts are laughable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. As most they can be only nominally Christians, mingling certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their houses, gratitude, etc., and all their opposite to the season,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Ngenewelu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Molina in his work, *Ahriqitous de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, on a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Father de Ribada in his *Conversio Fidei* states that domestic, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This crime, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these sins were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by force, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

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342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the minga plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1928, p. 237; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 29–39; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 172, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–43, 229–61.)

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291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makutt (poncho); of the women, the kepam and the akull (skulls). Chamall, makutt, and kepam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and akull, of *Quechua*.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, were drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breech-cloth-trousers; his makutt, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kepam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her akull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

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1911, pp. 236–48; 1929, 1:435–48; Hosse, 1939, pp. 102–12; Mombach, 1938, pp. 371–94; Robles Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 9–56.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called ver'pin, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia maqui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 83); the erection of the Ilaillinei, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated execution of the awka, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia maqui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ulkatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e.g., Hosse, 1939, pp. 108–19; see also infra under Shamanism, p. 780.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ulkatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the hunchetun rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this hunchetun rite is performed as part of the ulkatun rite, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ulkatun "altar" (Mombach, 1938, p. 380).

In the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillán or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

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FIGURE 94.—A Mapuche Gualtatai. (After Guevara, 1913, p. 330.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Frederic Alemántico de Bologna and Gerónimo de Ulloa (Félix José, 1910, pp. 339-46) and of Domeyko (1846, pp. 45-46) and Smith (1858, p. 272), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . . They also call him Gueno-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Dzinagen, the great living law, "creator"; Thalcaven, the Thunderer; Vivaverum, the Creator of all; Vipapilvun, the Omnipotent; Mollgenio, the Eternal; Arauka, the Infinite, &c. . . . . He is the great Tuqui of the invisible world . . . . . [Molina, 1787, p. 198, cf. 1959a, p. 244.]

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776 Carvallo i Goyneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no
•177 concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it. Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvoe (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names: Pepilfóe, Barbará, 1879, p. 161; Filpepilfoe, Milanesio, 1898, p. 41) and Vilvomvoe are pretty surely of Christian origin. But others, such as Guemu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227, Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gen (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man," Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Ouénetrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864, pp. 62, 145; Cuchauentré, "great man," Manzilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta huentré, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen, Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of gnechen, infra), have a more aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 139, 178–79), Milanesio (1898, pp. 41–42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113–14), Manzilla (1877, 2:32), Cox (1862, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp 62, 145–48, 237), Barbará (1879, pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:259), De la Cruz (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767–68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Pampeanos*" observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114), who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the *Araucanians* over many years:

> These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampas] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches Toquichen, which signifies governor of the people . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche* gnechen, "master of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians* as Gennetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 139), Gne-che (Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), Gónechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 169, "great Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche* gnemapun, "master of the land," and variants, with reyne mapu (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ṣillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Raṭiāhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ṣenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [753]

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Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence. 00C 177

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138). 312 342

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho. 411

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. 291

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139). 172 764

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory. 131 181

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901) 113

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Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Manzilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 20:154) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 62), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:251, 283) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

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301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:271; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 126; Sors, 1921, 20:181.)

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177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bola de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 32); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:282) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Manzilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225), and of a certain clay for rub-

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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Manzilla, 1877, 2:45; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Puluwche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Puluwche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladder-like cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of potrified urine, a kind of "shoal," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Puluwche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbosa, 1879, pp. 175–78, and 1880, p. 30, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 139–60) for the "*Puluwche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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lers between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized*. 101
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1668. On this occasion, some captured *Puelmache* 194
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had
no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and
certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Arau-*
canian. This elemental process of *Araucanization* must have
terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the
18th-century documents, the *Puelmache* already spoke the *Araucanian*
language. *Jerónimo Pietas* (1848), e. g., attests this in his "Costum-
bres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the 177
conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted
Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure
horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains
of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds.
After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they
left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment
with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th
centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous popu-
lations was intensified: The *Pampas*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of
the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile,
gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Puelmache*,
who lived south both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the *Araucanian* plain, domain of the *Puelmache*, [10]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout
the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Puelmache*
habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in
war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the
territories east of *Puelmache* were never occupied by the Spaniards,
thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the southern *Araucanian* influences
first to the *Puelmache*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great
expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base
was the *Puelmache* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it
extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the
greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the new-*Araucanized Puelmache* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of
Mendoza. This region had been the eastern domain of the *Pudahuel*
de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

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Araucanians, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1892), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin tablet; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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Gilmore, 1934; Canals Frau, 1946, 1947 a, 1947 b, 1947 c, 1944; Cruz, 1936; Pelleon, 1879; Marcello, several editions; Pietas, 1946; Ten Kate, 1892; Valdivia, [illegible]; Vignati, 1932.

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío. 669

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to beat rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures. 177

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as 114 [197]

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 14, pp. 18-19, 43-45, passim). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a heroic attempt to analyze Araucanian endurance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

10 *Idem*, pp. 95-96.

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There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a consequence of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those areas which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which dominated the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forces to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

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175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueno, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a more provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meager as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *lewos*, in later ones *reyuer*, composed a larger unit known as the *allewgue* (or *allewer*). Each allewgue was composed of nine or less lewos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allewgues, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, modestly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

● 177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social customs, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined
689 to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards needed to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

[11] Olaverría, p. 31.
[12] Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 15, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 129-142).
[13] Olaverría, p. 32.

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Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty deserters.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the renegades taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a number powder-makers went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter captured and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who sympathized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is more important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

[14] Barros, vol. 2, p. [illegible].
[15] Pelgrin, p. [illegible].
[16] Lizón, pp. [illegible]. In spite of Spanish force, Araucania did not plan a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

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of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[30]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless run, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[31]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[32] From his time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of this power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiance military power, dedicated to the confusion of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of capability. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to never set them on foot.[33]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose guidance it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

[30] Chronicles, pp. 40-41, 47-48. There are few commentaries of enemy such descriptions.

[31] Villagra, pp. 62, 110-111. Cerasco (p. 79) provides impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

[32] Villagra, pp. 107-108; "Informe de Juan de Samaniego," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 190); Samaniego to King, Jan. 19, 1612 and Jn. 28, 1612 (*Idem*, pp. 247, 270-277); Alonso Garcia Ramon to King, 1612 (*Idem*, p. 327).

[33] Villagra, p. 110. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insured that they were in their horses and more about on foot, as military powers were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their ransomers, keeping their good mounts hidden for use when the war resumed (*Idem*, p. 130).

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of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of mestiz caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a more difficult proposition because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intervention of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiments were perfectly united, and the omnipotent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Rosales depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three homunculi. After the captive's bodies had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal angkon of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He smeared his blood, took vehement smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pizarro, "Noticias sobre las sucesiones de los Araucanos" (Ms., II, pp. [illegible]).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Pillán, p. 98, also see Lenhoss, *Les problèmes chilens*, pp. [illegible]; Cooper, pp. 742-743 makes a valid attempt to unravel the confused strands of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Rosales, pp. 39-40. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians caused the Rosales and fell on Chillán. They captured Rosales and took him back to their encampment. His captivity was one of those over both efforts, chosen for ransom and domestic to be sold. He was bedeviled by Maulicán, a powerful shaman

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forms of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstractions of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Baucalan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Baucalan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The grandfather Baucalan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillán.[46] Baucalan experienced satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified endurance the leaders of the tribe, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[47] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and bring Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[48] They were further required to memorize certain verses which commemorate Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his future:

> This is my manner: I shall not under metre dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to hoed earth, or to follow a plough. And since this manner consists my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[49]

There was seldom talk of peace in the tribe. Even a chief, if he dared speak of the tribe, and likewise the use of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Baucalan's character they determined his fitness to use as a weapon in more powerful hands to war. By dishonesty and vile Mexicans acted him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is some what tiresome to read. He was a crude and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a crude soldier could hold his own with a gentleman, hence his numerous quotations from and references to classical authors.

[46] Baucalan, op. 119-120. Also see Cordoba y Figueroa, Historia de Chile (CHC, vol. 2, p. 58).

[47] Gimenez, p. 13.

[48] Pidaza, p. 40. [49] Idem, pp. 41, 105.

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he had seen the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[15] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[16]

Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish skulls, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his obsequies on his own skull bones.[17] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the skulls as lances or weapons. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and sweet, producing depression in those who heard it.[18] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by an eerily sweet music.

The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before mounting and riding them.[19] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them concubinary slaves. In 1629 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the south for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prisoners, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting bachelors and Indians the women appeared, coiffured, hairy, naked below the waist, and, some when they were, visibly pregnant.[20] Here we know that the Araucanians had the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[21] It was by incentives above that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their warbands. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spaniards as hostages, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[22]

The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture is in history has endowed the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mechanism. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to extract the chronology

[15] García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Doc. I, pp. 199-200).
[16] Nájera, p. 34.
[17] Idem, pp. 33-35, 94-97.
[18] Idem, p. 125.
[19] Idem, p. 56.
[20] Nájera, pp. 136, 137-71. The author also noted that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
[21] Idem, pp. 96-97.
[22] Idem, p. 40.

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which is so basic to cultural history, the other to direct study of the problem of Araucanian endurance from current analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In planning the future it is inevitable that questions which study unusual should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[24] With more beneficial study, surface appearances which now seem to be consistent, will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the nineteenth.

In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogota, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end or even the subjugation of the Araucanians. Yet for the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 71,000 recruits, not the effusion of blood that has been spilled does so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Take the Araucanians power the Inca provinces of Chile, from the Biobio River to the Straits of Chiloe, a hundred and fifty leagues separating between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish held nothing but the hundred years of Arauco and Valdivia the Indians live in sole possession and enjoyment of their ancestral liberty.[25]

University of Canterbury
Christchurch, Canterbury

[24] The only problem is supposed to the answer, to ascertain how the Araucanian were cultural heirs of prehistoric migration habits. Frequent contacts in peace to the disposing of a growing with neighbors, especially in Spanish times and peace. Towards an uniform disposal agricultural planting in the colony, the Araucanian special their habits of nomadic nature. It seem to that have made to the economic control a power and the social individuals or neighbours based agricultural production. See, for example, Jobbs in Chapter in Tom Grant Elements in Modernity, Pan. 31, 1957 (CHC, vol. 31, p. 100); Chapman, pp. 10-11; Mercantile, pp. 10-11; Adams, p. 31. The explanation suggested is a state of land ownership are highly significant and require further investigation.

[25] Cordoba, p. Figueroa, Historia de Chile (CHC, vol. 1, p. 31). The estimate runs of 71 for from the south. In 1887 the exactly figures, a Lonkoto reports that, over 40,000 Spaniards and 40,000 Indians after "The expected province in the Araucanian." p. 30.

[illegible] Elsewhere in Mandaland there were corresponding changes in this dual-moiety, familiar as Mulbelbel, were called "brother" and "sister." However, Lawrence and Cantrow recorded a counter-move (among the Mulbelbel), again suggesting an movement in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

[illegible] Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the official terms on Epi's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in usage from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general movement during a time of considerable flux. Further, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Espiritu and to the less disturbed regions north of Cacula, Portland), and the separation of communities after the pacification of 1900-02, all contributed to further unsettling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Santander today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

[illegible] The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier aboriginal settlements during the colonial period (when incident was most accentuated) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that Pelbilla and Nabelbelle were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive lineage material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements into local or multilineage units. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of Pelbilla, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the personal name (pelbi) to a term which may be loosely translated as "man who has purchased" (nilbel). In a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the man who has purchased the personal name," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Gunwinbi society.

[illegible] Judging from recorded marriage practices as well as from kinship terminology, both in little Santander (for Nabelbelle and Nabelbelle, could have been the same person as Pelbilla) or in Pelbi. The operation of the levirate, the necessity, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with Wilbilla account for this operation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mantle de Lorenzo [illegible] Gunwinbi [illegible]), and Wilbilla marriage is part of oral history. Even if Wilbilla marriage is not described in chronicle narrative (Cooper [illegible]), it is nevertheless adhered to by female speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SO4 Araucanians SO4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucania. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in a recently Omaha area centering around Chiloé, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expansion of a single occurrence.

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucania raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Chiloé region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the genealogies collected in 1952 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucania seems to have been cut off, although there was a flowering of patrilineality in the recent past in the Chiloé region.

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucania. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "tío" term for Mali-De). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the disintegration of Chilean culture.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, patrilocal residence did not entail the women's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare focused the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absence of adult males and females, and extensive wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, divorcing influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability reached at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of exterior patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but Wife-De marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pure-

10: Hilger E.-S (1946-1952) 1957
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853 I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and hold decoctions for it."

A child is always nursed until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom nursed when older than two years. (Pl. 3, A.) It is nursed tied in its cradleboard, resting in its mother's arms, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then tied to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still strapped to the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 10-month-old boy became bothersome. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a fresh cow. "We put this in a bottle with a nipple. One can buy them in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."

[17]

The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods, "the same foods that everyone else eats. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, catuto (made of cooked wheat), cow potatoes, and later meat. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child still has mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother then eat one a repellent, such as a pepper or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's source, the child was weaned when all its teeth were out, or a year after its birth; or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (1946, p. 772).

Only an occasional child sucks its fingers. Two instances came to the writer's notice: one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

19: Hilger E-5 (1945-1952) 1957
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native listeners signified approval with head clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in ceremonial fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used form, he said, in proper phrase, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generation of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in *Ahuipin* could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numbers also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 512

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 734). The 100-year-old Collelejo man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Pangipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. 537

TABLE 1.—Numerals in Araucanian (Chile)

1 kiñe	11 mari-kiñe	21 kiñe-mari-kiñe	one pamka-epu
2 epu	12 mari-epu	22 mari-mari	one pamka-kayfu-mari-kayfu
3 kiñe	13 mari-kiñe	23 kayfu-mari	
4 meli	14 mari-kayfu	24 kayfu-mari	two epu-pamka
5 kayfu	15 epu-mari	25 meli-mari	one kiñe-pamka
6 kayfi	16 epu-mari-kiñe	26 pura-mari	one meli-pamka
7 regle	17 epu-mari-epu	27 kayfu-mari	one kayfu-pamka
8 pura	18 epu-mari-pura	28 kayfu-mari-kayfu	one kayfu-pamka-kayfu-mari
9 kayfu	19 epu-mari-kayfu	29 pamka	mari-kayfu
10 mari	20 kiñe-mari	30 pamka-kiñe	two mari-pamka

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The bonjiel and bullbull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). Félix José defines the bonjiel as he does bullbull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1908, vol. 1, pp. 90, 92), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several bonjiel (pl. 12, c) that what they had made were bonjiel and not bullbull; the bullbull were made of cow's horn, and bonjiel of chagüe, they declared. A boy, in making a bonjiel, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chagüe. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiadra. The point of the first blade was then gently held off with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

Six panpipes were seen in the field. But two of seven, each with four voicings, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 703 and 738). They are, respectively, 13 inches long and 2 inches wide, and 18 inches long and 13 inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alapile man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alapile man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the cueca to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Fiestas were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours.

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueca, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—chedke (chec) (pl. 12, f and g). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gato, the cueca, the vals, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as dances; the chedke, as bailo. Old informants recognized the word "bailo" as a Spanish word, but stated that their people must have been dancing the chedke for a long period of time, since the word "bailo" seemed like an Araucanian word to them.

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 776 [171]

MALEFICENT SPIRITS, THEIR AWE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alapche man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruin in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruin at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish them toward the ruins, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is haunting the place." [775 177]

According to a Pangipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kulabwiñe." An old man listening to had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed, "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pilleli; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kiñeculmapu" (north of five, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hell fire). According to ethnohistorians the following are in kiñeculmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the que- 775

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 880

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werkos) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

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ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other male would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conference of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the ülmc, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lopón. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgados de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpén. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelhuco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huechenun, Maselpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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231 been our alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the Rama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the gauchos.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [342] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process [177] from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, chuspinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and chuspinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sara, a disease that causes them to lose their

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the bulbs is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a cuisle, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cachayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cachayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a cuisle.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on wooded sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [85] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

271 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, 1). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 80-year-old Cañeripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We bought packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Lautaro." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [85] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

275 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (*manzanas silvestre*) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as maile (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 708), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHING, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1931 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Borne area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 50, 51). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of bags. One dilapidated and re-roofed ruka were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepín area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' house and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Colueipe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

50: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

[illegible] also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had decimated most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the collihue poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the collihue poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots outward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, collihue poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day. 342 [624]

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication. [468]

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chilenos," he noted. "Posted logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out." [177]

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death. [428]

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth as well. 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried trams are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; tamo is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, 1; 8; 9, 1; 11, 1, 3; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Cofaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Cofaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, 2), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, 1). A 2-year-old Cofaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Pangipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kupam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikilla or ikulla (shawl woven of black yarn); a tracüwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarükepke (headband of silver medallions) or a kellofiptrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as mauranuevos (people who live where apples grow), and/or as puinenes (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are mauranuevos and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government
184 regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[141] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically
[147] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

19: Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 163

Non-Araucanian informants stated that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, 3). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the manzanas (pl. 70, 3) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 2.05 [77]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parques Nacionales de Lanín believes that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [248] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, 1; 70, 2; 78, 3); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

242 barley (*lawelle*); cultivated grains were wheat (*lachille*) and corn (*ingalwe*). In later years oats (*lolera lawelle*) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a mother on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catato, sillin, lolidin, ceto, lolil sillin, and kolidi. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catato was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a mother on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make sillin, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a concave piece of pottery, known as lapa, made for the purpose. As the husks of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lapa. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lapa was emptied into a lillin, a circular basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a *ciqui* (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mate was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chalai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Lolil sillin was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kolidi was toasted wheat kernels. Kolidin was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of *ungur* (unidentified), leaves of watercress (*berro*), roots and tops of *apio* or *chirivia*, and roots of *achicoria*. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

177 Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (*lana pelil*) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (*lolla pelil*) were grated and allowed

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Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years. [2]

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all native populations for many decades and upon many for several centuries, it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to [2] 177

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121 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or
179 later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evi-
114 dent. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from
121 the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomerations of shrub and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest in an synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during these centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare ceased, populations grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

[161]

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural populations.

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage communitarianism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many house crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regulation, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions — for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational context since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation — that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be reshaped functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve,

[illegible]

while the latter will approach types that are emerging among rural populations in many other parts of the world. Underlying processes everywhere will include improved farm methods, access to markets, acceptance of national laws including concepts of land tenure in several, if greater literacy, and increasing face-to-face contacts with the basic national populations. These processes are breaking down lineage units, enhancing the importance of individual effort and cash returns, creating new class alignments based upon wealth, and gradually secularizing values and attitudes. While these processes have barely begun, for some subsistence, they were clearly discernible among the Arawakans.

JULIAN H. STEWARD

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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[124] to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor [123] Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I dis- [114] agree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:98). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most ob- [171] vious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society [182] a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of account propitiation (1946:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all.

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively uncorrelated model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unicentrional equilibrium. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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2

The Agrarian Setting

A 177
A [241] [960]

Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

A 648
C 166
A 131

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

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RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

24 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[262] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[962] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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ne; and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, 241
women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to [177]
this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessa- [462]
tion of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens [242]
and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox 241
traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows 407
(*arados de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, [492]
if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel [184]
plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the tech- 241
nique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds 492
for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and 241
a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of 461
land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, 241
the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The [407]
triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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177 24 From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite [423] limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown [182] or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year. 423 425 [578] [691]

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy. 476 [241] [182] [622]

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions. 121 476 182

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country. 476 [574] [177]

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496 with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake
[622] of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's
[613] or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they spon-
sor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I
[5A] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which in-
[D14] volved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families),
including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It
was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of
three households who sponsored the affair.

496 The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an in-
[199] dividual family greater independence from others on the reservation
[439] than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment
[423] is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership
of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean
influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and inter-
lineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they
are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would
have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting
seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather
interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization per-
mits, however, while it certainly has important economic implica-
tions, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one
were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too
costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently re-
sorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer ques-
tions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they
can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation
for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working
[209] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than
the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose
machine is used.

496 *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvest-
[341] ing, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to
clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise
houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under
[491] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food
[622] and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands
[623] of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *minga-
co* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family
provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how-
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613]
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 24
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [175]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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423 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[L48] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,100 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

[14] [162] [36]

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443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[453] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[437] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[435] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

439 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[485] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[491] (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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crate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1955).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows commonly used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

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quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discreetly or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not see patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, again defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the disintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:158) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage sep-

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:68).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the local group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and itinerantic raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the 6th generation, they seldom remember genealogical ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consistent with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their pastoral-farming economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming transhumant

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in earlier (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of lineages in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo pertenecil contaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se establecian encontrilanamente para ir a establecerse a otro lugar" (1929). "Siempre'ha ocurrido ciertos establecimientos figados el suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua e que sucesivamente estuvieron, pues unos de nosotros, chandulchan sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras ocasiones nuevamente, unidos o fraccionados" (1929). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed genealogical accounts of the distribution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Chubut region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:78). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the pre-reservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connections took on additional significance with the introduction of

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613 peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The po-
[179] litical and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I[7] shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the
178 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation sys-
613 tem, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because fe-
[582] males of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with
[591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who
621 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[7 [See CAT. 116, P. 93 -- Analyst]

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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562 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), ex-
423 tenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are condi-
177 tional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most im-
423 portant part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that
562 land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property —
177 at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however,
[552] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and
[591] the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the
621 anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of
[428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de-
[423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of
562 women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman
589 who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [928] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[55] [177] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [793] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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125 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
692 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados,* several Inspectors, a number of *regidores,* and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
178 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
622 frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
[423] dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 857 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 [836] The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the [692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of 839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is 178 usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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Marriage may be further solemnized by catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking – a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu-
[587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche
[177] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear – and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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These are the sides of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[622] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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Interpretative Summary

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The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and 177
political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception 182
of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been 177
a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift 241
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177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
180 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
105 herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil'

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persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:69, 71).

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure. 648 182 105 105

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage. 177 613 182 622 618 105

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind. 177 622 618 [794] [476] [182] [571]

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[2] It might be argued that 1888 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The raison d'être of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucania to come to this sort of conclusion.

If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my predictions to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is reported as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given simple political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to division and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 150,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 1,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sections by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land occupation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-81, and their political-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, residing within and other Mapuche. They have been transformed to small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in pre-reservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and assimilation, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual modification and reinterpretation during their long centuries of contact with whites. They now form a religious and, because of a growing political consciousness, a

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law
to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their
traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean
regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts
have been to little or no avail. In December 1966, the Chilean
Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system
and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may
take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate
adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they
must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this
change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to
Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled
by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land
through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that
they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some
decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean
regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
• are virtually equal all from Chilean exploitation of their land.
Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
logically unsophisticated dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
the emergence of socially significant patterns, the web of
their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based
patrilineal alliance and ritual exogamy/endogamy which together
constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche sociality.

106 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
17 consciousness" or "cultural orientation." There is an undeni-
[91] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Ma-
puche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness
is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further
inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred dif-
ferent ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated
activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the
reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (see below)—ritual together

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177. 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
•177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

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622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational 182 depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between 178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is •177 ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are 621 largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177.
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

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Ñenechen and the Pantheon

776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

[177] [128]

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Ñenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

[191]

Ñenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these 776
minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from 776
Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to 777
what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the 776
earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort [829]
to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche [811]
logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhua*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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776 562 [754] of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775 769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 622 177 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
798 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description
•177 of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or
195 *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony. 775 192 195

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed. 775 789 [754] 775 775 192 195

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans, 775 [177]

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754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
755 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[056] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
• [177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

794 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
795 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weas l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

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The syringe and the aspirin

767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
• 177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
•177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *fuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1961), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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756 845 *machi*. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] [554] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] [199] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with witnesses, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1.e. the machi -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, still a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sets of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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other things, customs, and processes are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distribution of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgement.

I am not committed to equilibrium, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variation of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the ongoing innovation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilize or regulate social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships, and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular variety for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationships may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are susceptible to quite different interpretation when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the relations past with an imperfect impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

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action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish merely to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown painted out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Cooper around the turn of the century was simply unfounded, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1940's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their modifying system of religious morality continues to show up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[498] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two earlier second studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.* Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my special interest and that those with sentimental interests might well shoulder the burden, and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively facile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself) with respect to

* Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of the conceptual tool.

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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, and to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of cultural departure from Mapuche traditions and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual were prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action, but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial change if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1883, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary family household is emerging or has already

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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177 The elementary-family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
594 tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
613 reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
[433] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
[582] matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
177 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
[769] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these
assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
796 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
769 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[794] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
social changes resulting from external forces, and their
cultural content is belief.

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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief. 000

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "commonsense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[2]

178 121 771 [177] [114]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that [78]

[2] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
771 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
771 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
777 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> *Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans* (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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167 a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In
178 their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional
177 values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

000 But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it result in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spadework must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

18 What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest
177 that we may well be content with the simple observation that
178 they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapucheland. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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T A 726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the T A 648 field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid T A taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetron.

177 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

000 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *lonco meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *loñko purun*. Latcham said that *lonco meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178 ●

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times. [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display
●178 considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting
[167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more
591 intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same
582 term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain
177 this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*palu*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*ñillan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminol-
582 ogy, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate,
587 the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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476 (*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
34 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[364] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

476 Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
12 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[491] applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is
[621] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[312] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrange-
[476] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[427] generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
[344] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region
[476] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples
[535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

476 *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
34 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[198] tions in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of
[613]

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613 [198] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and jurisdictional implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 1 shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the 198 613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with [198] [91] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who 61 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See CAT. 116, P. 93 — Analysis]

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, [illegible] New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports — written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days — and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gen-

(13) [illegible] back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the título de merced, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's undifferentiation. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent directly to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed – that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

(14) Diagram 1 represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonquen. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huenumill maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huenumill as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

(15) The males of the generation immediately below Huenumill are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huenumill, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huenumill. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of antiquity, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical manoeuvring may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

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a conservative indigenista organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. [613 527 918]

[illegible]

Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (V) recently married and followed's son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which Juan (X) belongs. This branch has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the existence of Martín and Juan in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [45] [613 918] [754 918]

In premarriage days such a situation would have been inappropriate in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and living with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the [613 918] [22] [61] [622]

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613 lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their
[178] own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to fol-
[622] low, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied
[665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their
[428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[55] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice
[177] several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally
[993] held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the 613
oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings.

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is un- 613
likely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and 621
socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have 198
developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which [648]

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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous
648 zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years — the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remn[illegible] groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses — size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.* They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

* [See Cat. 116, p. 93 -- ANALYST]

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tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter.

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175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[701] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
622 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
423

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
178 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
622 frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
[423] dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [901] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress — for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed — when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views — essentially on whether or not he stands for *división* — he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership.

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities — a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 — the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
597 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
63 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognised that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1955 were gathered in the
[114] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[See CAT 116, pp. 229 – 233 -- Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED*		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonquco	9	4	7	9	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	3	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchueni	8	5	1	2	3	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and compound households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, grasping the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [613] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[541] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [565] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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[553] beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[561] The success with which persons raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife drawn tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

[553] When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
§51 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is
[544] a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

§44 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
[55] machi (shaman) might be called in to send the mother, and there
[10] seem to be no misgivings about the machi's connections with sorcery
[115] as is implied for the past. In the Rahue Huapho region, one of the few machis I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a foreign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

§44 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays lobolo does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the nameuncle, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. Lobolo is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and who has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores -- in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the rude, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potsherds, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, make many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children after even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual cities to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (inheritor) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangements.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively controlled while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension -- migration -- is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships — that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, 595
and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of [178]
polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called [601]
inan ßomo, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan ßomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher 595
bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but 583
since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in [589]
all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her 595
own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [954]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Further-
more, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially
when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the con-
tending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was con-
sidered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from
complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself
outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today,
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [167]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – out- [178]
side the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not en-
tirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since [628]
there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short
of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males
of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Fur-
thermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth.
There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties
have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between
members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was
effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The
second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in preg-
nancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an un-
married mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here
is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of
the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading
toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep
[264] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

● 178 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[582] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household – indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [586] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan tomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or *third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the* women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this *is* a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for superfamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 609 613

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MODEL SYSTEMS

There are, I may say, two model systems of Mapuche matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. One is that seen by the Mapuche; [3] the other is one I will present shortly. Both are abstractions which serve analytic purposes. First we will discuss the Mapuche model. 582

As already indicated, the Mapuche think in terms of closeness and distance of relationships and have their own reasons for this. They think, however, that marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother is an ideal relationship. Yet this is thought of as an old ideal, one no longer strictly adhered to, although almost universal in the past. Mother's brother's daughter marriage is said to have been "almost obligatory" (*casi obligatorio*), having almost the force of "law" (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. If this is true, why, then, is so much importance attached to courtship, and why the numerous stories about elopement today and in the past?

A superficial examination of the situation would suggest that courtship has increased in importance in proportion to the decline of mother's brother's daughter marriages, and that this situation results from the breakdown of parochial aspects of reservation life and the establishment of wider interpersonal and intergroup contacts in the indigenous zone. This is a somewhat seductive hypothesis, since it seems partly borne out by observation and is rather readily acknowledged by the Mapuche themselves. 582 198

The older people, especially, speak rather righteously about marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (father's sister's son) and tend to bemoan its passing as evidence of a general decline in Mapuche cultural integrity. Younger people say that things are changing and many of the traditional ways are being abandoned. These are the kinds of statements with which all field workers are familiar.

Genealogical reconstruction shows the persistence of matrilateral marriage into the present on a large scale, but seems to indicate that *admapu* is and has been for several generations shamefully disregarded since in only a small portion of the genealogies is marriage with a "real" mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son revealed. When this is pointed out to people in general they explain such situations as departures from the ideal form. When they realize that their own marriage conflicts with the notion of mother's brother's

[3] The brief analysis of marriage presented in my 1958 paper was made with this model in mind.

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582 178 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of [413] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *almapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This doesn't tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objection to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego, point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of [413] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [622] [178]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some effect forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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583 the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev
[581] writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take
[178] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1955 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[432] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
582 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
268 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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24 794 628 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which [515] seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to *de-married women* divides the various *willgiving and willreceiving* sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights [412] and duties.

794 615 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious [582] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche [778] became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in [654] placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *weñulu*. Blame [653] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than [654] to the free-floating forces of evil, is primarily placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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These are the Clans of

Mapuche society. They constitute a political-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche unity. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render inoperative the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuches. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually taped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual exchanges which together constitute the containing fiber of Mapuche sociality.

This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—ceremonies, dedications, meetings, ballgames (see below)—bind together

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the underlying segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and dendrony horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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Mapuche white families, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the subdivision or consolidation of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. Field agriculture is men's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to use very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and repeated blows over by summer winds, and the basic technological deficiencies of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often all and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at prohibitively high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system generally forced upon them during the several lowest months of the year, these preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is minimal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that clash

(leader) and wealthy men (chiefs) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in preservation and early conversion times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all collective ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that chiefs and persons designated as leader or curiqueo (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized kingroups became of great social significance, the kingroup head or, if there were several kingroups in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant kingroup played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both leader (kingroup head) and chief (political leader of residential kingroup), a local descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant kingroup (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as chief leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups have with less frequency than they were to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming relative economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revitalization of social responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the sublineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but extendedhold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *mapiquilla* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this residue ritual expression in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic mentality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the [769] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

• 178 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613 *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
[611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[591] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational
182 depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between
178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the
177 understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is
621 ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence to show that patrically related males cohered over long enough periods of time to have formed sizable residential groups during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and Chilcans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more powerfully stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridepriice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridepriice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
561 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their spouse and protector in this matter.

613 621 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In reserve, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intercommunal economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 613 •178 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant lineages was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fixation of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613 greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining domi- 621 nant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of 178 lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578] lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601] lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there [578] by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

613

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheri- 621
tance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and where disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action. 613 182

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities. 59 178

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply. 59

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild. [613]

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons. 593 613 428

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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
community. Today, these rights are more immediately located
• [178] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
[592] were to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
622 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
178 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military purposes). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[592] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father formed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious conflict among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
challenge by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this de facto condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in complete independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

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souls of expansion. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal association group who is entombed in, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a leader who is obligated to watch over his local descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along lineage-genuine associational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

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Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, children chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of social approval. On the first day of the dillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the leader ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the association, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the dillatun ceremony important leaders are again invoked in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leaders of bygone, glorious days—demonstrated in the ritual dance called kodapanun. On successive ritual occasions, the most important leaders are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely ordinal status of leader is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hold their respective leaders primarily as kinship elders of their ancestral group. Here we see the direct tie in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these support ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire [heterogeneous] ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

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I take this generalization to be a historic development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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[illegible] kinship system. It manifests a localism absent in preservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

There are several rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralwapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelaflen* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralwapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

Nomelaflen, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the contemporary of Mapuchelandi), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pelle* or *alwe* is used. *Pelle* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). Where a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu lahu*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that somehow has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate somehow in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*Machitufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *machi*, to assume the form of a living representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against him, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill him. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume him. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *machi* may die, without being killed by a soulless spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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burned and demolished at the order of a healer. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

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Animal Forms. The forms which evil forms may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and entrainment of evil beings is thus circular and recording.

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The more common forms are mostly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few contrived forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the chonchon, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. Pivichiwe sometimes takes the form of a crab, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. Wallepen is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lies in the sorcerer wands and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The affected person, the victim, is sometimes called wallepen. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

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Actual birds, such as the pequen, cuncuen, kilkil, huaiten, cuthewuth, pitre, pariuen, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *kolor* and *pitrin*. The wilki, trengil, and

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The antique and the esoteric

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [19] [20] [21] [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] [29] [30] [31] [32] [33] [34] [35] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40]

relatives (relatives relatives or wedge, wedge, rights), born or born
three days and nights. In consultation at the end of this usually
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of
the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the
distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed
burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the
deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground,
"Ulu the Catholics," this represents the opinion of Los Ríos
people. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the
traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it
the respect prescribed by adages. Although on display, the
corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers.
It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in
state for the usually perfect number of four days (if possible)
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the
dead tends to be secured. The notion of "rotting" or "rotting"
the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay is hurried a
a necessary precaution during the transitional period in which
the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces
of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced
sun burial (cf. Cooper 1946 B, and bibliography), and that
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but
the entire mummified corpse through smoking. Present-day Ju
Araucanians have nothing of sun burial as a special treatment of
the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote
ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having
discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their
fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition,
the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating
tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting scornful remarks
from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is
actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche
rite from the Chilean rites, there is still a decidedly di
ferent emphasis in the manner which the Mapuche have
dealt the state of the corpse. The spirit does not remain

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of inflation, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display or bounds of distance and sheds, but this is constituted wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person(whom) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of constituted food, cloth, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's heirs is then over his grave or on the ceremonial field, lose to be consumed by the funeral party.

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[illegible]

The most impressive features of a chief's funeral series are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the ceremonial complex. Members of his total exchange lines are in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other exchanges in the chief congregation and beyond. The Magnuche speak of their chiefs as soulless—men of great blood and lives control families. The subtlety is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various complex. Any descendant (kinship chief) will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and livestock, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, is in no way receive the elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the chief congregation, but because it is this line in one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk his eternity with the rest of the gods.

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The Fertility Rite Ritual

The inflation ceremony is the most elaborately complex Magnuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it is related to general complexity and elaborateness since the time the Magnuche became constituted as exchanges and population density in the indigenous area increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the inflation ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

[illegible]

12: Farm E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in local content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of Ñiñoca rites are elements of earlier less assembly customs, healing games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of Ñiñoca ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of observations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations were partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the rites mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Ñiñoca. Ñiñoca ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives were to have luck in all branches and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of Ñiñoca is the offering of food to ancestors, the pacifiers, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

and grain or after the harvest has been made, there are supplicatory rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to us to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed economy of the pre-reservation era.

In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are scheduled according to the initiatives of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The ceremonies and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a number of elders, heads of lineages and subhelmsmen, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of both), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the parched season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a preliminary *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and therefore and, possibly, the old sons and women of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered preliminary if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the members include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (overhead guardians of order) and sergeants, as well as personal honors, the type of wine or maize ale to be used, the number of black or white horses which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun, what shall be sacrificed, what shall be eaten and drunk, and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

Ñillatun is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage therein, and jointly participated in by

12: Farm E-4, 3 (1952-1954) 1954
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to each, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered especially sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating communities which traditionally comprise the ritual campaign-tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Maputoland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. The organization of the ceremony is deeply respected by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If outsiders have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The elders (hereditary guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places crowding the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the seer and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sessions: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no established rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

in the unfortunate evolutionary organ of his time. While some of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in ritualism also must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of ritualism today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Cuervo wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Cuervo's statement is illuminating: "Hasta poco ahora los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, sólo entonces de sus familia" (*ibid.* 40). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional population. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestor heroes emerged in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating consanguineal membership, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Cuervo should have written, "hasta poco ahora"—that Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called ritahue—for they do to this day. It is possible that Cuervo was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial ancestorlegs had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for previous times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan 1 lonco o cabo tan o cuatro grupos, es decir, una area entera" (*ibid.* 40).

At the small, family-based ritahue there was no officiating machi, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Cuervo conceded that machi may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits associated with the participating groups, nor do they today.

Today, a machi always shows ritual functions with an authoritative attitude, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A machi is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of
marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows
indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to
a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal
number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned
(matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The
fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation
A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or
elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the
purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the
matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congrega-
tion are of importance in indicating that there are even more
multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model.
Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not
indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the
definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the
correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore,
are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
• 178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
[194] have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[66] these ties were not generally crystallized over several generations
because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation sys-
tem put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *fuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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hold in all parts of Mapuchieland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 62 794 [24] century developments and given its character to Mapuche society. It seems, therefore, that the *lillatun* congregation is a product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that some significant changes have taken place in the structure of ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

[613] 178 62 791 794

794 613 621 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In any consideration of *lillatun*, even for an adequate understanding of its culture context, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidol mulewe*: most sacred place; *lillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible area, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations. 79 622 [623]

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not thereafter elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of ritualism. [626] [613]

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from preconversion times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has ritualism involved such a large and heterogeneous congregation, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group. 793 794 622 621 178 554

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 793 621 622 554 182 [114]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Toltén region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analyst]

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756 [534] [178]

sewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

756 787 [198] 756 [789] [756] [123]

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lewen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

755 756

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

756 [178] [462]

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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and fanochem. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
789 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the kalku's client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her
grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved
him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose ill-
ness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was
called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a
dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[559] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen,
since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the
lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach,
finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines.
He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a
water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken
by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining
supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. Machi say that they do not
perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them
claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to
make these judgements during their training period. They say
that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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756 [556] property which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their pillow for the good of individuals and the community at large. [462] [769] The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

12] 756 462 [114] *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an aquatic core of ancestors.

114 178 462 756 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

12. Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1954
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In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1948:79).

There is no solid trace of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion verifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unobservable. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were shamans, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:117). [§38] [§39]

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male machi, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Raoul Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that machi were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the part of

12: Form E-9.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female machi in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female machi practising around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female machi are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male machi lost status among their followers (although this cannot be ascertained from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case cannot be ascertained from the sources, or from the learned discussion presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the machi's position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [953] On inquiring into the prevalence of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [956] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
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754 are obliged to recognize a certain amount of common senti-
598 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
592 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
618 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
618 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
182 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common
582 residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in
598 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
592 ments by downplaying the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself, or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
598 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous
[178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

12: Fasm. E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system, separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relationship of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

12. Forum E.-A. 3 (1952-1954) 1964
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other things, nations, and governors are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distribution of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgment.

I am not committed to equilibrium, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variation of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the ongoing conversation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilize or regulate social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships, and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular variety for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationship may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are amenable to quite different interpretation when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, understandably, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the nebulous past with an imperfect impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

121 tation. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish merely to impart a tone of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along decidedly simple lines. I am suspicious of the opposite of transition as handiness generally can along the under my predecessors have followed. When reading beyond general about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom foretold by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply inherent, perhaps with a greater ease of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is proved by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life a defense of their traditional life, and that their unifying system of religious morality continues to show up essential resistance to social and cultural change.

[illegible] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect in

[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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177 family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
453 nonpatrilineal descent groups and the development of a
982 matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
177 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
[969] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and even to the extent that these
796 assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
969 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[994] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
social changes resulting from external forces, and their
cultural content is belief.

12. Faron E-4, 3 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I find that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[9]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[9] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

14: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the furthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Now, Mapuche ritual values, 121
if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from 771
definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over 178
the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if 78
not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were 128
selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as 178
exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper 183
relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing 78
with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *awn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is 178
of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do 183
78

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
178 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
793 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect
756 to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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167 a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In
178 their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional
177 values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

000 But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it result in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spadework must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

18 What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest
177 that we may well be content with the simple observation that
178 they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapucheland. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to cr[illegible]le. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severaltics) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 512
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 857
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually foresake the reservations in order to seek work in cities. [181]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [181]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel cut. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Alepúe schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do.
157 And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" He could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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These are the Giles of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[627] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for lovemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

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Aun

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which rarely through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

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In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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tunistic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promontory, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, reservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

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The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are also political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is sport and sacred to its membership. It ensures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically considered—one must understand the ancestor-based cosmos of mortality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based rule of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the spiritualistic manipulation of ancestral spirits, in Titiev does, would tend to indicate a great misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they suffered with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem, is the removal of excess population by the mass migration of adolescent (unmarried) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never consider see the reservations from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks were directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of our scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for materialistic ambitions are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:244).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not really accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

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beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure), we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

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121 to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor [122] Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition,* and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I dis- 114 agree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but 177 I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most ob- [191] vious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society [182] a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. 114 177 [182]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrism. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me 121 121 177

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" – that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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177 247 From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a [423] change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown [182] or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year. 423 425 [578] [691]

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy. 476 [241] [182] [622]

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions. 121 476 182

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country. 476 [574] [177]

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true [591]
for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated [182]
above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the estab- [594]
lishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

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177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This [124] book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

177 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that 181 economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

594 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents 181 of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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ment, the maximal lineage, the residential kingroup, the multilineage reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage and ritual congregationalism. Behind the façade of rational economic judgment, the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationships which constitute reservation social structure. 594 182

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4

Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [182] [621]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 177 613 [648] [423]

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[4] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

613 562 589 [434] [437] [434]

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

591 114

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

591 [361] [613] [166] [182]

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

[175]

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

591 613 [423] [609] [166]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

4 [i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

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The Reservation as a Political Unit

In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*Rillatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[578] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages
accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[735] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[782] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of
[769] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[828] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are [182] forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 613 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is 621 domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be- [609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [829] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar- [595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [769] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community. 613 628 794

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action. [769] [764] [241] [182]

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 776 613 769

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *ewn* and *küllatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [194]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [194] [613] 619 182

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These are the tiles of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[627] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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Interpretative Summary

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The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and 177
political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception 187
of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been 177
a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift 241
433

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from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 148 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [182] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

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177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
423 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights to land.

[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:63, 73).

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105

A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[648] [622] [793] [592] [613]

[195] [2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and 177
frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework 182
for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically [595]
Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not [588]
"breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that re- [121]
integration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, 177
and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche 182
society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being ab- 121
sorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to ob- 105
scure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

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If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[775] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[775] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
77 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
796 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
769 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
[622] (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
•182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29). 121 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 755 754

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction
779 between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes
[671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. •182 Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between 178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the 177 understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is 621 ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

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These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 .182

There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action. 613 182

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities. 59 178

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply. 59

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild. [613]

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons. 593 613 428

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 •182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future. 59 182 867

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally santioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1] 581

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital 584 [836] 581

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961c).

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

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773 mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of
182 kinship.

539 The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which
184 follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Galvarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182.
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622]

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 756 [622] [198] 796 756 789 536

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182.

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations. 128 794 796

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis. 121 771 [182]

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief. 121 771 796 184

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794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[069] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his
[182] position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokes- 793
man for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Ma- 793
puche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his po- 794
litical leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congrega- 554
tionalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of 571
Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the 796
same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at 182
times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; 181
rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of 764
spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify 613
through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend 602
to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in gen- 764
eral, with respect to the important institutionalized relations 121
which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
[571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
621 to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
182 discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
571 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[577] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving
[571] group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the 761
group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from 602
outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was 613
caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The
fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is
mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside 761
the residential group and, finally, determining that the most 613
closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious 602
function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have 182
been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is 783
placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present 578
or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for
several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors 761
were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. 769
Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest— 602
ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able 613
to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a 578
responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in
his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
• 182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. The moral community is at peace with itself. The total [769] assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *ewn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *ewn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *fillatun* and *ewn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *ewn* and *fillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *ewn*, *fillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *fillatun* and *ewn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 769 796

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi's* wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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756 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not
554 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
794 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufs* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their
[755] members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least
754 in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and
• 182 freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
[832] illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[842] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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754 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witch-
602 craft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust
571 filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are
788 practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well.
626 The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks
182 both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche
182 society must consider the groups and individuals involved and
571 also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps
772 explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It
754 helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are control-
182 lable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system conparable to those of a prescrip tive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of 121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention 772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in 582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a ingle conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that thoe notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association 121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an 182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For 772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is atisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some signficant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and value with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of nalysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at land is that of relating seemingly 121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make 582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in 571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marial bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is natrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal [577] descent groups. It is clear tiat this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship 582
of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible 613
(See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what 182
such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is proscribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and mattilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept 101
winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although 186
sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or [619]
out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the 101
notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, 619
among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic [114] divisions existed among the preresevation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

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THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

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The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

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In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

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311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[162] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[48] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital
[183] (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 258 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. 177 127

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The 177 political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought [191] some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion [197] to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this [592] isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which [183] are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this [433] represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland? [577] [182] [602]

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *fillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines *institutionalized* behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes
[671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *duke*, a term used to designate all mobile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and company are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congreg-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, 121
if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from 771
definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over
the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if 178
not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that 78
among the observable changes in ritual action already described,
there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed.
Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread
of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and
activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this
adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which
have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu*
(customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the
net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social
behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least
establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and
have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were 128
selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as 178
exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper 183
relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing
with witchcraft, about male shamans, and so forth, were
intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and
normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and
uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if
it were not for the fact that others before me had cited
exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective
states and responses, in a manner which implied that these
aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or
patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the
structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer
to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of
other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *eem*. It is of no
importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency,
analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is
of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

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In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Puelches* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea. 167

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places. 101 622

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Puelches*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, *rankul* means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucú, long. 64° 42′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S. 131

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampiste* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine 184

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184 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian*
144 stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Puelenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the ocado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the ocado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the ocado for a number of years. While the ocado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The ocado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the ocado claimed sovereignty over all of the Araucanos from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The ocado was so feared and respected, he said, that thousands in the extreme south 'dread' the peace when the cabiché of the ocado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective sovereignty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

33 *Idem*, pp. 109, 110.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Menendez, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 63. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the ocado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1603 (Gay, II, pp. 278, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xerezmendo" (*Idem*, pp. 245-250); Méjico, p. 60). Through acts of terror the ocado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through cajole-intimidation the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian crops and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-53).

38 Menendez, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

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present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90). 114

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study of the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:498f.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today. 114 184

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of total work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned: 121 114 611

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1800's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev). [601]

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

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Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

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601
611

Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582]

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587]

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

601

Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

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262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat
241 field; Río Mahuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond.
717 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boyeco area, looking north toward Río Cruces: Pastureland, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfú must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child pulse at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Araçaho custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homeswown woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime mother woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

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846 down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either below the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This [184] is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may die very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

[illegible] OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not [272] find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call llumüelka [unidentified] * into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

* When translated, llumüelka means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Collipulli identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as korekore. Félix José (1906, vol. 1, p. 95) gives the botanical classification of korekore as *Geranium core core* Steud., fam. Geraniaceae, and the Spanish equivalent as cuerno. In *La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales* (Anonymous, 1949) cuerno is classified as *Geranium berteroianum*.

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husband's. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Arapaho custom. 805 [171]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewenunei (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as makümewenunei. 821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pideñ, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather. [184]

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Panguipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Collaripe area, mother-in-law-son-in-law and father-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepín and Panguipulli informants, including several older than 80,

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insisted that no in-law taboos ever existed among them. "Those are not our customs; they are not now, and never were."

According to Cofaripe informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not so severe as the mother-in-law–son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's ruka and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's ruka." A listening-in woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the ruka of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the ruka—after all there was no place else for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughter do the talking. But I really *seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law.*"

A 60-year-old Cofaripe area woman told of a screen of quila that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quila stocks near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her ruka. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some anger, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An occasional man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a 50-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutional. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were so-

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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony." 796

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it." [609]

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following: [184]

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Collaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura, "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). *In the center of the Collaripe grounds (fig. 2),* four collihue are placed in the ground; in Alepín, one *quapi* tree. This place is called *pavale* (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the collihue, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last gathering the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with *muday*, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the collihue are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a *trutruka* (see pl. 32, *1*). "Each man with a *trutruka* made two posts: a crutched one in which he rests his *trutruka* and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the *trutruka*. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are the guards of the place. Pucura had one *trutruka* in December, and Llanahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the *pavale*. Here the *machi* will sit, each with his or her *kultrung* (pl. 30, *1*). "Sometimes there are as many as four *machi*." Formerly each *machi* had a pole. During the ceremonial each *machi* beats his or her *kultrung*, and together they sing (Informant sang in Arauca-

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764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a tourniquet. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Pangipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepúe area tortillas or bread and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Collaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

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Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a post or some distance from the wake, but always in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. High evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 264).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Pangipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1898) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Collaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepúe and Pangipulli areas, also, are two halves of a hewn-out log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called trolel. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in trolel are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"It is a troubling thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a trolel."

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government
● 184 regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically
[147] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

812 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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FONTANELLA, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

384 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [84] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 6b.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap daylin [flattened];* the Argentinians call them chatos."

* All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 70-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset.

Kalaqpan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolean had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kalaqpan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday: both called it rupi antü. Kalaqpan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into ule (morning), rupi antü (midday), rupa antü (sun is passing), and upa lonu antü (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (dolpan) is told by the position of two constellations, the guanaco (Tuan) and the rhea (chulke). (See table 9 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.)

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If anyone had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks then was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the phase of the moon on the day

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to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Marichi, marichi, marichi" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kuda, mari kuda, mari kuda" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewin, wewin, wewin" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of horseman clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (pelo) is played today when a goodly number of people from different settlers come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called bilbo in all areas except Malleo, where it is called pelinco. 526

TOYS, CONTAINER PLAY, TOOLS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or leaves, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 527 528

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 50-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 6a, c) for his 6-year-old son, and also constructed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

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new and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, 241
women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to [17]
this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessa- [462]
tion of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the
highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens [242]
and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery,
and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of
crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes
are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole,
characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox 241
traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows 407
(*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, [492]
if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel [184]
plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it
can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or re-
placing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is
considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of
the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the tech- 241
nique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds 492
for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen
provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain
that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and 241
a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of 461
land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by
many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing,
rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make fur-
rows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the
clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually di-
agonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, 241
the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided
the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land
has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to
broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The [407]
triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having
either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief. 128 771

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed. 771 184

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropo-social, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date. [796]

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machí*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *nillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
61 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any filiation ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the population of these

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mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate something of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*, sometimes *tralalfuche*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

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Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-extended Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lower gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

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The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, therefore and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "fathers," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal lineagroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipalle*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before deuchen and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion, but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the genetrical ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, deuchen, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shamans and sorcerers. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *eure*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Shades of the *eure* are believed to specific unilineal lineagroups.

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mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

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The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

> Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Cabrerino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

> Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

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In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

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good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests an internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forebears of its present indigenous occupants. 539

The following myth, again one of a type, is one which relates even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the *ñillatan* ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of the conquest of good over evil, and the redemption of the new godlike figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Toltén version is the story of Tramalcufu and Winkalcufu (in the period the myth originated *winka* meant plunderer or or raider). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours). 539 184

There were two men from this part [around Toltén] who set out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many mourners, the relatives of these men, who felt great remorse at their untimely death. These men were well liked, and were leaders [*lonko*] of their people. 539

In Quilliche [between Villarrica and the modern town of Loncoche] there lived a powerful *kalku*, who sent a message to the mourners. The message said that the *kalku* would promise, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was this: the mourners had to come to the house of the *kalku* within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the mourners were unable to arrive before the

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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *ewu* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

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Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *ewu* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the ceremonial cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *ewichumallen*, a fate which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

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The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in text content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words: 796 [178] [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of *Nillatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:118).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory. [114]

In the following pages is a generalized account of *Nillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations were partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the rites mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors. [114] 796 184

A General Description of Nillatun. *Nillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *Ñenchen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the community. Clearly a major aspect of *Nillatun* is the offering of food to *Ñenchen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although there are not fixed fruit ceremonies, some they take place prior to the ripening 796 241 178 796 241 782 [178]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
ceremonially normal, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participat-
ing reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congrega-
tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [873]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is prescribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [978]
celebration of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take
up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of
ceremonial activity. If wamakas have been set up to receive
everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(hereafter guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are
responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to
ask family groups to move to more suitable places circuming the
ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among
the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to
obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At
the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience from
its situations on the wave and settles down to watch the
proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a
repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual
falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early
afternoon, late afternoon. There are no ceremonial rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants
and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial
field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each
closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is
always the repetition, even though there should be only a
morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ruca* and *lillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the occasional funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhood ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as exceptions. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
• 184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstan-
tiated references to regional differences in either cultural or
social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *ewn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
culture traits, each being the culmination of cultural analysis.
769 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
782 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a
conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche
ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and
ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from
analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological
sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *ewn* and
ñillatun, regardless of differences. An important though by no
means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the
two rituals. *Ewn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the
recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at
least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a
fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors
for the welfare of the living. *Ewn* is more immediately concerned
with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional
deities, and *fewachen*. But the two ceremonies are more than
merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a
common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distin-
guishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinc-
tion is generally verbalized, both *ewn* and *ñillatun* embody a
common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral
spirits and *fewachen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the
dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences
adhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen conversions
62 indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on multilateral marriage
[184] and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent conversions is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-given outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595 than the second point. The second point involves a consider-
[178 tion of the relationship between affinity and society, or the
[754 social connectivity and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1960c; 1960) I have discussed the Mapuche system of multilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious sociality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
62 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
602 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
62 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 136, p. 111, for corrections -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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683 [illegible] are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practising witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of overhead residence—an enviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these incomplete cases are usual suspect of (forbidden) engaging in witchcraft, or in being the survivors of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sorcerers

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
752 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:739), again following Métraux, wrote, "There were no shamans societies," and by his phrase on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring wizards were usually instructed by practising shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, fasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural entitlement. That of the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the clearest at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 Witches are believed to gather in villa, where they conduct their evil ceremonies in subterranean caverns. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as shamans, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' fiesta," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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different regions, variations even occurring from one shamanistic to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region hemisphere but, again, that "all kalku are mobile in their rehu." Sometimes, therefore, only one large rehu is considered and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many rehu are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships.

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the belief which has developed around them. Kalku derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are bound as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they stand now members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their existence is never and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of kalku, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While kalku may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of competition or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between machi and kalku, between good and evil, and here the point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from kalku, shamans have actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their pillan. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the rewe) of their profession. One of their membership witches successively before her power has individualized status—and the same size group of machi consultants regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the standard, and to test her powers in group

14: Faron E-4,9 (1950-1954) 1954
SOA Arrangement SOA
Magnuchin

undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody goes to town where drinkers or users are held within congregational boundaries.

This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society. But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Magnuchin society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Magnuchin, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence begins to be felt in the Magnuchin breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Magnuchin by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to not mean and more with the passing of the ritual guest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Magnuchin, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to have another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Magnuchin way of life. This is simply that young and even more middle-aged Magnuchin are expected to allow the senior ritual responsibilities to sit with the elders and/or the sorcerers. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one realizes that one is permitted to undertake great ritual responsibility. Therefore "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown. Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the roles and dominant mores of Magnuchin culture and society. To under-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ritual Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the auxiliar-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic perpetuation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another turn in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unmarried) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never vacillate on the reservations from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of our scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [wealth, honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for executive ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise seems little amount, except among those who are willing to mingle and compete with Chileans (1951:[illegible]).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the winning sex, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 [459] sale. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of one per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

[478] Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

492 The railroad which runs through the Central-Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather 491 443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and 497 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell [439] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves [439] are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

454 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but [85] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in [83] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, maate (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women [511] [491] [513] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in carts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to [454] pay at contado, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Storekeepers regard them as poor risks either because they [illegible] to be generally untrustworthy or because they are [illegible] to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain needs through credit organizations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the postharvest season to in-

7 Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the crown could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the crown's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the Indian warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the crown for a number of years. While the crown leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes continued with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The crown, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olivares, the crown claimed ascendancy over all of the aborigines from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far north as Osorno. The crown was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme north would break the peace when the chiefs of the crown so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective ascendancy, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

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33 Idem, pp. 105, 123.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 201).

35 Olivares, p. 21.

36 Memorialista, pp. 125-127.

37 Idem, p. 61. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were easily cowed by the depredations of the crown's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1612 (Gay, II, pp. 170, 179); "Informe de Juan de Ramaneda" (Idem, pp. 245-249; Pelliza, p. 40). Through use of terror the crown sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian crops and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, Cautiverio feliz (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 71-72).

38 Memorialista, pp. 119-123.

39 Olivares, p. 21.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olivería, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chonchongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival. [164]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [181]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Aleple schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making muddi with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With increased pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the mating feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a bottle that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians throughout everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it
● 186 exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today; they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wiñolu; other Argentine informants called it leuu or reuu; in Chile leuu leuu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an ulu is called chulu; in Argentina, siqiel. An ax in Argentina is a tiki; in Chile, a hachal. A pig is fulwe in Chile; lowfue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

After 1883 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869-70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace reigned for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although resive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land covered by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

Ha:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 429 428 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership. [186] [621]

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 476 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
498 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
21 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
498 of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was
613 minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[101] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[144] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[101] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
622 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
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II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

197 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
182 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
182 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
197 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
182 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
648 herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community
105 is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They delight in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual has to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways – meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chawal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepuw* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *chal* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb within at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet infrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil'

Ref Faron E-5 (1952-1994)[1961]SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, interact in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[1]

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social groupings are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche wandered in for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[1] It might be argued that 1884 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche waged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and maintained a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[423] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There *is* an undeni-able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Ma-
[121] puche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, filletun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

186 182 ots of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the threats of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to treading their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 771 779 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (antipaitanako), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. [195] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 825 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (antipaitanako ñetuin). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become bluefliss?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of [778] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 771 825 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

22: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such explanation might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of another's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (ahnupu), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the group into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to matrilateral or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers winka. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Pichuche (pichun: north), to the south, Huilliche (huilli: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (lafken: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographic-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-reservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

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504 Araucanians 504
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and resort to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the fewer overt gained to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general socialization of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious mentality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All practical age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are socialized at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 797 Prefecture Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (cf. *Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucania several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine*), the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucania that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglaterra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

114 19 The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucania, although as early as 1888 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Pailialef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1649-1652*, which represents an intervening work first published in 1647.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

employed. There follows a list of the better known dictionaries, grammars, texts, and miscellaneous treatises, with the more important works indicated by an asterisk:

P. Luis de VALDIVIA, S. J.: *Arte y Gramática general de la Lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1606. [Born Granada 1560; to Chile 1589; great defender of the Indians; died 1642.]

*P. Andrés FEBRES, S. J.: *Arte de la Lengua General del Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1765. [Spain 1724-1790 Genova; Juan M. Lacunza published the above in parts in Buenos Aires, 1882, 1884.]

Father Thomas FALKNER, S. J.: *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Hereford, 1774. [1707-1784. Lived in Patagonia ca. 1740-47; contains Mapuche vocabulary; editions in Buenos Aires 1885 & 1911, Chicago 1935.]

*P. Bernhard HAVESTADT, S. J.: *Chilidúgu, sive Res Chilenses.* Münster i. Westphalia, 1777. [1708-1781. Written in Spanish 1752-65; facsimile edition of Julius Platzmann, 1883, Leipzig, in 2 vols., *Chilidúgu, sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis.*]

*Fray Antonio HERNANDEZ I CALZADA, O. F. M.: *Diccionario Chileno Hispano, Compuesto por el r. p. misionero Andrés Febrés . . . Enriquecido de voces i mejorado por el r. p. m. fr. Hernández.* Santiago, 1846. [1774-1847.]

R. R. SCHULLER [Editor]: *Confesionario por Preguntas y Plática Doctrinales en castellano y araucano según el manuscrito inédito del misionero franciscano Fray Antonio Hernández Calzada* [1841]. Santiago, 1907. [This is *Biblioteca de lingüística americana*, t. 1.]

Dr. Ludwig DARAPSKY: "La lengua araucana." *Revista de artes y letras*, t. XII, pp. 153-155, Santiago, 1888. [1837-?]

Anibal ECHEVERRIA Y REYES: *La lengua araucana.* Santiago, 1889. [1864- ?]

Heinrich Robert Rudolf LENZ [commonly Rodolfo Lenz]: *Araukanische Märchen.* Valparaiso, 1892. [Germany 1863; to Chile ca. 1890; founder of scientific philology in Chile, and "Father" of modern Araucanistas; died 1938.]

D. BARROS ARANA and R. Lenz: "La Lingüística Americana, su historia i su estado actual," AUC, t. LXXXIV, pp. 965-1029, 1893.

Bartolomé MITRE: *Lenguas Americanas. Estudio Bibliográfico-Lingüístico de las obras del Padre Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak.* La Plata, 1894. [The scholar-president of Argentina; 1821-1906.]

*Rodolfo LENZ: "Estudios araucanos," in scattered volumes of the AUC, 1895-97.

I. Viaje al país de los Manzaneros contado en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp. 259-285.

II. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp.843-878.

III. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto picunche. t. XCI, pp. 195-241.

IV. Trozos menores en Picunche i Huilliche. t. XCIII, pp. 427-438.

V. Diálogos en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIII, pp. 507-555.

VI. Cuentos Araucanos . . . en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIV, scattered.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 585 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munoz, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

871 cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an older son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapúche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtuń (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of colihüe sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, colihüe poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and coaxed to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be coaxed to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles. 868

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother began to teach it words, usually names, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 2 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a house where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian." [191]

NURSING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a 853

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

there [15 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siniol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃafiwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. [177 12]

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. [177] The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. [191] [199]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 648 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [182] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Ñenechen and the Pantheon

776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

[177] [128]

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Ñenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

[191]

Ñenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
798 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
•192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or
195 *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

792 In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and
779 *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and
577 *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and
192 "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wenu* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which foretbodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethargun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wenu loako* or *wele loako*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most
792 part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual
779 scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to
577 the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

77 There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which
789 analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepín: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepín school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalil correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lil as a syllable." Picking up an awlless nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the qelli. Now say that word: qelli." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substatives, etc. The dialects are usually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilised pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Checoque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Checoque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Checoque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Checoque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniare SG4
Argentina

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenas tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenas noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homespun clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added: "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

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Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fulu; his brother and sister each as pilu; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as fot'un, and his daughter as fawe; a woman speaks of both as pulell.

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The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Salas, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

579 585 She replied, "We sang the same to each parent as he came up on his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai, Chachai, Chachai, Eiai, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their horses, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

[95]

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were [illegible]. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolagan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is pifion.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone she not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the house of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

[91]

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS AIDES, SACRED TEXTS OVER

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as Ima chau or my chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as generous; as the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[8]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[8] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltekun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltekun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
797 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or
195 *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony. 775 192 195.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed. 775 789 [754] 775 775 192 195

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chilcans. 775 [177]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131 tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

161 There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to 101 be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class •197 as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

101 There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.
[3] Braun, 1941a, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century). 175 648 114 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826. 175 648

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

137 *cedrus chilensis*). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

[132] The "*Pehuenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

060 The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

131 At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the 197 southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

197 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher inter-101 cordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., 174 whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Olaverria, 1852, p. 15) and later "*Pehuenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear.

Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly non-linguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Pehuenche*" ("*Pegüenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pegüenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pegüenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanian* (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431–38). 197 101

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650–53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapí (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468–69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30′) of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143). 174

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century piñon-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and Pampean tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions. 174

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early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization. 161 [165]

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians*." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 83). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Mansilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing. 165 164

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r=s=d*, *n=ñ*, *t=tr=ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty 197

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197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 649 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bío-Bío River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

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167 nal home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*.
●197 Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is
197 today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples,
144 who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltratons.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
144 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1563 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
144 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

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lera between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 161
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 144
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Auracanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important to warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified: The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [133]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche* de Cuyo, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

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184 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a 144 "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolicocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

•197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON[1]
University of Illinois

121 128 THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

101 For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

101 131 During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bio-Bio River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bio-Bio River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These [197] cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

101 Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

114 Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepée: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepée school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic famliy; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government 184 regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [197] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons 186 who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

● 197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siniol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃafiwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

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Argentina

manſana from manzana (apple); fasterra from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and patagonia; also chiripe, chilipa, and chilipau, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade. 197

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleodoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and 648 868

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. When beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilised Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[755] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses
[198] available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
●201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
[778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indígenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

[201]

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is most improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservation [illegible] resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled lo[illegible] defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to
[576] discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[35] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[35] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good
orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[814] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [202] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, 622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver 202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, 2 and 3.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. At-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an arəmko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Arəmko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (piku), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willümapu), and west (koniüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikukürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürəf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or naqpa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Cofiaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, 2-4, 6; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifəlka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ŋillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kullkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuŋkul, when no kullkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuŋkul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kullkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

202 534 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hoping that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fücha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fücha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as choapino and lama. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring choapino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a ŋillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Coñaripe man on whose land the ŋillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ŋillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Coñaripe, Llanchahue, Pucura, Pullinque, Tracapulli, Kayumapu, Koiweku, Koskos, Lonkon, Reweku, Kariline, Kikine, Karango, Huechulafken, Limai. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ŋillatun—one locality decides to hold a ŋillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Panguipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshuenco, Huitag, and Payahuinte. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration. 796

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepúe area this plot is in Maiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Coñaripe man: "The ŋillatun for Coñaripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ŋillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ŋillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out summons to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In Alepúe area, the cacique is the leader; in Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, he is a person known as ŋenpin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ŋillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The ŋenpin, according to Félix José (1916, vol. 1, pp. 55-56), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the ŋillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the ŋenpin as a class of priests although they do not ordinarily slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from 796 793 [202]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Mamuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collúm Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junin de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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537 man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those [202] who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolupan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

802 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	50 kechu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 küla (or kla)	12 mari-epu	70 reqle-mari
4 meli	13 mari-küla (or mari-kla)	80 pura-mari
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	90 ailla-mari
6 kayü	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 pataka
7 reqle	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-pataka
8 pura	30 kla-mari	300 kla-pataka
9 ailla	40 meli-mari	1,000 waraqka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

821 not identify the Southern Cross by its name, but a diagram of it immediately brought a response: "That one? That one is called footprint of the rhea (panon). The three upper stars are the toes; the lower one is the heel." Pointing at the sky where Orion could be

FIG. 8.—Constellations named by informants. Since informants, in describing the constellations, pointed to areas between zenith and 45° below zenith, it is possible that the names given in parentheses are the astronomical ones. *a*, Seven little goats (a section of Pavo). *b*, A 3-balled bolaodora (a section of Crux). *c*, Stretched hide (sections of Carina and Volans). *d*, Guanaco (a section of Centaurus). *e*, The foot of the rhea (Reticulum). *f*, Rhea (Grus). *g*, A 3-balled bolaodora (Apus).

seen that night (November), he remarked, "We call those three stars potatoes in a hole (pal); the Argentines call them las tres Marias. The Milky Way was called the river (l'enfü).

SIGNALING

202 According to a well-informed non-Araucanian, the Araucanians signaled by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and also by the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1*, *2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin." 202

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chañilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nüfkü), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan. 804

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended—"It has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each 804 294

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the A 482 march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving [251] bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present A stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with 231 reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade. A T

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an 648 interchange of presents took place. Here I made the A acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented 622 him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which A 202 we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* A people, but owing to those sent by me for England being [822 written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians 721] considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named 000

* Also called Poyel.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

● 202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their two-fold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibiran Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.

Todos los indígenas, sí, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibiran su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así sera.

Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaria los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaria Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [202] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

●211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antū). Antū is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Coñaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 59-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset. 805

Kolupan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolese had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kolupan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday: both called it ranji antü. Kolupan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into ule (morning), ranji antü (midday), rupa antü (sun is passing), and epe lesu antü (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (akipun) is told by the position of two constellations, the guanaco (l'uan) and the rhea (choike). (See table 2 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.) 805 184

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If count had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks' time was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the shape of the moon on the day 805 [211]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic famliy; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtuń (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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648 animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since
868 the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

195 Informants were not aware of differences in their language as
601 spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Arancanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fiuke; his brother and sister each as pifie; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'om, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as pəñeñ.

212 The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in
172 many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Mamuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collúm Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junin de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct [423] rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals re- [648] garding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and [212] participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiukü (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as choñchoñ, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the choñchoñ sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant [278] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 In Cofaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will ● 215 lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them. 761 215

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later near the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake. 763

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and stickpins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the women's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepúe. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and grandaunt. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak." 651

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related. 423

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law." [217]

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[797] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
638 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow." 101

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche." 128

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence. 22

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true." 197

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some 842

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased 427
such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
233 for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more
556 recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapalwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222] ●
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, 241
harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the [231]
favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown [263]
in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, [222 245]
and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens [235]
and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and 231
geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for [236 286]
cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. 241
One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[18]

[18] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*frageria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *pegua* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the noncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñons, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta coastal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñons in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Coña, lists nearly 50 (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 30–31, 87–106). These included: Roots, and tubers—ñuto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), láwü (*Sisyrinchium* sp.), huanqui (*Dioscorea* sp.), gadu (*Conanthera bifolia*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, añpe (*Alsophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—myrtle (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luna*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. congestifolia*, and others), boldo (*Boldoa fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), peumo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), kopiu (*Lapageria rosea*), kowüll (*Lardizabala biternata*), doka (*Mesembryanthemum chilense*), mulul (*Ribes glandulosum*), nüyu (*Greigia sphacelata*), mulluen (*Empetrum rubrum*), apples (feral: post-Columbian, of course), and others; "hazelnuts" (*Guevina avellana*); seeds—llenque (*Podocarpus andina*), and lanco, lanko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); ŋalka, petioles of paŋke (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and greens—graciola (*Gratiola peruviana*), placa (*Mimulus luteus*) (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 100, leaves eaten as Europeans eat salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—*Durvillaea utilis* (giant kelp), *Ulva lactuca* (sea-lettuce), *U. latissima*. Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 30) lists as scarcity foods resorted to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to ŋalka and añpe above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Yuyo (*Brassica campestris*), yerba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), yerba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. viridis*), cardo, troltro (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance: there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famines proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from rare statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 124) and Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 36), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Four-footed game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—
241 and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

411 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

292 Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

● 222 421 Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

171 In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschütz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko lachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko lachu. Each family took along several poles of the 222

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[136] Each family took along several pelts of the
222 llama—the llama was an animal that lived around in the Mapuche country then; it was like a sheep, he said, but its pelt was not as heavy as a sheep's. They pulled off the ears of the grass by hand, collected
[483] them on the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried peltfuls of them home, slung across his shoulder. They collected beads of the wheat in the same way in those days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

243 A 19-year-old girl in Cofaripe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's 1946 stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only scattered ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, *1*), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, *2*). Threshing grain in this manner is called fawiñpen. The movements of her feet, used alternately for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother fawiñpen, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hum the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by brushing the surface with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, *3*). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had barely begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels onto the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, focusing her eyes on the farther edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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stances. Occasionally a chalwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (kilko) (pl. 46, 4) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (lepü) (pls. 44, 2; 46, 3), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chalaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarb-like nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Pangipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuellin. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of lliwü, and of kuiffü (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

Tunillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and oréganos. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Cotterlpe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out. 222 [263] [262]

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe ones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, *3, 4*) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Coñaripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 50-year-old Coñaripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pelaifa [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llancahue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

222 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the ruka. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[263] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Coñaripe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into cántaros and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chuiwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapaicahue), mote (kuko kachillo), catuto (moltrun or mol'a), and toasted wheat (kopuwiwa).

252 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of fiocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." 252
They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either still fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée.

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the women in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said these little horned heads nauseated her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend these people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariao are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about a inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sewed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of ruka to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of fiocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [221 262]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [2½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away feeding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Tromen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumina, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and manos, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[222] *ría,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours. A T 525

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 137 A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *ñadi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *guaiu* (*cervus guaiu*), the *guanaco*, and the *pangi* (*felis oncolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vulu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huaiquvio*, *pajaro* or wild geese, wild swans, plovers, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country entered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued. 224

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others. [[36] [223]

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

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Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area. 231

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kiltho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chilihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Goicueta, 1882, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its [236 492]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer [262] seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepúe spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans.

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the *jilguero* and the *chanchito*. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported. 226

Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (kolíkuien), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (kudwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are huahuan, tineo (coldmulled), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available. [251]

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pepi or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shumam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (trulí or pódu or pofo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); Rieta or bandurria (rakí); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganso; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pidell); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (fadu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleadora (Fakai), the bola perdida, lazo, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kobapue, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 411

A boleadora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *maki* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*Fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [37] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the noncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñons, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta coastal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñons in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Coña, lists nearly 50 (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 30–31, 87–106). These included: Roots, and tubers—liuto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), láwü (*Sisyrinchium* sp.), huanqui (*Dioscorea* sp.), gadu (*Conanthera bifolia*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, añpe (*Alsophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—myrtle (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luma*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. congestifolia*, and others), boldo (*Boldoa fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), peumo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), kopiu (*Lapageria rosea*), kowüll (*Lardizabala biternata*), doka (*Mesembryanthemum chilense*), mulul (*Ribes glandulosum*), nüyu (*Greigia sphacelata*), mulluen (*Empetrum rubrum*), apples (feral: post-Columbian, of course), and others; "hazelnuts" (*Guerina avellana*); seeds—llenque (*Podocarpus andina*), and lanco, lanko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); ṣalka, petioles of paṇke (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and greens—graciola (*Gratiola peruviana*), placa (*Mimulus luteus*) (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 100, leaves eaten as Europeans eat salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—*Durvillaea utilis* (giant kelp), *Ulva lactuca* (sea-lettuce), *U. latissima*. Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 20) lists as scarcity foods resorted to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to ṣalka and añpe above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Yuyo (*Brassica campestris*), yerba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), yerba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. viridis*), cardo, treltre (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance: there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famines proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from rare statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 124) and Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 36), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Four-footed game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Manzilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Venix (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 120; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 220; Milanesio, 1898, p. 38.) Sors (1921, 39:194) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 252), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, 382) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampas, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

[231] [234]

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y
302 Junient, 1927, 12:271; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 126; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bola de pelo (Molina, 1901, p. 252; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 32); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or tabla (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Manzilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otaba resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 219); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantas (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chase together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alapin children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 3.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
12-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Zorrillos, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Caruca, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Pandero."
15-year-old boy	One sheep, one horse, one hen, one goose.
15-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
15-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Chaskuero."
15-year-old boy	One cow, one hen, and an old ox called Sandro.
3-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one cow.
3-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 3-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write these words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOOD

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 224 700-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemul or guemul, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the bandurria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

224 puma, too, was hunted with the help of dogs. Weapons, according to Cooper's sources, were the bow and arrow, the sling, and the two-balled bolas. Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were used in trapping birds. Cooper's sources did not mention clog snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole and perch snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets.

Old informants told me they had enticed pumas (which they called lions), and tigers, pudú (deer), venow, and rabbits—"in fact these destructive animals and any other four-legged animals that we wished to trap, when I was a young man"—into snares (wachi) consisting of a pole attached to a noose made of twisted horsehair to which a favorite food of the animal to be snared had been fastened as bait. Pulling at the bait caused the pole to be released, thereby contracting the noose about the animal's neck and choking it. Pumas were also trapped in enclosures. One consisting of two fences has already been described. Another consisting of a circular fence, also, was so built that a puma could peek inside and see a sheep placed there as bait. In the fence a blind-alley gangway, about the size of a puma, was built to look like an entrance. The puma entered it to get at the sheep, and when it found it could not reach the sheep it backed out. Thereupon, a man lying in wait for it stabbed it with a spear.

My informants thought that a systematic hunt by the old methods should be inaugurated to rid the area of pumas, "for every fourth or fifth night a puma attacks a flock of sheep somewhere, or makes a desperate attempt to do so. All we do today is to protect our sheep by means of dogs. Dogs succeed, usually, in chasing a puma back into the ravines or woods, but occasionally sheep are taken. Pumas are bold, and nothing keeps them away except the ferocious bark of dogs; that is why we feed dogs chili."

One night a puma returned to the Mission corral where it had devoured one sheep and sucked the blood of six others several weeks before. The following morning its tracks were everywhere in the mud at the old corral. Evidently it had not discovered the new corral, in which the sheep were now surrounded by two fences, before the dogs grew chase, as its footprints were not found there. During the night the barking of many dogs could be heard moving into the distance as they chased the puma (dogs from neighboring ruka having joined the Mission dog). In the morning neighbors came to see what damage had been done and told how their dogs had joined in the chase when the puma passed their ruka. They thought that the voices we had heard during the night were theirs, for "we kept talking to our

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According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were 226 mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported.

Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (bolillaina), sierra (sawfish), and robalo (kudwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are hualtaco, tineo [251] (unidentified), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available.

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned 396
vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using 502
a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or 782
on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing.

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, *2*), 482
and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported 492
on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was 505
hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback.

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pañi or 224
trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shumam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (trulí or pōdu or poʃo); and the armadillo (koftir). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these.

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich 223
(choike); ibises or bandurria (rakí); the avutarda; cisne blanco or gansa; gallaretas (pollolla or, popularly, pidefi); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃadu).

Implements used in hunting were the boleadora (Fakal), the bola 224
perdida, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have 491
been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting.

A boleadora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, *4*), a ball was fastened to

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224 411 one end of each of three thongs; the other ends were securely tied together. In the 2-balled one only one thong was used; a ball was attached to each end of it. When throwing the boleodora one ball is held in the hand; this ball is somewhat smaller than the others and is slightly oval-shaped. Balls were approximately 1½ inches in diameter (pl. 76, *2*). Thongs were 4-ply braids of leg sinews of rhea or sinew strands of guanaco, approximately 32 inches in length. More often today they are two 4-inch-wide strands of horse hide twisted about each other.

The 3-balled lariat was used in hunting large quadrupeds, such as the guanaco, and in capturing wild horses; the 2-balled ones, in hunting large bipeds, such as the rhea. Today, the 2-balled boleodora is seldom used; the 3-balled one is hurled to twist around the front legs of a horse to prevent it from straying away while the rider is engaged in work or conversation. Boys today use the boleodora to catch rabbits. Accompanied by dogs they chase rabbits for hours and catch an occasional one.

The bola perdido was a lariat with a ball at one end and a substantial solid knot at the other end. The ball, usually 2 pounds in weight, was studded and ended in a sharp point which protruded from its covering of rhea skin. Studs, too, often protruded; sometimes a ball had as many as eight studs. When the bola perdido was being used, the knot end was clutched tight with the hand, the lariat and ball swung in circles above the person, aimed at the head of the animal, and finally released. If the animal was only stunned, it was immediately killed with a spear. A spear was a stout cuilihe stalk tipped with a flint arrow. Pumas, puddis, and wild boars were hunted with the bola perdido; pumas were also trapped.

224 One type of trap used in hunting pumas was a circular enclosure of logs, built high enough so that a puma could not jump over it. From the entrance to the enclosure was a covered gangway the size of a puma, at which a trap door hung suspended in an upright position. A live lamb or sheep was placed in the enclosure, and when the puma entered to take the bait, the pressure of its feet released the door, which dropped and closed the entrance. Once the puma was trapped, the hunter reached over the enclosure with a long pole at the end of which was a noose made with a lasso, caught the puma's head in the noose, and strangled it. Kobupan had trapped and killed pumas in this manner, using a lasso approximately three-fourths inch in diameter made of five braided strands of horsehide. Today, he uses the lasso in lassoing horses and cattle. If a hunter came upon a puma in a tree, he stabbed it with a spear. The wounded puma then moved slowly

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down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Hummel were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then lassoed. 224

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a noose as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by food, such as grass seeds. The hunter nearby pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs. [857]

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the most of the small ones best."

Fish native to Andean lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (ramil or kaule); the pilladilla (pelinlo or pelcilla), a scaleless fish; the trucha criolla or perca (lipay); the carapo (malche); and the peyen (upesh). 226

In the first decade of the 1900's, Andean lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Morong, 1945, pp. 121-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marron or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants accused the salmon of exterminating the native pejerrey and pilladilla from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Perca and carapo were speared from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long cellulite pole pronged at the smaller end in familiar fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed cellulite stalks (informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was A [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- A [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

A 233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchal pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

A 224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their A 482 custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, 224 and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Eagel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Maishor, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranaeus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 180); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincón; Hosse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rayo; and parched, or mirka. From the first was made a bread, kofka, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 242 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of bracquen, tara, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195?
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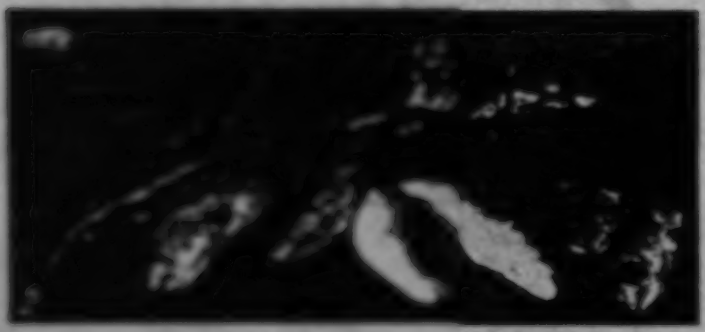
226

[50]



Fishing in the Pacific Ocean (Arauco): 1, Two fishermen landing their boat; 2, Fish that's under a disembarking net; 3, Fish being carried on land in an oxcart.

[p-172(H)]

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer [262] seen in the area; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepúe spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans.

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed 223 under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Pangipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chuchino. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait.

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Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (huilliches), sierra (sawfish), and robalo (kadwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, 1). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, 3), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are huahuan, tiaso [251] (mitimitilad), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available.

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1, 2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whisk-broom-like implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wiki.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kanko (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as marks, loko, machiao, piure, and ariao. Collecting shellfish is called l'ahentun. Machs bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the machs, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and machiao attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbar-like iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "It is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wiki.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 710), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (tadui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and their bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for load transportation.

[485] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or 486 to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every rule footpaths lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water 487 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, simple vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Hounds were chosen to culmination by dogs, and then hunted. 224

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a manner so formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by food, such as grass seeds. The hunter merely pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs. [85?]

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the more of the small ones best."

Fish native to Araucanía lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (*mudi* or *lauke*); the pinkillio (*pinkilo* or *pinkillo*), a cambiform fish; the trucha (*trilla* or *pewa* (*lipu*)); the *cangpu* (*cambio*); and the *pepen* (*epuh*). 226

In the first decade of the 1900's, Araucanía lakes and streams were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moerner, 1910, pp. 101-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marrón or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants assured the salmon of extinguishing the native pejerrey and pinkillio from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Pewa and cangpu were spawned from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long cylindric pole pointed at the smaller end to holder holders with four or five thinner, sharply pointed cylindric sticks (Informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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the point where the fishermen stood. Kalapan had spaced fish both ways.

When water was low enough for persons to walk in the stream with men, men and women fished jointly. They entered the stream in semicircular arrangement, elbow to elbow, near the affluence of two rivers or of a river and a lake, and proceeded upstream. Each man held before him in the water a container, either an open sack of hide or a homemade rug shaped like a receptacle, and each woman held a piece of chamall (homemade cloth). As the men and women moved forward, fish were trapped in the containers. If the catch was big, the women often sorted out the small fish and dropped them into their blouses; large fish were thrown onto the shore to be picked up later. Before setting out to fish a prayer was said—a short one if only a few fish were to be caught. My informant recited the following short one in Araucanian: "My God, help us to catch fish. We are leaving home now to catch fish. May God help us." "If we went for a big haul we said a much longer prayer."

It sometimes happened that there were too few men and women for a close semicircular formation. In that event the men made a trap by attaching a piece of woven material, known as matra, lengthwise to a long cylindric stick. Several men held both ends of the stick slightly above water, bending it somewhat to form a semicircle; other men walked immediately behind so as to keep the matra in vertical position. The women and any men not needed as the trap bad in the meantime walked some distance upstream, on the shore. They now walked slowly downstream in the water making a slight noise, thus causing the fish to swim downstream toward the trap. When a goodly number of fish had collected close to the matra, the men behind it lifted the bottom of it forward, forming a bowl-shaped trap in which the fish were caught and lifted out of the water. The matra was then carried ashore and emptied. If the catch was too small the trapping was repeated.

If only a small number of fish was desired two men walked upstream, each grasping the shorter end of a matra that was weighted down with stones attached at intervals. As fish approached the matra, the men caught them by hand and threw them onto the shore. Matras used in fishing were usually from 4 to 6 yards in length and 4 feet in width. Sometimes several women just out for a walk along a stream would catch by hand any fish that swam their way, and carry them home in their blouses. Fish were never sun-dried.

At no time were small children allowed around where others were fishing. "The less noise there was, the nearer the fish behaved."

226

Children by themselves, however, faired as their elders did. Today 236
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [237]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bladder-skillfish called *cacha* was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING UTENSILS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 242
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite game. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 243
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when congealed eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was smoked guanaco lung, known as *epell*. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passages of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then slung on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make *epell* today from the lung of a horse, sheep, calf, or goat; *epell* is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a split finely pointed shoulder in the ground. Other meats broiled in the *epell* fashion were puma, wild boar, armadillo, and horse. Width of all kinds were also cooked with wild grains—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (*ngulu* [illegible]
Dz). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded with two such slices, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A skin (pl. *ta, ji*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 248 hectares, approximately 158 are
31 cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[30] rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the vega that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Tolten region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
34 fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but
[342] the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[339] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
34 Crop yields on some reservations in the Peichue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 3 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 13:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 134 sheep,
[133] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

34 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[133] the reducción, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[342] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chaucrcia*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[223] Some use was made of fish from the Tolten River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic Mapuche-Huilliche culture (McCluffery, 1932, p. 44). 232 472

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland Mapuche-Huilliche living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilenos they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), pompins (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Atherinichthys regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranephrops* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (*Pyura*) were sought also for food. 224 [242] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of sheepgut (*Ovipis ophiodon*), and, later, of hemp; pumbos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 160); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and voice of hoarsehoe, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Oliverson, 1874, p. 200). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Fabris, 1933, s. v. *chuchu*; Hosmer, 1888, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in bill cones, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 153; Claude Joseph, 1901, pp. 60-61). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or raw; and parched, or mahko. From the first was made a bread, hoko, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked on ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of barley chowder was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1928, p. 340 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of buckwheat, bean, mango, and beans. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and smoked or stewed to make charki, or jerked meat.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[7] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*maní?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[8]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[9] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[10]

[7] Graham, 1927, p. [illegible].

[8] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[9] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Mooybroek, 1950, pp. 74–122.

[10] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[11]

[11] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed corn. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are 356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other [23] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or cows are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[10] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[11] Structures [343] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a [47%] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[10] Cf. Hanson, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[11] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and Hanson, 1939, pp. 157–59.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul-trufi*, and three performers staged the formal ostrich dance, *cheike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flapping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, struck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[23]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[24] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[23] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[24] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.[a] Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-trull*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

[a] By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

PLATE I

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857

FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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291
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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antinao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANIAN

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

[101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, bitterness invincible in both Americas, that within their territorial colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

[104] Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, by Tomás Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautín valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

[177] Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilization. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual tolds or skin tents.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-180.

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As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the men noting the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way. 177

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new animals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader. [231] 241]

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying to the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the Indian to the Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a down, cringing, cowardly peasant, he has become a drunken, scoundrel, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink. 648 273 733

Clothing.—Prior to the Spanish invasion of the southern tribes the Araucanos had a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their tables from time to time as the migration of the game demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed underneath between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by genuine skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured woven band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts on helmets, the skins and tails hanging down on their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using spinous needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes south of the 33rd degree. There 291 [281] 302 292 [286] [177]

4:Latcham 7-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and invioiate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *ñuda* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huadurria*, *payuin* or wild goose, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1999 SC4 Araucanians SC4

24 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give a greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are threshed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and threshing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

●231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

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Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued. 234

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemul (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamous (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others. [236] [238]

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, pp. 33, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McCafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (*lonchi*, *wachi*) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Cuta describes a multiple *lonchito* or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and treading-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:230), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area. 231

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kitho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–52). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chillihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Gricuota, 1852, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its [236 492]

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[144] 231 [illegible] was highly esteemed, but was not worn except at important social or religious feasts.

231 231 (pl) The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1555. Lassoes were seen on horseback in 1556. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddletree, saddlecloth, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1855, p. 200.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McCafferty, 1932, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The lasso, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanian*, was probably introduced and spread

[i.e. The llama]

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with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic Mission-Shellfish culture (McCluffery, 1935, p. 46).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 18th century. The use of the Iberian harpoon-lance for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 19th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland Mission-Shellfish living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilcotin they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kinds of fish were taken, such as sculpin (*Mugil* sp.), flounder (*Paralichthys* sp.), perches (*Sebastes* sp.), silversides (*Atherinopsis californiae*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: fan mussels (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Anglo* sp. and *Paranaxus* sp., and probably also marine snails of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesmus* sp., *Tellina* sp., *Unionida*, and others). Amphibians or sea-squirts (*Tunicata*) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of sheepgut (*Ovispin ephemeridae*), and, later, of hemp; pendants and baskets, baited and put under water (Gunther Silva, 1911, p. 188); fishes of quids (*Chaenopsis* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads, and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 102). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Fabris, 1902, s. v. *ciscito*; Hosmer, 1908, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 13: 130; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or raspy; and parched, or mitrka. From the first was made a bread, kuku, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked on sahan, or in pit ovens. A sort of heaven thunder was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 242 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huaquen, tuna, mango, and lucuo. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

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Argentine Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1826–28, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–96, La Vaulx (1897–95, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basis productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

[221] [224]

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and
302 arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

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which is so basic to cultural history, the other to direct study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions seriously answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be contradictory will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the intervals:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled there so, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest province of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred still fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia: the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their natural liberty.[62]

University of California
Berkeley, California

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61 One such problem is suggested by the census. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish sheep and goats. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planting in the valleys, the Araucanians moved their fields to inaccessible areas. It may be that lower yields in the mountains created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Jiménez de Bazán to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1563 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olivares, pp. 36-38; Marmolejo, pp. 76-77; Nájera, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62 Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His statistics seem to be far from the mark. In 1664 the cavalry figures, as Lenhart reports them, were 29,800 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian allies ("La especial guerra de los Araucanos," p. 38).

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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 824 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pinñ trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hatch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

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onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. 244
Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native celery, coriander, and vanilla. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Coñaripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon." [82]

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. 245
Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an 247
occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Coñaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, *1*.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated 231
animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

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231 bees nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 177] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [423] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sana, a disease that causes them to lose their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine. 233

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, 3). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka. 235 [B2]

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!" 231

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tach" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

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231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepóe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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close together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alepée children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 5.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
15-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Remolino, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Curan, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Pandoro."
12-year-old boy	One sheep, one boar, one hen, one goose.
12-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
12-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Olmirante."
11-year-old boy	One ewe, one hen, and an old ox called Sambo.
5-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one cat.
5-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 5-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write those words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOOD

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemul or guemal, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the bandurria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

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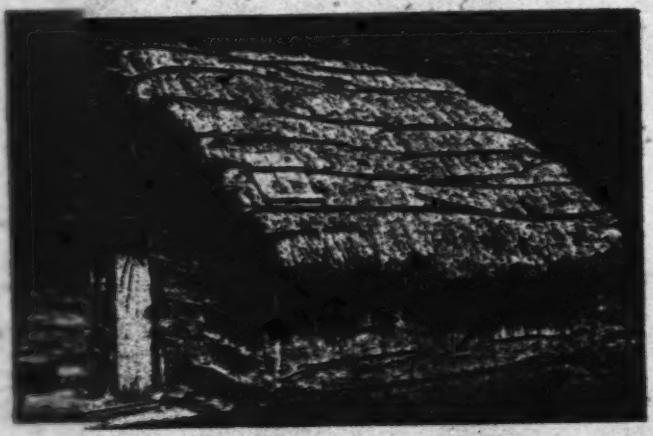

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133

A dwing, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-covered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is admitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Malleo.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eldis.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *2*). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw 754

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221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
233 for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more
556 recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, 3). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 246 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, 1; 70, 2; 78, 3); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

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231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with a tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guarani, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

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RESERVATIONS

175 433 [231] It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

241 177 Cooper (1946:79) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory [361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled [433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de- [265] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[462] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[407] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
[960] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
492

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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Of a total of 283 hectares, approximately 150 are
31 cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[336] rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the vega that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[342] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

●231 The Indians on Llancaman have 95 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[332] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[162] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a [595] wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under [831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[823] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by
[570] household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I),[1] the number of
[231] adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

473 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from
133 reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[1] [See CAT. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively — Analyst]

[Reservation Alongueo]

CHART 1

[5] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL LAND	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED	Half-shares Rec	HECTARES Shared/ Rented Half-shares Rec.	Rent out	Half-shares Rec	ANIMALS Shared/ Rented Half-shares Rec.	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7		30	7	1		0		6M *	0	6M	0	30	x
2)	10	7	(0)	19	110		50	18	4		0		0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15		20	8	1		0		0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14		20	4	1		0		0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14		20	4	1		0		0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(2)	2	20		100	5	3		0		0	0	6aM	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25		0	5	2		0		0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5		10	2	0		0		0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(2)	4	7		20	4	0		0		8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20		50	8	0		0		0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7		20	4	0		0		0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10		15	5	1		10C *		0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10		10	4	0		10C		0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	48		15	0	0	4M,	10C		0	3M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7		0	2	0		0		0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	30		20	6	1		0		0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15		0	0	0		15C		0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20		20	0	0		20M		0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(0)	5	4		0	0	0		4M		0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8		0	0	0		8M		0	0	0	0		x
21)	3	2	(0)	7	15		8	2	0		8C		0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	7		7	7	7		7		7	7	7	7		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	8		20	4	1		0		0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6		0	2	0		8C		0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6		0	0	0		8C		0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40		15	2	0		8M		0 4	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8		0	0	0		8M		0	0	0	0		x
	Absent		1		18		0	0	0		0		0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals																	
	80	53	(15)	132	513		483	100	15		113		14	37	66	34		

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see cat. 116, p. 32) -- Analyst]

11:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unforested land on Llancanao which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilaco lies just to the north of Llancanao. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and [133] soil types are similar to those of Llancanao.

[Reservation Llancanao]

CHART 2

	HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented			ANIMALS Owned/ Rented				
162																
272																
423																
422																
429																
23																
241																
	3	6	36	7	15	10	18	4	16	6	0	0	0	0	0	
	3	7	33	10	7	0	4	0	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	1	6	36	3	10	0	8	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	0	1	33	3	7	0	0	3	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1	1	33	0	10	0	11	0	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	3	4	36	7	6	0	8	3	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	1	33	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	7	7	0		7
	3	0	36	4	10	0	4	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	3	3	36	0	11	0	3	0	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	0	36	0	14	0	13	0	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	1	33	3	3	0	0	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	4	36	0	0	0	10	0	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	1	33	3	0	0	0	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	3	0	36	3	11	0	0	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	4	36	0	0	0	0	1	15	0	0	0	0	0		
Absent				0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Absent				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Absent				0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Totals	25	36	792	80	180	494	88	17	80	11	17		71			

APPENDIX A 237

[Reservation Hualem]

CHART 3

		HOMESTEADS		TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented			ANIMALS Owned/ Rented				
0	4	10	0	5	0	1	1	50	0	0	0	100		1	162
3	0	30	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			572
0	0	30	0	3	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	100			423
0	0	30	0	3	0	0	0	50	0	50	0	100		1	422
0	0	30	0	3	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0		1	427
3	0	30	3	3	0	0	1	0	50	0	0	100	1	1	13
9	3	30	10	3	0	0	0	50	0	50	0	0		1	64
0	1	30	3	7	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	100	1	1	
0	0	30	6	3	0	1	1	50	0	0	0	0		1	
6	0	30	6	3	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	100		1	
3	3	30	3	6	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0		1	
1	0	60	1	3	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0		1	
3	0	60	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	
Totals															
27	11	310	45	39	0	1	1	50	1	1	0	100			

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penek,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours. A T 525

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entiraly on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 137 A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid T giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[407] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
[462] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
442

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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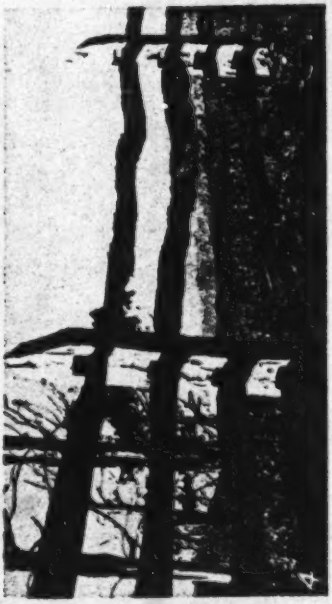
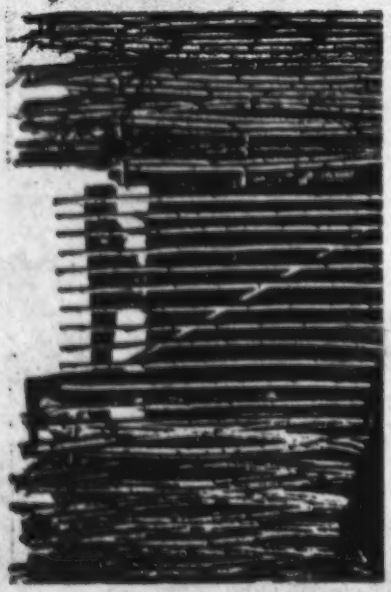




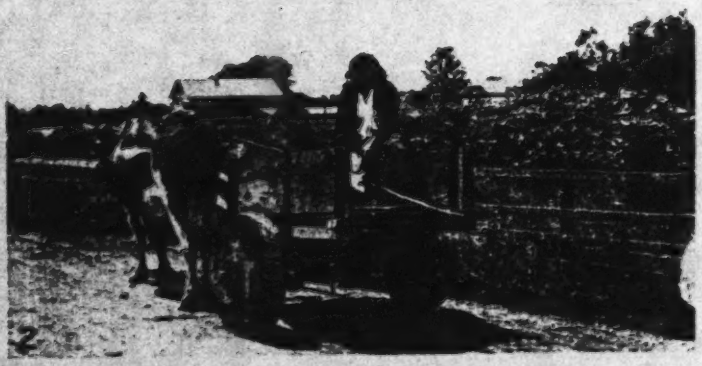
Fences: 1, Chicken yard (Boroa). 2, Garden (Coñaripe). 3, Sheep pasture (Coñaripe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

[p. 172 (c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

233

492
493



501

Sheep, and transportation: 1, A flock of sheep in Coñaripe. 2, Transportation by oxcart (Alepúe). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3, Dugout used in transporting persons across the Rio Llanquihue in Coñaripe.

[p. 172 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

231 bees nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 177] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sana, a disease that causes them to lose their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine. 233

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, *3*). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka. 235 [B21]

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!" 231

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tsch" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

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221 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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close together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alepúe children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 5.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
15-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Remolino, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Curan, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Panduro."
12-year-old boy	One sheep, one boar, one hen, one goose.
12-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
12-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Olmirante."
11-year-old boy	One ewe, one hen, and an old ox called Sambo.
5-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one ewe.
5-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 5-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write those words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOODS

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemel or guemal, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the bandurria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427
cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

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221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and
233 therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more
556 recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

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amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[222] *ría*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [242]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[162] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[48] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital
[183] (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
●233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, A shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their A custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly 482 for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, 241
harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the [231]
favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown [263]
in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, [222
and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. 245]
Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens [235]
and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and 231
geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for [236
cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and 286]
woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. 241
One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[12]

[12] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Parastacus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

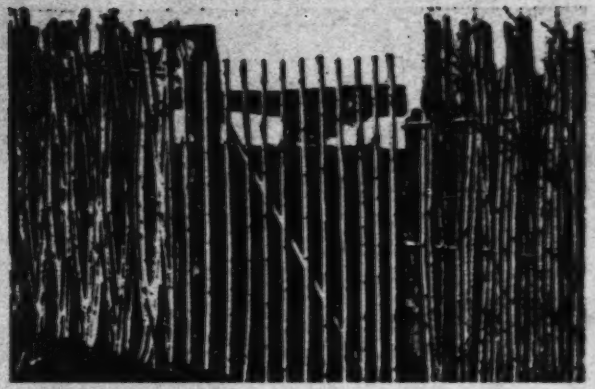
Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincún; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

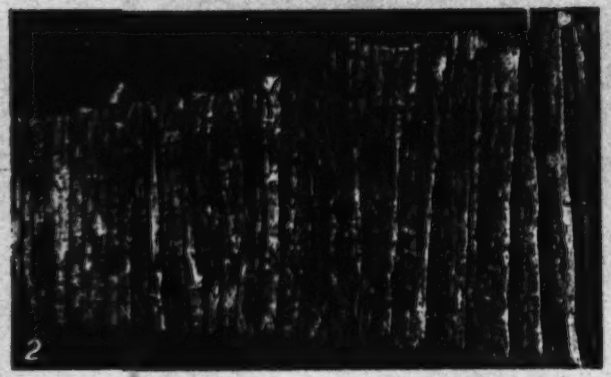
Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rəŋo; and parched, or mürke. From the first was made a bread, kofke, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, teca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile





Fences: 1, Chicken yard (Boroa). 2, Garden (Coñaripe). 3, Sheep pasture (Coñaripe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

[p.172(c)]
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233
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241

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine. 233

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, 3). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka. 235 [B21]

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!" 231

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tach" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

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4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [324] 283 [234] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *ayocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very 286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued. 224

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others. [136] [223]

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Coña describes a multiple immobile or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area. 231

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kiltho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chilihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the caciques 12 to 20 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 350), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its [236 492]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepúe area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *6*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [464] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (fiimkun) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pishoi) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepúe woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ½ to 1½ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[401] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
[462] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
492

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

857 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the
524 knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, 3). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, 5). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned
237 rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

166 the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean
444 landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

423 All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one
134 of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily
242 wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

● 241 Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last
[442] few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks. 241 [231]

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. [263] Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. [222 245] Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women. [235] 231 [236 286]

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[12] 241

[12] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 [491] Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29–32 and 138–68.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the
●241 contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

PLATE I

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give it greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are thrashed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and thrashing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

262 sea food formed a considerable element in the diet in the Coastal area. Most of the food supply was derived from cultivated plants. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, all the *Araucanians* (except perhaps the *Pehuenche*: cf. infra) from the Choapa to Chiloé inclusive were sedentary farmers. That *Araucanian* agriculture as such antedated the *Inca* invasion of the second half of the 15th century is reasonably certain, since south of the Maule River *Inca* influence could hardly have given rise in so short a time to such a high development of agriculture as the first Spaniards found as far south as Chiloé.

241

Agriculture.—The following food plants were being cultivated by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards: (1) Maize, wa, *Zea mays;* 8 or 9 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 375); cultivated on Chiloé as well as mainland. (2) White potato, poñû, puñe, *Solanum tuberosum;* over 30 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 377; cf. Bukasov, 1933, p. 163, many varieties, especially on Chiloé); more than a hundred native names of "varieties" grown on Chiloé (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:559–61). (3) Kidney bean, deŋûll, degûll, *Phaseolus vulgaris;* 13 or 14 kinds, according to Molina (ibid., p. 376). (4) Squash, peŋka, wada, *Cucurbita maxima* (and *C. pepo*?) (5) Madi, *Madia sativa;* a seed-crop; an oil derived from seeds. (6) Chili pepper, trapi, thapi, *Capsicum annuum;* many varieties cultivated. (7) Quinoa, dewe, *Chenopodium quinoa;* a seed-crop; leaves also eaten (Molina, 1878 b, p. 376). (8) Oca, *Oxalis* sp.; root-crop cultivated earlier in Chiloé and Llanquihue; two varieties cultivated, according to Latcham (1915 b, pp. 149, 154). (9) Magu, maŋo, mango, *Bromus mango;* a seed-crop resembling our rye; bread made from grain. (10) Teca, tuca, thuca, not identified botanically; superficially resembling our barley; bread made of grain. (11) Peanut, maní (from *Arawak;* no native *Araucanian* name), *Arachis hypogaea;* thought by Lenz (1904–10, 2:475) to have been introduced by the *Inca;* by Latcham (1936, p. 192), in post-Contact times. (12) Strawberry, kelleñ, llaweñ, *Fragaria chiloensis;* both cultivated and wild used. (13) Huequen, hueguen, not identified botanically; a seed-crop, superficially resembling our barley.

Of the foregoing, maize was the most important food staple among the *Mapuche*, but among the mainland *Huilliche* potatoes were apparently of near equal importance with maize, and among the Chilotans of much greater importance. This relative importance seems to have persisted down to the present. Potatoes were recently the chief food of the poorer Indians in the Río Imperial area (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 99).

Teca, huequen, and oca are no longer cultivated; the cultivation of teca had been abandoned as early as Molina's time in the middle 18th century. The last specimen of magu was collected in 1837 in south Chiloé. Quinoa was reported under cultivation in Chiloé as

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late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of manioc or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Picunche* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 32–33) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 31–32; Latcham, 1936, pp. 292–93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Goicueta, 1852, p. 93), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Río Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 139), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 135). Manuring was apparently not practiced. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an oar- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 192); a pole (used in pairs in Chiloé) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 241

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or mingaco system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or parcialidad, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibbles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 138–43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent time threshing with use of horses came in. 243 476

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Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source-material, are given in this section.

● 241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, [231] 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* [224] farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y 302 Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

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Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether
●241 they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

411 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

292 Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

222 421 Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

171 In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 735; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

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262 In Alepée area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amused to know that Araucanians in Alepée area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepée area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat
797 field; Río Malleco and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Coñaripe area: Pastorlands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastorland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pastorlands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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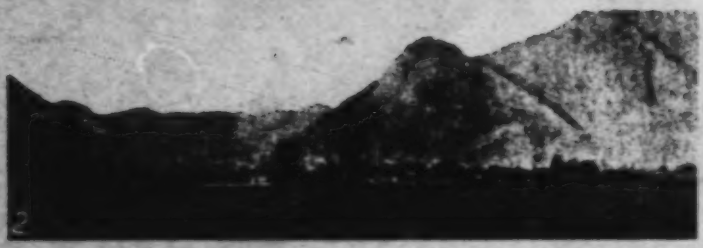

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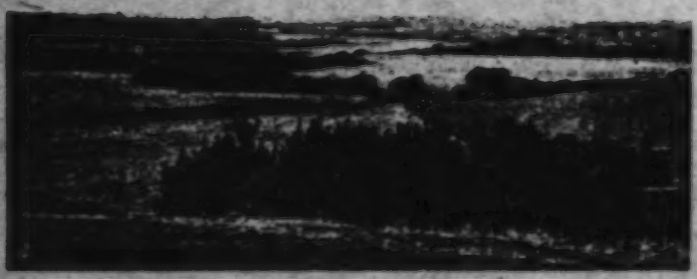

(See legend on opposite page.)

[p 12 (A)]

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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

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Plowing: 1, A wooden plow in the making (Alepke). 2, One type of wooden plow (Alepke). 3, Another type (Cabarique).

[p. 172 (A)]

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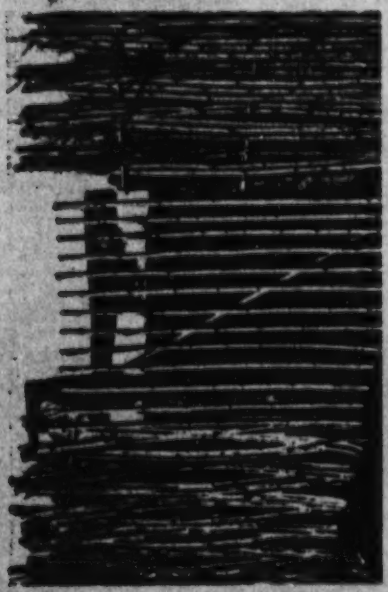

FIGURES: 1, Chicken yard (Boroa). 2, Garden (Collaripe). 3, Sheep pasture (Collaripe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

[p. 172 (c)]

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Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepúe). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepúe). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Coñaripe).

[p. 172 (F)]

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Coñaripe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitiled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Calafquén and cultivated land in this way." 423

In Coñaripe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepúe area, most men do have a deed. A 39-year-old Alepúe man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a ruka on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonoción in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the puelche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Families were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding 241 423 731

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

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Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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they began to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. 243
While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl halted to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find more. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 206-209 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes.

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an area raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, *1* and *2*). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two dareas here, and one over there. Darea is a word we got from the Chileans, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one hurries a little, two dareas can be cut in one day." "In this area [Coñaripe] a darea is a piece of land approximately 80 meters square." A Boroa man stretched an arm, and [804] noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a darea is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a darea is usually longer than it is wide." [242] Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years.

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Gunkel, were 241
a wooden pick (chopeñ) made either of luma or temu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (catancura). (Cf. Gunkel, 1944, pp. 315-321 for complete description.) Catancura were used in smashing lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 34). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other.

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done 243
by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boroa area, "if one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Coñaripe, while I was there, one man furnished

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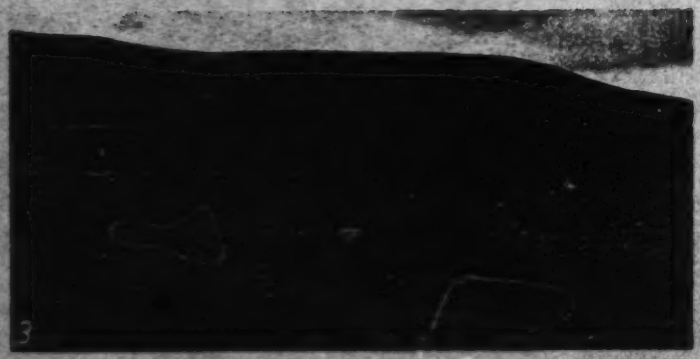

241
133

1. Wooden plow (Trompul). 2. Ox-cart with tree-trunk section wheels (Quilapoina). 3. A tiza (fenced-in area) in which wheat is threshed by tramping horses (Malleo).

[p. 364(C)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [731] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

2

The Agrarian Setting

A 177

Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

A [241] [962]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

A C48 C 166 A 131

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG-1

seen that both the area planted and the annual volume of the harvest have increased about 7.5 per cent, while the returns per unit have diminished about 0.3 per cent. According to government statistics for 1950-51, the number of hectares in Cautín Province planted in wheat was 153,765, an estimate which includes Mapuche reservations. Many Chilean farmers see the acquisition of Mapuche-held land as one solution to the problem of production.

Despite serious erosion, the soils are moderately fertile and offer possibilities for increased production, provided organic matter is conserved. Aside from the larger *fundos,* there is little use made of lime phosphate or other fertilizers, even among the Chilean population. Dry farming predominates in the province, although there is some small-scale irrigation on certain *fundos.*

In general, a combination of field and crop rotation is practiced in a simple, if not haphazard, way. Crop rotation usually consists of one planting of wheat in newly plowed fallow land, the preparation of which begins during the third year of rest, followed by a season of oats and a season of potatoes or a leguminous crop. It is frequently the practice to sow oats a short time after the wheat harvest, in the same field, without further preparation of the soil than the necessary plowing and, perhaps, the burning off of wheat stubble. When *chacareria* is used in the rotation, it is customary to employ it at the beginning of the three-year cycle. On many *fundos,* the cycle is initiated with clover or other pasturage. However, it is not uncommon to plant successive crops of wheat in the same fields when the land is scarce. This is not undertaken on *fundos* unless fertilizer is used, but the Mapuche and most *parceleros* do not fertilize their fields and, if they do not rotate either crop or field, they obtain extremely poor harvests.

The short duration of fallow periods and the repeated growing of gramineous cereals, to the near exclusion of other species and of leguminous plants, are especially defective aspects of habitual rotation. Chileans who rent land on a temporary basis or farm *parcelas* with the intention of making a quick profit seek only the immediate benefits of the soil and are heedless of conservation through scientific rotation and fertilization. Although the Mapuche farm in this unsatisfactory manner, their motives are different. Nevertheless, the consequences of inadequate technology are the same and may be seen in the loss of soil fertility, erosion of the topsoil, development of veritable playas in the fields, spread of parasitic diseases, and the contingent

[Chacareria includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas and other vegetables which may be grown both as field

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

24 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[333] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[362] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[362] In preservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living. 241 [177] [462]

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations. [242]

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche. 241 407 [492] [184]

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care. 241 492

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two. 241 46

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be 241 [407]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 [407] used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[221] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and [371] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff [231] is considered inferior fodder.

132 241 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. [221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 243 Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, [221] and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio [433] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as [562] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the [231] harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rábano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture [373] of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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Mapuche

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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Mapuche

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements. 241

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes. 311 [133]

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacareria* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants. 241 311

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

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Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall. 242 433 311 [34] 433 241

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields. 311 [233] [241]

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. 621 [62] [311] [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people. 311 [361] [262]

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
432 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[232] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, 1 double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [61]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery
[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants — people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

311 423 622

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Llumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

423 [548] [563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

162 [592] [591] [423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

241 [133]

[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] *number of the Mapuche* – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936: 138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [373] [598] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents. 476 [241] [613] [622]

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is present to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community. 476 [612] [491] [574] [554] [621]

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery. 476 [613] [621] [241]

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to fell, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukas* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the poles [342] [241] [574] [273] [342] [335]

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342
476 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
476 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacareria* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin*, *misha*, or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the often best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *forasteros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Muko* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *muko* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under culti-
vation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonquen, twelve are
[129] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *mediero*s. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[246] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most
[183] cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in productive capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonquen, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
333 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Tolten, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 383 animals (283 sheep and 100 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonquen. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancamon: Pelehue Region.* The 255 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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233 427 433 648 erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 311 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being 311 cut down.

427 648 Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

433 There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not 231 241 suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

427 433 283 On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

127 12 We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED *		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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868 work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been
[89] conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.
[85]
[241] Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon
[843] as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the
[152] family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

593 Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learn-
[84] ing process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today.
[841] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [164]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*ewn*) rites and [341]
agricultural fertility (*Nillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *werpin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *werpin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*ikungulmachiw*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *füllatun* and *eawn*. *Füllatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of some of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *dewachen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifuche* and *huillikuche*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *dewachen* is asked to restrain these. *Füllatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *füllatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a tribal, celebrates *füllatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *füllatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *füllatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment. 794 613 754

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility. 241 535 [178] [534] [193] [182] 241 991

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Aun* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring 764 [791] [794] [195]

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Interpretative Summary

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The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and 177
political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception 182
of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been 179
a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift 241
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177 24 433 105 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants [161] are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

182 182 105 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but 177 182 as a sleepy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" 418 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community 105 is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 148 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chawal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kripam* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [91] [342] [354] [291] [392] [12] [16]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will 177 182 114 105

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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sometimes vacillating component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually equal off from Chileans acquisitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically unobtrusive dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural orientation." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inquiry, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—eros, dilation, exaltation, fulfillment (see below)—bind together

(TEXT CONTINUED) ON PAGE 4

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 197 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and dooryard horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 197 178

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
179 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to use very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often all and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at prohibitively high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
179 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system primarily forced upon them during the several lean months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

426 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
464

12: Faron: E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of Ñiñoca rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of unrelated beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, abolutory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of Ñiñoca ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations were partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Ñiñoca. Ñiñoca ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask ancestors and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the community. Clearly a major aspect of ñiñoca is the offering of food to ancestors, the pacaham, and to ancestral spirits. Although there are not fixed local ceremonies, since they take place prior to the opening

14: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

and grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists under the small, family-based ritualism, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistency of the traditional, multipurposed economy of the pre-reservation era.

In the absence of a ritual calendar, ritualism ceremonies are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concurrence and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful ritualism.

Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a co-sponsor of elders, heads of lineages and subhousegroups, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. The elders are made aware what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of both), depending on they wants and the community's needs. In the performance month, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a preliminary ritualism is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and therefore and, possibly, the old men and women of the south wind. A ritualism a conditional preliminary if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale ritualism will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the members include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (ceremonial guardian of sun) and sargents, as well as personal lessons, the type of wine or meats after to be used, the number of black or white lessons which (reflection, respectively, rain and sun) what shall be sacrificed, what shall be eaten and drunk, and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

Ritualism is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage therein, and jointly participated in by

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

century developments and gave its character to Mapuche society. It seems, therefore, that the ritual congregation is a product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites create neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of kinship lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that some significant changes have taken place in the structure of ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred with regard to territorial, regional duties. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

Dominant and Subordinate (nonkinship) Lineages. In any consideration of ritualism, even for an adequate understanding of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ritual rights and obligations involving ceremonial performances. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*kalal mahuen* most sacred place; *Mihuenes*), the leave of absence ceremonial for its work, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or sporadic, as closely discussed, depending on the social and spiritual relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in one of ritually related patrilineages involved on reservations within the greater ritual community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two ways: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

this interest to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial change if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–81, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary family household is emerging as has already

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
559 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
559 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilised Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
191 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
29 normal Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
278 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Maurenna was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[8] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinoa [quinoa?], madi [madi?], pepper, and beans. . . ."[9]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [312]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[10] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [262]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [287]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 62
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a patrilineal kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family continued in possession as long as it desired."[11]

[8] Gayton, 1935, p. 100.

[9] Ibid. It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [p.4]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[10] For further information on these topics, consult Lenhossek, 1899, pp. [illegible]; Guevara, 1902, II: 282-290; and Mandrini, 1930, pp. [illegible].

[11] McBride, 1936, p. 200.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[8] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[8] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown rich will work for a Chilean landlord as a mediador, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[9] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Foerdeniss).

[10] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of manioc or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Picunche* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 32–33) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 31–32; Latcham, 1936, pp. 292–93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Goicueta, 1852, p. 93), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Río Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 139), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 135). Manuring was apparently not practiced. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an oar- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 192); a pole (used in pairs in Chiloé) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 241

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or mingaco system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or parcialidad, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibbles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 138–43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent time threshing with use of horses came in. 243 47

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

they began to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. 243
While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl halted to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find more. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 206-209 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes.

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an area raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, *1* and *2*). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two dareas here, and one over there. Darea is a word we got from the Chileans, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one hurries a little, two dareas can be cut in one day." "In this area [Coñaripe] a darea is a piece of land approximately 80 meters square." A Boroa man stretched an arm, and [804] noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a darea is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a darea is usually longer than it is wide." [242] Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years.

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Gusinde, were 241
a wooden pick (chopell) made either of luma or temu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (catancura). (Cf. Gusinde, 1944, pp. 315-321 for complete description.) Catancura were used in smashing lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 34). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other.

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done 243
by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boroa area, "If one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Coñaripe, while I was there, one man furnished

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

seen that both the area planted and the annual volume of the harvest have increased about 7.5 per cent, while the returns per unit have diminished about 0.5 per cent. According to government statistics for 1950-51, the number of hectares in Cautín Province planted in wheat was 153,765, an estimate which includes Mapuche reservations. Many Chilean farmers see the acquisition of Mapuche-held land as one solution to the problem of production.

Despite serious erosion, the soils are moderately fertile and offer possibilities for increased production, provided organic matter is conserved. Aside from the larger *fundos*, there is little use made of lime phosphate or other fertilizers, even among the Chilean population. Dry farming predominates in the province, although there is some small-scale irrigation on certain *fundos*.

In general, a combination of field and crop rotation is practiced in a simple, if not haphazard, way. Crop rotation usually consists of one planting of wheat in newly plowed fallow land, the preparation of which begins during the third year of rest, followed by a season of oats and a season of potatoes or a leguminous crop. It is frequently the practice to sow oats a short time after the wheat harvest, in the same field, without further preparation of the soil than the necessary plowing and, perhaps, the burning off of wheat stubble. When *chacareria*[1] is used in the rotation, it is customary to employ it at the beginning of the three-year cycle. On many *fundos*, the cycle is initiated with clover or other pasturage. However, it is not uncommon to plant successive crops of wheat in the same fields when the land is scarce. This is not undertaken on *fundos* unless fertilizer is used, but the Mapuche and most *parceleros* do not fertilize their fields and, if they do not rotate either crop or field, they obtain extremely poor harvests.

The short duration of fallow periods and the repeated growing of gramineous cereals, to the near exclusion of other species and of leguminous plants, are especially defective aspects of habitual rotation. Chileans who rent land on a temporary basis or farm *parcelas* with the intention of making a quick profit seek only the immediate benefits of the soil and are heedless of conservation through scientific rotation and fertilization. Although the Mapuche farm in this unsatisfactory manner, their motives are different. Nevertheless, the consequences of inadequate technology are the same and may be seen in the loss of soil fertility, erosion of the topsoil, development of veritable playas in the fields, spread of parasitic diseases, and the contingent

[1] [Chacareria includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas and other vegetables which may be grown both in a field or garden area — [illegible]]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

B 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. Chacra *serie*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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men and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living. 241 [97] [462]

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations. [492]

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*arado de palo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of rocks and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche. 241 407 [492] [184]

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care. 241 492

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two. 241 46

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodillo*) may be 241 [407]

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A good part of the land now in the confines of Nonguen was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 18[illegible]. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1938 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and inadequate, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall. 242 433 311 [34] 433 241

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields. 311 [233] [241]

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 515 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. 621 [62] [311] [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people. 311 [361] [262]

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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Of a total of 243 hectares, approximately 153 are
31 cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[336] rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the vega that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Tolién re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[342] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 234 sheep,
[322] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[162] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Tolién River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original residents at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonquen, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [447] [333]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [322]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Tolten, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [342]

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311 the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of
[642] fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more
of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fal-
[641] low fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan
than on Lleucaman, a feature it has in common with many reserva-
[633] tions along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Lleucaman,
and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, aver-
aging better than 8:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little
land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the in-
habitants throughout the year.

311 Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely
75 the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what
244 I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most
432 of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a
[114] total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into re-
serves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their
seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was
[648] received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since
1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently
[639] that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently re-
signed to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato
blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a pro-
648 posed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos
311 for all Mapuche in Araucania (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the
small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor.
891 Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

311 For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

II:Farm E-9 (1952-1954)[1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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241 In the Lumaifa region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
(455) of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drain-
age is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the
rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[35] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant
amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, con-
sequently, where the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[342] would do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places,
if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Lumaifa region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber cut over a generation ago. The
area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty
years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche
families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén.
Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which
are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting
operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[344] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supple-
ment to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

343 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing
machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of
the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-
threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 hacienda. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many
years, at least 50 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to
exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for division. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
622 matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[516] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences
and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed
the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of maize or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Picunche* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 29–32) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 31–32; Latcham, 1936, pp. 229–93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Guinnata, 1852, p. 93), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Rio Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latcham, 1936 a, p. 139), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1936 a, p. 135). Manuring was apparently not practised. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an oar- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Baeuntan, 1862, p. 192); a pole (used in pairs in Chiloé) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 241

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or mingao system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or parcialidad, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibbles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 138–43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent time threshing with use of horses came in. 243 47

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[352]

[243]

[1] Informants and interpreters: 1, A Coñuepe family. (Note outdoor fireplace.) 2, Sister Gerasa, an interpreter, and an Alapine informant. 3, Francisca Pranzenberg, an interpreter (left), and Margaret Menuloch, field assistant (right). Young woman in center winnowing wheat. (Coñuepe.)

[p. 92(A)]

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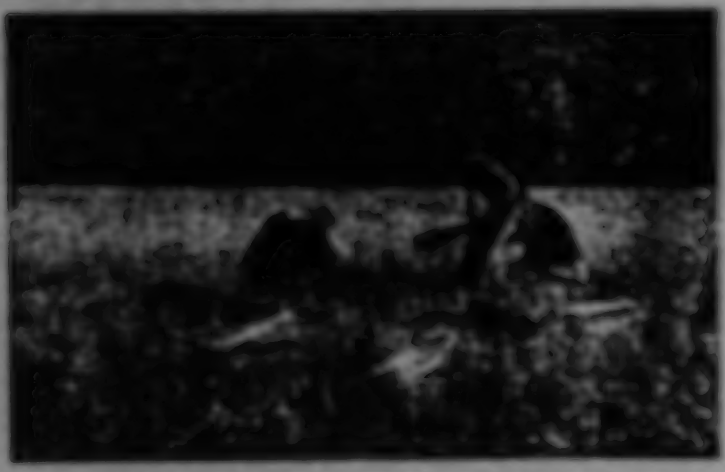

[417]

Harvesting: 1, Children cutting grain with sickle (Catterlye). 2, Loading grain onto an escort (Catterlye). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which grain is threshed by trampling horses (Alapine).

[p.172 (B)]

10: Bilger E-5 (1948-1952) 1957
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[illegible] each [illegible] had [illegible] of the [illegible]—the flour was so called that field around in the Araucanian country then; it was like a dung, he said, but its pith was not so heavy as a dung's. They pulled off the ears of the grain by hand, collected them in the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried pelfuls of these home, slung across his shoulder. They collected heads of the wheat in the same way in these days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

A 19-year-old girl in Colhuipe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's small stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only unripened ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, 1), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, 2). Threshing grain in this manner is called *hawilipen*. The movements of her feet, used obviously for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother *hawilipen*, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hear the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by brushing the surface with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, 3). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had hardly begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels onto the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, focusing her eyes on the further edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

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they began to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. 243
While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl halted to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find more. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 206-209 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes.

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an area raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, 1 and 2). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two dareas here, and one over there. Darea is a word we got from the Chilenos, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one hurries a little, two dareas can be cut in one day." "In this area [Cofaripe] a darea is a piece of land approximately 80 meters square." A Boroa man stretched an arm, and 204
noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a darea is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a darea is usually longer than it is wide." 242
Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years.

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Gunkel, were 241
a wooden pick (chopell) made either of luma or temu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (catancura). (Cf. Gunkel, 1944, pp. 315-321 for complete description.) Catancura were used in smashing lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 34). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other.

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done 243
by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boroa area, "if one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Cofaripe, while I was there, one man furnished

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243 the land and another did the seeding; each furnished two sacks of wheat, that is, half of the seed needed. "And today we harvested the grain, six sacks in all—a profit of one sack for each of us. It is a poor harvest." Another informant owned land but no oxen and no seed. He had to give up his oxen as payment on a mortgage. A neighbor plowed the land and furnished the seed. Both men together seeded the land, and together they harvested it. Each got one-half of the harvest. When I asked a man if his wife seeded the land that belonged to her, he answered somewhat indignantly, "The land may [342] belong to her, but after all she does not rule over it; the man does that!"

Fields and gardens, it is believed by many, should be planted when the moon is waning. "It is the only time that the moon has strength." If rain interferes when the moon is waning, planting should then be done between the first quarter and full moon; never at full moon, new moon, or when there is no moon.

Complaints were made in all areas against small green-colored parrots (choroy, yewlima) that come in large flocks, practically every year, immediately after the wheat has been planted, and do much damage by pecking the kernels from the soil. Small children are sent to run back and forth in the fields to keep the parrots on the wing. "Finally the parrots get angry, give much back talk and fly away," said a little girl, quite amused.

Wheat, in the early days, was harvested by plucking the ears by hand, as previously described. Today it is cut with an iron sickle secured in a wooden handle. The spread of the opening of a sickle, observed in use in Coñaripe area, was 7 inches; the handle 5 inches in length. The cutting edge of the blade had been serrated with a knife and was kept keen with a porous stone of volcanic origin found in the area.

The one who cuts the wheat grasps a half dozen stalks, more or less, with one hand a little below the ear (with little finger toward the earth), applies the sickle about 6 inches below the little finger, bends the stalks over the sickle away from the body, pulls the sickle toward the body, cuts the ears off, and lays them to the side, on stubble. When enough grain has been cut to fill two outstretched arms, someone passes along, piles it up, and carries it by armfuls to an oxcart (pl. 35, *1, 2*). This is done if the grain is thoroughly ripe; if it is not thoroughly ripe, and there is no rain forecast, it may be cut one day and hauled away the following. All members of the family, including small children, assist in harvesting. Anyone having a right to a share in the harvest of a particular field will assist in the reaping.

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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. 243
For cutting a dozen, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almudes of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans."

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being 243
trampled upon (huillifiun) either by human beings, or by horses on 533
hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop."

In Alepúe area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal 243
way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its heads of grain by concert to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, 3), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 19—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha.

In Coñaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

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●243 propelled threshing machine, the grain must be cut with longer stalks. A Coñaripe man, five of his children, ranging from 4 to 21 years in age, and a 76-year-old relative were observed harvesting a field (February 23, 1947) which had been sown by the father and the relative for equal shares at harvest time. The grain was cut very early in the day by the older persons. At about 10 o'clock, all seven persons were in the field. All but the father collected the grain into piles; each tied his pile together with either a cord or a trariwe (woven belt) and carried it to the carreta, the small children and a 19-year-old girl carrying their bundles on the head, the old relative and a 21-year-old girl, on the shoulder. Taller persons threw their bundles onto the carreta; the father reached for those of the shorter ones (pl. 8, 3). The father, by hand, carefully placed each bundle with ears toward the middle of the carreta, then untied the cord or trariwe and dropped it on the ground to be used again. While waiting for bundles, he packed the ears on the carreta by stepping on the middle of the stalks.

The father and the old relative took the load of grain to the threshing machine the following morning. After they had paid for the threshing (payment had to be in grain; money was not accepted) they netted 110 kilograms over the 80 kilograms planted in the field. Both men were depressed about the yield. They had observed that morning, while waiting at the threshing machine, that three combined carreta loads from another valley in the Andes had produced more than 1,000 kilograms. Both men explained that the earth in Coñaripe Valley had only a thin layer of black topsoil, that one needed to dig down only a very little distance to find the beginning of a great depth of pebbles of volcanic origin. "The tillable soil of our valley is tired," one said. "It will soon be difficult to raise even peas or beans in it." Since threshing is no longer a communal affair in Coñaripe, the traditional festivity with a plentiful meal is no longer a part of the occasion.

244 Potatoes are a staple Araucanian food. Every family plants a good-sized patch of them. Where there are two sheepfolds, these are used in alternate years for the planting. The entire family generally helps with this operation. The man, or a son old enough to know how, plows the soil, if the patch is located where this can be done, or spades it. He, his wife, and older boys and girls then hoe the ground into hills, in which the potatoes are planted. If no sheep corral is used, the smaller children of the family scamper across the pastures and collect cow and sheep manure and place some on each hill. Weeding during the growing season is usually done by the man or an older son.

A vegetable garden is as essential for every household. Vegetables include soybeans, cabbage, lettuce, peas, beans, carrots, multiple

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Making mote from wheat (Cohiripe): 1, Collecting ears of wheat. 2, Threshing wheat with the feet. 3, Winnowing the kernels.

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221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
233 for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more
556 recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

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A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

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rest by combined machine and manual labor. Potato harvesting is completely manual.

Among *chacarería*, potatoes and peas are of greatest importance, potatoes being grown on about one-third of the area set aside for *chacarería* annually. For the three to five years preceding 1953, however, the province suffered from a severe potato blight (*tizón*) which greatly reduced output.

Depending on the topography, potatoes are cultivated in two ways. The hillsides and sloping ground are sown early (*tempranera*), while the lowlands, being more humid, are sown late (*tardía*). *Tempranera* takes place in August and on a limited scale; it is destined for immediate local consumption. *Tardía*, which is sown between October and December, forms part of the harvest that finds its way to the market with the rest of the national agricultural product.

Peas also account for about one-third of the land set aside for *chacarería* and, like potatoes, are sown *tempranera* and *tardía*. On the higher ground, wheat is generally sown in the same fields from which peas have been harvested. Among more technologically advanced Chileans, the land is fertilized before wheat is planted; but it is commonly thought that the mere change from peas to wheat is sufficient to insure adequate growth.

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An estimated 14 per cent of the total agricultural land is given over to pasture during periods of fallow. This is the sort of grazing land called *pasto natural*. Total natural pasturage, including uncultivable land such as Andean valleys, woodlands, wet lowlands, and so forth, is about 640,000 hectares, or about a third of the area of Cautín Province. Only 180,000 hectares represent sown pasturage.

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Improvement of pasturage is one of the more important problems facing Chilean farmers. The number of livestock is diminishing; erosion is ruining overgrazed fallow land which could be sown in grass or clover; soil depletion is limiting the quantity and quality of *pasto natural*. Furthermore, the availability of natural pasture varies seasonally. It is fairly abundant in spring and early summer, scarce in the dry part of summer and autumn, and almost nonexistent in some regions in winter. This type of pasture is able to support about five cows per hectare annually, according to government calculations which seem to be optimal. Meat and wool production is poor; mange is prevalent but neglected. All animals suffer from pests for which they receive inadequate treatment.

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used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[90] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[93] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacareria* in this zone is generally confined to small
244 plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by
[96] women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan — ANALYST]

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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
341 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

343 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[407] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

243 propelled threshing machine, the grain must be cut with longer stalks. A Cotharipe man, five of his children, ranging from 4 to 21 years in age, and a 76-year-old relative were observed harvesting a field (February 23, 1947) which had been sown by the father and the relative for equal shares at harvest time. The grain was cut very early in the day by the older persons. At about 10 o'clock, all seven persons were in the field. All but the father collected the grain into piles; each tied his pile together with either a cord or a trariwe (woven belt) and carried it to the carreta, the small children and a 19-year-old girl carrying their bundles on the head, the old relative and a 21-year-old girl, on the shoulder. Taller persons threw their bundles onto the carreta; the father reached for those of the shorter ones (pl. 8, 3). The father, by hand, carefully placed each bundle with ears toward the middle of the carreta, then untied the cord or trariwe and dropped it on the ground to be used again. While waiting for bundles, he packed the ones on the carreta by stepping on the middle of the stalks.

The father and the old relative took the load of grain to the threshing machine the following morning. After they had paid for the threshing (payment had to be in grain; money was not accepted) they netted 110 kilograms over the 80 kilograms planted in the field. Both men were displeased about the yield. They had observed that morning, while waiting at the threshing machine, that three combined carreta loads from another valley in the Andes had produced more than 1,000 kilograms. Both men explained that the earth in Cotharipe Valley had only a thin layer of black topsoil, that one needed to dig down only a very little distance to find the beginning of a great depth of pebbles of volcanic origin. "The tillable soil of our valley is tired," one said. "It will soon be difficult to raise even peas or beans in it." Since threshing is no longer a communal affair in Cotharipe, the traditional festivity with a plentiful meal is no longer a part of the occasion.

244 Potatoes are a staple Araucanian food. Every family plants a good-sized patch of them. Where there are two sharpshiels, these are used in alternate years for the planting. The entire family generally helps with this operation. The man, or a son old enough to know how, plows the soil, if the patch is located where this can be done, or spades it. He, his wife, and older boys and girls then hoe the ground into hills, in which the potatoes are planted. If no sheep corral is used, the smaller children of the family scamper across the pastures and collect cow and sheep manure and place some on each hill. Weeding during the growing season is usually done by the man or an older son.

A vegetable garden is no essential for every household. Vegetables include soybeans, cabbage, lettuce, peas, beans, carrots, multiple

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. 244
Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, orégano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a [illegible]-year-old Cofiaripe man: "No, the effect [821] does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. 245
Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an 247
occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Cofiaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, 1.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated 231
animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martin de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, 3). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, toldérias were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanin believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [246] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, 1; 70, 2; 78, 3); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More gardens could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and ● [244] then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

11:Faron B-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

rest by combined machine and manual labor. Potato harvesting is completely manual.

Among *chacareria*, potatoes and peas are of greatest importance, potatoes being grown on about one-third of the area set aside for *chacareria* annually. For the three to five years preceding 1953, however, the province suffered from a severe potato blight (*tizón*) which greatly reduced output.

Depending on the topography, potatoes are cultivated in two ways. The hillsides and sloping ground are sown early (*temporera*), while the lowlands, being more humid, are sown late (*tardía*). *Temporera* takes place in August and on a limited scale; it is destined for immediate local consumption. *Tardía*, which is sown between October and December, forms part of the harvest that finds its way to the market with the rest of the national agricultural product.

Peas also account for about one-third of the land set aside for *chacareria* and, like potatoes, are sown *temporera* and *tardía*. On the higher ground, wheat is generally sown in the same fields from which peas have been harvested. Among more technologically advanced Chileans, the land is fertilized before wheat is planted; but it is commonly thought that the mere change from peas to wheat is sufficient to insure adequate growth.

An estimated 14 per cent of the total agricultural land is given over to pasture during periods of fallow. This is the sort of grazing land called *pasto natural*. Total natural pasturage, including uncultivable land such as Andean valleys, woodlands, wet lowlands, and so forth, is about 620,000 hectares, or about a third of the area of Cautín Province. Only 180,000 hectares represent sown pasturage.

Improvement of pasturage is one of the more important problems facing Chilean farmers. The number of livestock is diminishing; erosion is ruining overgrazed fallow land which could be sown in grass or clover; soil depletion is limiting the quantity and quality of *pasto natural*. Furthermore, the availability of natural pasture varies seasonally. It is fairly abundant in spring and early summer, scarce in the dry part of summer and autumn, and almost nonexistent in some regions in winter. This type of pasture is able to support about five cows per hectare annually, according to government calculations which seem to be optimal. Meat and wool production is poor; mange is prevalent but neglected. All animals suffer from pests for which they receive inadequate treatment.

H:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

variety of chacareria on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but chacareria such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (rejacadores) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[401] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacareria* in this zone is generally confined to small
[460] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [613] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal [618] group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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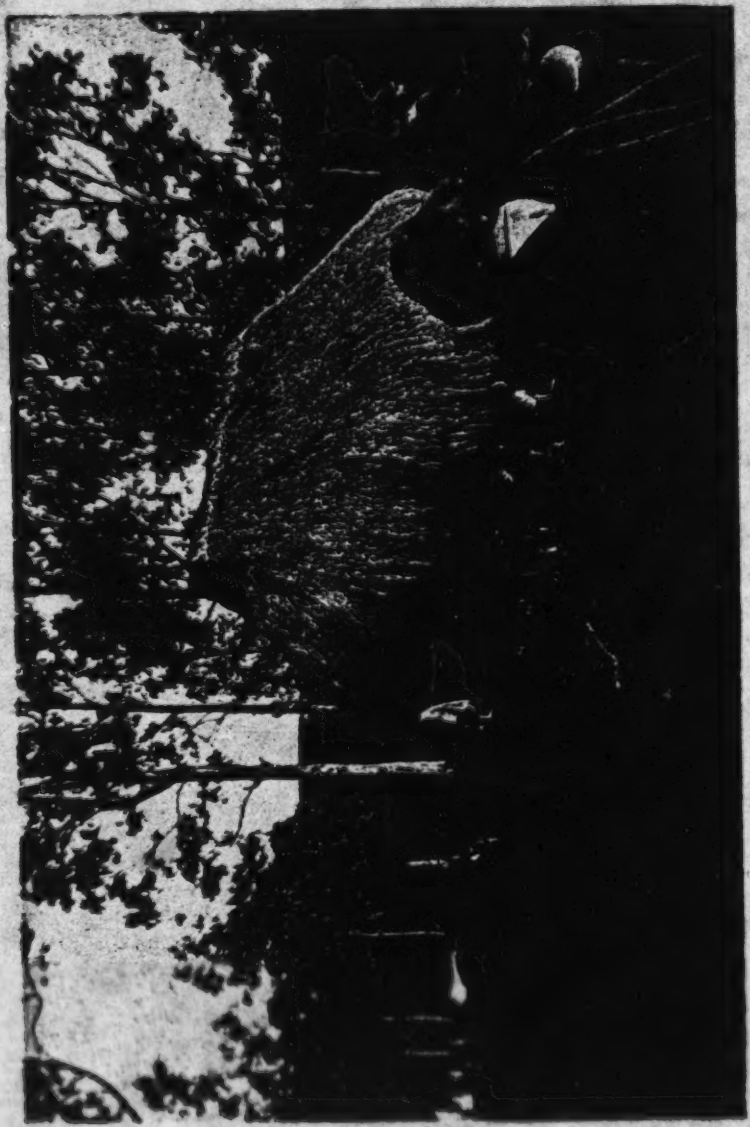

A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[12]

[12] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol. 621 [31] 133 [245] [491]

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[9] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

[9] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. 244
Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, orégano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Cofiaripe man: "No, the effect [821] does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. 245 ●
Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an 247
occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Cofaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few homes had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, *1*.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated 231
animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 18th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paratacrus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincón; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rayo; and parched, or mürke. From the first was made a bread, kofke, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, teca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

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415

[252]

[251]

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Cooking utensils: 1, Alacalufe girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar; 2, In use in Alacalufe, and 3, other types of pestle and mortar; 4-6, Pestles and others of stone and shell, generally used for mixing salt, chili, and grease. (Figures 2-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 166(B)]

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer seen in the area; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepin spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chilenos. [262]

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Pangipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were eculets, flatfish, porpies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also mucine crabs of several species, bivalves, and sea-lions or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, mul, later, of hemp; with pouches and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fyhes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with cassia. Hunting for whale was not reported. 226

Alepin area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (bolillosbo), sierra (mowfish), and robalo (leubes). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, 1). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepin area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, 3), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are boldowa, tiaca (coldcedar), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available. [251]

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bundles of corn on the cob were seen outside the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as dishes and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the sieves are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 50-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichawa) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rudewe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (rali) serve primarily as mixing dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, making wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking maulsi at the ülatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawumakawe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, crushing araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranchalwe or kainakawe) and pestles (leufi) (pl. 43, 1, 2, 3) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone. 252 412

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families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe area; in Cofiaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Cofiaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or liq pofiñ) they are ready to be eaten; from them on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting. 252

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the jilguero and chanchito. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten. 262

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter. [261]

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252 Lamb is generally roasted. Mutton, pork, and fowl are cut into small pieces and used in stews and thick soups. Certain cuts of beef are roasted; less desirable ones are made into stews; or their essence is extracted by cooking and made into thick soups. Jerked beef is boiled and then fried. Puma, too, is roasted.

An informant showed us how lamb was prepared and roasted, and said that all other meat was roasted in the same manner. He broke the ribs in several places with a maul and then cut both ribs and meat into long strips. Next he poked the sharpened end of a pole through each strip of meat, twirling it in spiral fashion as he did so, leaving all sides of the meat exposed (pl. 51, *1*). In roasting it, he rested the sharpened end of the pole on a stone at the fireside and held the other end so high that the meat was just above the glowing coals (pl. 51, *2*). He rotated the pole by hand almost continuously, so that the meat would be roasted on all sides.

Stews and soups are made from cuts of beef not desired for roasting. The meat, cut into small pieces, is cooked with the bones until the essence has been extracted. The meat is then given to the dogs, the bones are cracked open with a maul, and the marrow is taken out and returned to the broth. Potatoes and/or vegetables are then added to thicken the broth, and salt mixed with chili to season it; other seasonings are added, if desired. Mutton and fowl stews are made in the same manner.

● 251 Jerked beef (the anim ilo of the Araucanians, and the charqui of Chileans) was prepared at home by one of the informants because it was an easy way to take the family's meat supply to the harvest fields, a day's journey away. "Harvesting will take a few days and we cannot take time out to slaughter an animal then," she explained. She cut one continuous thin slice from a large boneless piece of beef, rubbed salt well into one side of it, made a roll of it, and let it lie for 2 days and 2 nights. Then she unrolled it and let it hang in the sun for a day, rubbed salt into the unsalted side, folded the piece, and let it lie for a day and a night. The following morning she examined the piece to find soft spots in it. Into these she pounded salt with a maul. During the night preceding the day on which she intended to prepare it for a meal, she let it lie in water which she kept lukewarm on one of the flat stones close to the fire. "This will take the salt out of it," she commented; "no one wants all that salt in it. And there
251 is no need seasoning that meat with salt when you cook it." It is
252 thoroughly washed then and boiled until tender, when it is pounded into small pieces with a maul and dropped piece by piece into sizzling grease. After it has fried a little, thick slices of onions are added.

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When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomillo or orégano; I add tomillo, sometimes." 251 252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called liuto. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepúe ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it fiachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was met at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crosslike frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook these for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swishing a chaiwe containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them freed of every bit of fleece," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned mutton encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a kettle of boiling [415]

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pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [758]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihüe sections of equal length with voqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Coñaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (küiko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wilal), dried gourds, paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 291

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [857]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 262
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (anim
ilo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, [251]
and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, ollas and cántaros and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251

Things seen stored in sheds included lassos of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, looms, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of colihüe stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 291

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (makuñ). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (ʃumell). Kolupan demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trarüwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or ʃumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mūrke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen korū* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *raniañtu korū* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun·korū* ("night soup").[18]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yuyo*,[19] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin korū*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal korū*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[20]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[21] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[18] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *iagel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[19] *Yuyo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[20] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[21] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *awn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-truñ*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

proceeded to Malalche.[28] A double row of ramadas stretched for 796
nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing [252]
soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Malalche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *mudai*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).[29] Beside her stood two female assistants, each one beating a *kul·truñ*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the 796
opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four 535

[28] The women rode in an oxcart driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Raúl made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antinao answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

[29] We learned that this *machi* came from Cholchol where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antinao told us afterward that she had received sixty portions of roast meat and many beverages for her services.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *mote* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *algæ*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 512 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 [565] There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranacrus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Pizures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Gevipia sphaerulata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Fabrés, 1882, s. v. rincón; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rego; and parched, or mitrke. From the first was made a bread, kofke, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, teca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[B17] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

● 252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav,
445 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

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Cooking utensils: 1, Alacalufe girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar; 2, In use in Alacalufe, and 3, other types of pestle and mortar; 4-6, Fragments and sherds of cattle and sheep, generally used for storing salt, chili, and grease. (Figures 3-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 168(B)]

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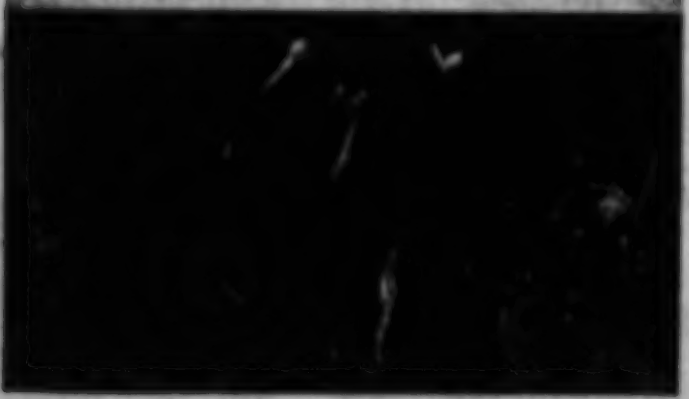

Real proportions: a, Calchaqui woman climbing steeply; head is crossing water; b, Alacaluf woman climbing wheel; c, Alacaluf woman gathering shellfish with a rudder on a raft.

[p. 188(c)]

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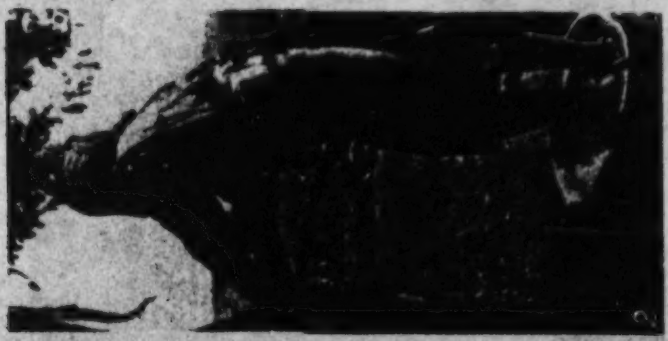

Making mote from wheat (Collaripe): 1, Collecting ears of wheat. 2, Threshing wheat with the feet. 3, Winnowing the kernels.

[p. 188(F)]

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Making mote (continued): 1, Sifting ashes. 2, Pouring sifted ashes into boiling water. 3, Pouring winnowed wheat into boiling water and ashes.

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[p. 188(G)]

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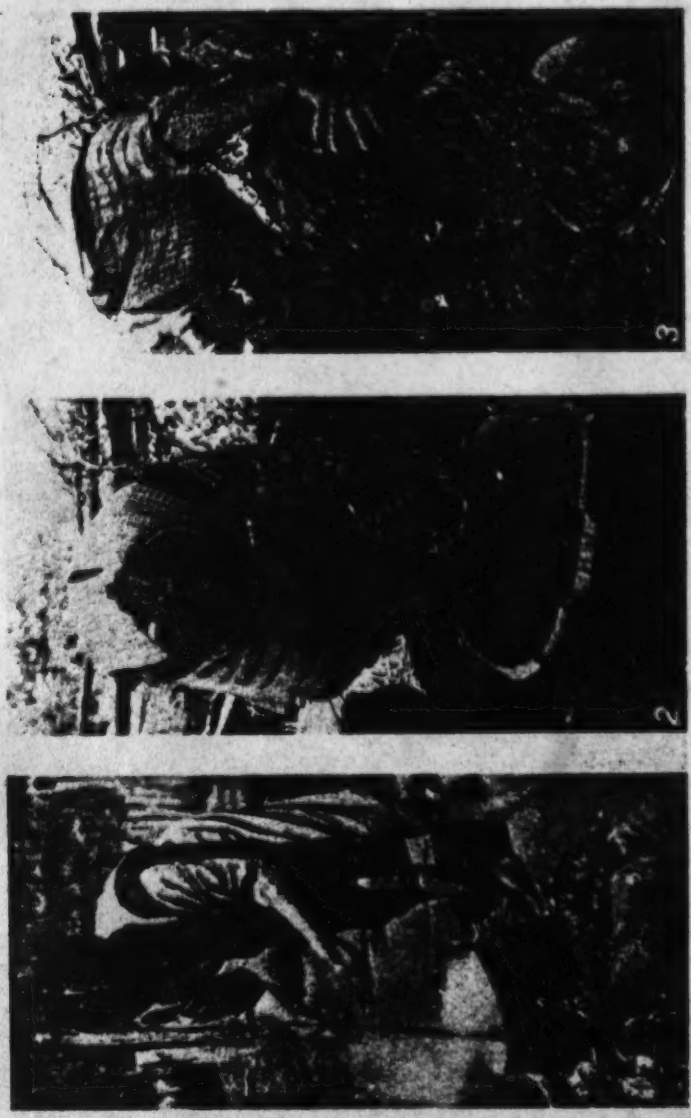

Making mote (continued): 1, Testing kernels. 2, Cooling cooked kernels. 3, Pouring cooled kernels into a basket.

[372]

[p. 188 (H)]

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Making mote (continued): 1, On the way to the spring to wash ashes off kernels. 2, Washing ashes off kernels. 3, Mote now ready to eat.

[482]

[p. 188(I)]

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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching ñandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the ñandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

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252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rəshwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as nonleakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the ŋillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawaunakamwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranachadwe or kstankura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

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252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *2*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (challa), a potlike piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the cántaro (mefikuwe), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More cántaros than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (in-

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formants not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy! My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the World War. Those cántaros [pointing at galvanized pails and enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of oxen, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections. The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 461, 462) were 3 to 5½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is cut lengthwise, flattened, and carved into the desired shape. Formerly an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier on long journeys. Cow udders and paunches were used for storing salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, *4, 5, 6*). They were thoroughly cleaned and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this cheda," said a woman, as she took one off a peg in her ruka. "He used horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Cheda are usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlelike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

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252 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.
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Baskets with handles (külko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepü) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild
262 plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine,
[252] and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of láwü, and of koifüñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

222 Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and
263 orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Coñaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

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222 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the ruka. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[263] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Coñaripe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into cántaros and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chaiwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapəkoshke), mote (kuko kachillo), catuto (məltrun or məl'a), and toasted wheat (koponəüwa).

● 252 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

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prepare it." In making it (pls. 47-50), an informant scattered handfuls of wheat into a kettle in which ashes had been boiling in water for some time and occasionally stirred. Choice ashes are those of olivillo, lingue, and laurel común; next best are those of roble chileno and ulmo, "in fact ashes of any hard wood (pelliñ) can be used; not so the ashes of canelo or of rotted wood." Ashes have to be at least a month old, and are powdered and sifted before being used. 252

The mixture of ashes and wheat is boiled and occasionally stirred, and at intervals the kernels are tested. Progress is being made when hulls come off the kernels as they are being rubbed between the palms of the hands. When the kernels separate into halves when pressed between the fingers, they are sufficiently cooked. A small amount of cold water is then added and the contents of the kettle poured into a chaiwe to be drained. To hasten drainage the contents is stirred and the chaiwe shaken back and forth and up and down. This done, the mixture is poured into a wooden dish to cool. The informant stirred it with both hands to bring hot kernels to the surface.

When sufficiently cooled, the informant halved the contents and loosened the hulls of each half by working the kernels with her feet in a wooden dish. This done, she poured the entire mass into the chaiwe again, took it to the source of drinking water—a pool fed by several springs and emptying into a river nearby—and freed the kernels of ashes and hulls by first pouring pailfuls of water over them in the chaiwe and then dipping the chaiwe up and down just under the surface of the water in a deeper part of the pool. At intervals she stirred the kernels with her hand. Soon she brought the chaiwe out of the pool and, putting it on the ground, straddled the handle and again worked the kernels with her feet. This done, she took the chaiwe back into the pool and let water seep into it, thus bringing to the top any foreign elements mixed with the wheat. To remove these she moved slowly out of the water, backwards, keeping the chaiwe slightly submerged. She walked home and cooked the kernels in clear water. Her mother tasted them and found them to her liking. Had they retained the taste of ashes, they would have been boiled again, but this time with a twig of maqui, "for maqui eliminates the taste of ashes," and a thorough washing will eliminate the taste of maqui. The informant served her mote to the family in cold, honey-sweetened water; the writer, her field assistant, and her interpreter, upon their return home, relished theirs in honey-sweetened milk. Mote is also served in broth and in chicha. Occasionally it is dried for future use.

Catuto are made as follows: Dry ashes and dry kernels of wheat are placed in a wooden dish and worked with the feet until kernels

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252 are freed of husks. Chaff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chalwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chalwe, and kept warm near the fire until mealtime when the woman will mash the kernels with muller on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the muller. A catuto may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole catuto, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. Adults prefer it cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container known as a lupe, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the lupe, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the lupe. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

[262] Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the fireplace and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called kuen poñü. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as caldos and cazuelas, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a ruka, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, cooked, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well drenched with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is funa poñü, fermented potato. Most

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families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his elder sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe área; in Coñaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Coñaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or liq poñü) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting. 252

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the jilguero and chanchito. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten. 262

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the [251] needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter.

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250 Lamb is generally roasted. Mutton, pork, and fowl are cut into small pieces and used in stews and thick soups. Certain cuts of beef are roasted; less desirable cuts are made into stews; or their essence is extracted by cooking and made into thick soups. Jerked beef is boiled and then fried. Pork, too, is roasted.

An informant showed us how lamb was prepared and roasted, and said that all other meat was roasted in the same manner. He broke the ribs in several places with a maul and then cut both ribs and meat into long strips. Next he poked the sharpened end of a pole through each strip of meat, twirling it in spiral fashion as he did so, leaving all sides of the meat exposed (pl. 51, *1*). In roasting it, he rested the sharpened end of the pole on a stone at the fireside and held the other end so high that the meat was just above the glowing coals (pl. 51, *2*). He rotated the pole by hand almost continuously, so that the meat would be roasted on all sides.

Stews and soups are made from cuts of beef not desired for roasting. The meat, cut into small pieces, is cooked with the bones until the essence has been extracted. The meat is then given to the dogs, the bones are cracked open with a maul, and the marrow is taken out and returned to the broth. Potatoes and/or vegetables are then added to thicken the broth, and salt mixed with chili to season it; other seasonings are added, if desired. Mutton and fowl stews are made in the same manner.

251 Jerked beef (the ajim ilo of the Araucanians, and the charqui of Chileans) was prepared at home by one of the informants because it was an easy way to take the family's meat supply to the harvest fields, a day's journey away. "Harvesting will take a few days and we cannot take time out to slaughter an animal then," she explained. She cut one continuous thin slice from a large boneless piece of beef, rubbed salt well into one side of it, made a roll of it, and let it lie for 2 days and 2 nights. Then she unrolled it and let it hang in the sun for a day, rubbed salt into the unsalted side, folded the piece, and let it lie for a day and a night. The following morning she examined the piece to find soft spots in it. Into these she pounded salt with a maul. During the night preceding the day on which she intended to prepare it for a meal, she let it lie in water which she kept lukewarm on one of the flat stones close to the fire. "This will take the salt out of it," she commented; "no one wants all that salt in it. And there
251 is no need seasoning that meat with salt when you cook it." It is
252 thoroughly washed then and boiled until tender, when it is pounded into small pieces with a maul and dropped piece by piece into sizzling grease. After it has fried a little, thick slices of onions are added.

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When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomillo or orégano; I add tomillo, sometimes." 251 252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called listo. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepúe ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it fachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was met at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crosslike frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook these for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swishing a chalwe containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them free of every bit of fleece," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned meatless encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a bottle of boiling [415]

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252 hard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rəfwe).

Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not [262] even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepüe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

[262] Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepüe and Boroa areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (kolükalen), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kudwa). A species of mackerel (kauki) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, macha, mañihue, ariso, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling

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water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of fiocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." 252 ● They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée.

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads nauseated her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend these people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariso are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sowed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of fiocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 262]

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, 3). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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Baking bread (Trangul): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

[p. 316 (D)]

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1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quinquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [857]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 262
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, podú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (anim [251]
fio). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, 3) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Rhea meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other fowl were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Puyen (none is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; cauque and peladilla were collected on thin colihüe stalks, which were poked through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were staked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Macha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic;
317 more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba maté," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little sick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [3½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding feed for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

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262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

● 252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepəl (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napur (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[177] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (funa poñü) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (kófke poñü) were grated and allowed

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to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Tromen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumina, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years, old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

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cups for use at the ñillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichafia was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the külko (pl. 74, *4*), and the kolkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and külko, as sieves also; the kolkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the külko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepol, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 285

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, *1*; 65, *1*; 66, *2*.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpol baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, *1*). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, *1*) that I saw (they were said to be 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [459]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231 The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137 In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

222 137 **Wild plant foods.**—Of the noncultivated plant foods, the most important was piñons, the seeds of the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) which grows in the Nahuelbuta coastal range as well as in the main Andean Cordillera. The natives came from considerable distances to gather the piñons in season. The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100. One *Mapuche* alone, Coña, lists nearly 50 (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 30–31, 87–106). These included: Roots, and tubers—liuto (*Alstroemeria ligtu*), lǿwü (*Sisyrinchium* sp.), huanqui (*Dioscorea* sp.), gadu (*Conanthera bifolia*), and others; rhizomes of a fern, añpe (*Alsophila quadripinnata*); fruits and berries—myrtle (*Myrtus ugni*, *M. luma*, and others), "barberry" (*Berberis darwinii*, *B. congestifolia*, and others), boldo (*Boldoa fragrans* or *Peumus boldus*), peumo (*Cryptocarya rubra*), maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*), kopiu (*Lapageria rosea*), kowüll (*Lardizabala biternata*), doka (*Mesembryanthemum chilense*), mulul (*Ribes glandulosum*), nüyu (*Greigia sphacelata*), mulluen (*Empetrum rubrum*), apples (feral: post-Columbian, of course), and others; "hazelnuts" (*Guevina avellana*); seeds—llenque (*Podocarpus andina*), and lanco, lanko (*Bromus stamineus*, or *B. unioloides*); ɥalka, petioles of paɥke (*Gunnera scabra* or *G. chilensis*); leaves and greens—graciola (*Gratiola peruviana*), placa (*Mimulus luteus*) (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 100, leaves eaten as Europeans eat salad); many species of mushrooms; algae (seaweeds)—*Durvillaea utilis* (giant kelp), *Ulva lactuca* (sea-lettuce), *U. latissima*. Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 30) lists as scarcity foods resorted to after the crop-foods were exhausted, in addition to ɥalka and añpe above-mentioned, the following, some of which are of Old World origin, but without giving details: Yuyo (*Brassica campestris*), yerba mora (*Solanum nigrum*), yerba buena (*Mentha pulegium*, *M. viridis*), cardo, trotro (apparently *Silybum marianum*, *Cynara cardunculus*).

146 In view of the great number and variety of cultivated and wild plant foods used by the *Araucanians* in the past, their plant dietary probably provided them with an adequate supply of the essential mineral and vitamin nutrients. The chief lack, from our point of view, is in green-leaf vegetables. As regards quantity, it would seem [261] from our sources that the *Araucanians* usually enjoyed food sufficiency, if not abundance: there were seasons of relative scarcity, but there is little indication of recurrent or even occasional famines proper.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting and trapping seem to have played a very minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* economy, to judge from rare statements such as those of Molina (1901, p. 124) and Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 36), and from the scant attention given to the subject in our many earlier extensive first-hand accounts of *Araucanian* culture. Four-footed game appears to have been relatively scarce in the southern

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[637] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as
he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not
wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to
approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be
closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and
other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the
deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—
is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the
surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects
were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for
the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small
pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this
manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the
dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until
the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin
was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily
cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and
its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral
ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the
immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There
is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
682
262

LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [162] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* piñons as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [462]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaihue* if salted, and *wilpad* or *ailpad* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *rewaltu/kr*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*ivinka/kr*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen kurü* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *runiñin kurü* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun-kurü* ("night soup").[10]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yayo*,[11] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin kurü*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpad* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal kurü*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[12]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pirku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[13] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[10] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *ingal*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 302) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[11] *Yayo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 300-43).

[12] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[13] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[32] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[33] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[34] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[35] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[36] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[32] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[33] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[34] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Hosse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[35] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 300–4.

[36] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[82] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[83] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931c, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *aiw*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul'trul*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 415 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, jars, and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, chequers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to resort to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poki* pronounced *pouyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*hoapre*) and rye (*mapu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *maki* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months the excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *ñandu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huadurvia*, *pagua* or wild goose, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first.
264 They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males
415 sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *moté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of algæ.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sun-
612 down. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes
568 among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilotan culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Picunche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Picunche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures. 114

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically. 113

Sixteenth century: Goicueta (1852), [1558], 1558; Ercilla (1910), [1569–89], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1862), [1575], 1549–75; Mariño de Lovera (1865), [ca. 1594], 1551–94; Olaverría (1852), [1594]; Oña (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1887), [1606], 1593–1622; González de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1601–7; Bascuñan (1863), [1673], 1629; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1643; Barlaeus (1647); Marcgrav (1648); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1629–82.

Eighteenth century: Frézier (1716); Pietas (1846), [1729], 1729; Olivares (1864), [1758–67], (1874), [1736], ca. 1700–67; Febrés (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1883), [1777], 1743–67; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1767; Gómes de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1767; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), [1796], ca. 1765–92.

Nineteenth century to 1883: Domeyko (1845), 1845; Smith (1855), 1853; Ruiz Aldea (1902), [1856], ca. 1856; Medina (1882).

1883 to present: Lenz (1895–97, 1896, 1904–10), ca. 1890–1933; Guevara Silva (1898, 1904, 1908, 1911, 1912, 1929), ca. 1898–1935; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 a, 1922 b, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1929–30, 1936 d), 1888–90, 1892–95; Robles Rodríguez (1942), [1906–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1896– ; Bullock (1911), ca. 1907– ; Manquilef (1911, 1914), 1887– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1922, 1936); Looser (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1933–34), ca. 1928– ; Moesbach (1936), [1930], 1920– ; Lothrop (1930, 1932), 1929–30; McClaffery (1932); Housse (1939), ca. 1930– ; Brand (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Métraux (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 41; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 193; Domeyko, 1845, p. 58; Housse, 1939, p. 166.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of feasts. Fish and other 262

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262 sea food formed a considerable element in the diet in the Coastal area. Most of the food supply was derived from cultivated plants. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, all the *Araucanians* (except perhaps the *Pehuenche*: cf. infra) from the Choapa to Chiloé inclusive
241 were sedentary farmers. That *Araucanian* agriculture as such antedated the *Inca* invasion of the second half of the 15th century is reasonably certain, since south of the Maule River *Inca* influence could hardly have given rise in so short a time to such a high development of agriculture as the first Spaniards found as far south as Chiloé.

Agriculture.—The following food plants were being cultivated by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards: (1) Maize, wa, *Zea mays;* 8 or 9 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 375); cultivated on Chiloé as well as mainland. (2) White potato, poñû, puñe, *Solanum tuberosum;* over 30 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 377; cf. Bukasov, 1933, p. 163, many varieties, especially on Chiloé); more than a hundred native names of "varieties" grown on Chiloé (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:559–61). (3) Kidney bean, deṷûll, degùll, *Phaseolus vulgaris;* 13 or 14 kinds, according to Molina (ibid., p. 376). (4) Squash, peṷka, wada, *Cucurbita maxima* (and *C. pepo?*) (5) Madi, *Madia sativa;* a seed-crop; an oil derived from seeds. (6) Chili pepper, trapi, thapi, *Capsicum annuum;* many varieties cultivated. (7) Quinoa, dewe, *Chenopodium quinoa;* a seed-crop; leaves also eaten (Molina, 1878 b, p. 376). (8) Oca, *Oxalis* sp.; root-crop cultivated earlier in Chiloé and Llanquihue; two varieties cultivated, according to Latcham (1915 b, pp. 149, 154). (9) Magu, maṷo, mango, *Bromus mango;* a seed-crop resembling our rye; bread made from grain. (10) Teca, tuca, thuca, not identified botanically; superficially resembling our barley; bread made of grain. (11) Peanut, maní (from *Arawak;* no native *Araucanian* name), *Arachis hypogaea;* thought by Lenz (1904–10, 2:475) to have been introduced by the *Inca;* by Latcham (1936, p. 192), in post-Contact times. (12) Strawberry, kelleñ, llaweñ, *Fragaria chiloensis;* both cultivated and wild used. (13) Huequen, hueguen, not identified botanically; a seed-crop, superficially resembling our barley.

Of the foregoing, maize was the most important food staple among the *Mapuche*, but among the mainland *Huilliche* potatoes were apparently of near equal importance with maize, and among the Chilotans of much greater importance. This relative importance seems to have persisted down to the present. Potatoes were recently the chief food of the poorer Indians in the Río Imperial area (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 99).

Teca, huequen, and oca are no longer cultivated; the cultivation of teca had been abandoned as early as Molina's time in the middle 18th century. The last specimen of magu was collected in 1837 in south Chiloé. Quinoa was reported under cultivation in Chiloé as

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[262] 231 meat was highly relished, but was not eaten except at important social or religious feasts.

231 492 The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1555. Lautaro was seen on horseback in 1556. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddletree, saddlecloth, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1855, p. 200.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The lasso, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanian*, was probably introduced and spread

[i.e. The llama]

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with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranaeus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincón; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *rayo*; and parched, or *mürka*. From the first was made a bread, *kofke*, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, tuca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

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842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

863 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached hori-
866 zontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan
762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or swün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians
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the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufü. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41). 771

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44). 778

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance. 113

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources. 131

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñona, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 288) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement 262

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether
241 they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas,
411 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snow-
292 shoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also
222 Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather
421 piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*"
171 between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century*, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946 952) 1957
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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[3] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. *"What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"*

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepóe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (ranfim), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[3] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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262 843 184 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey, or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Collaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT; PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, BEGINNING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 241 797 1. Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, growing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2. Collaripe area: Pastorlands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3. Pangipulli area, the western end of Lago Pangipulli in the Andes: Pastorland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4. Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pastorlands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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231 been nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price. [426]

Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to 233 Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent 242 times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process 177 from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most 422 certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, chenpinos and lanas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lanas and chenpinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent rain, a disease that causes them to lose their

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer [262] seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepée spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans.

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were 226
mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canela. Hunting for whale was not reported.

Alepée area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (croakers), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (bass). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, 1). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepée area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, 3), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are luma, tineo [251] (unidentified), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available.

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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252 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; 415 chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (kilko) (pl. 46, 4) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (lepü) (pls. 44, 2; 46, 3), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part 222 of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild ●262 plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Antiog plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarbilla ralca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, [252] and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circulillin. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of lleuli, and of kuiñili (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated 222 plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and 263 oréganos. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Coñuepe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

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the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out. 232 [265] [262]

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe ones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, 3, 4) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Cañucipe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 50-year-old Cañucipe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pitrifén [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llaimahue [20 hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and there rules have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven rules. We have built several rules in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the rules there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a rule already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a rules in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

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222. wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at this time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the husks by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their husks—or we boil them in water, after which the husks are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the rafters. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[226] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Cotacipe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are humming. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into clamshells and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended cheese from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

● 262. Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcahue), mote (lahn kuchillo), catutu (mahwan or mul'n), and toasted wheat (kapamahwe).

262. Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

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252 are freed of husks. Chaff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chuiwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chuiwe, and kept warm near the fire until needed, when the woman will mash the kernels with mullet on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the mullet. A cutato may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole cutato, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. Adults prefer it cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container known as a lape, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the lape, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the lape. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

[268] Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the fireplace and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called kuen pelli. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as caldos and cazuelas, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a ruka, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, cooked, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well drenched with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is furu pelli, fermented potato. Most

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families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe area; in Collaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Collaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or liq poñi) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting. 252

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the jilguero and chuchito. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten. 262

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the meals of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter. [251]

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252 lard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rafwe).

Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepúe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

262 Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepúe and Borca areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (kolíhuen), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kudwa). A species of mackerel (kauki) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, macha, mulihue, ariso, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling

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water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of ñocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." 252
They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée.

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads unnerved her. I insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend those people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariao are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been sewed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of ñocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 262]

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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of
787 predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means
845 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

893 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease,
● 262 for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

893 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
784 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [227]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called mucha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 242
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when congealed eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was unmixed guanaco lung, known as spell. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make spell today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; spell is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted shoulder in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grains—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (spanish: ñío). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry. [251]

A rhea (pl. 74, f) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [26 feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male then has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

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262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepol (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of naper (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[m] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (funa poñü) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (kóñe poñü) were grated and allowed

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to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Traumen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumina, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Currhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichuelas, spoons, laps, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (chalis), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 192]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

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RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

24 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[36] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[233] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[243] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[165] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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24 [407] used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[221] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and [372] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*montículo de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff [231] is considered inferior fodder.

132 241 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. [221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

438 343 [221] [133] [469] [231] Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *ovejillo*, *yuyo*, *ollaroa*, and *chicory*, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 [313] Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *muday* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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ventory of *chacareria* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacareria* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields. 241 [439]

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious. [73] 244 [262] [243]

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working on half-shares with an Indian. However, on-drawn harvesters (*segadores*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions. 243 407 [427] [248] [427]

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may 243 407 233 [97] [427]

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amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [292] [262] [782]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pendo* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [334] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [231] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [248] [169]

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall. 242 433 311 [134] 433 241

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields. 311 [233] [241]

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 313 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 13 horses. 621 [62] 311 [231]

At the time of radicación much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people. 311 [361] [362]

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonquen, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonquen has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an inquilino (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various reducados makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonquen, a man with 98 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 45 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about ten per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonquen are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Limousin: Pelalhue Region

In the Pelalhue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Limousin. Of a total of 299 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Of a total of 353 hectares, approximately 188 are cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland unfitted to pasturage, and the rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the baja land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is alluvial, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared baja is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is alluvial and the vega that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancanuan and in the Tolten region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on alluvial. In the baja, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about few years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelchue region are higher than in the Rehue Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 3 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The bullocks on Llancanuan have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 154 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in bullocks than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancanuan, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the reduccion, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and chucrete, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Tolten River, but canoes were not tapped.

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *mazka*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household upon request (cf. Moesbach, 1936:158–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Mote* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of chicha or *mote* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

participated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another ñillantkangong, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if chicha is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [585] [586] [587]

On accepting the animals presented him by the ovejitje or weapin (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, mafuiaw is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered as fee, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires participation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes several rights in the [588]

H:Farow E-5 ([1952-1954])1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[575] [587] event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

[585] Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillantkawgawg* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the [586] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at [560] the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *ruka? ngüñlu*, in Spanish *visita nueva*.

[579] [584] Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving groups, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

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It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llatki*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rakiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or oldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

[264]

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was unpacked and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

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While the coffin is on the *llatki* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (men) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply provided. The first helpings of food, especially beverages, are served by the hosts in special portions to the outsiders

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

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After the parlamento a grand banquet was given by Chocoque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Chocoque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

A [291 41] [761]

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Pieunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

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I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[10]

[10] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

4:Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *ouali* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 552

The araucarian forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, were among the great tribes, was the piñon, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucanians had always a good supply of fish and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the huemul (*cervus chilensis*), the pudu (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the pumpi (*lama cacacia*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the ñandu or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huadavia*, *pipuco* or wild goose, wild geese, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country entered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *ají* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of fish are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

5.Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Honey, oil, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and greens, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was spoil, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

Eating.—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Rosales, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:132, 134).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Settlements.—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 415 stuncts. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (küllen) (pl. 46, 4) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (lepü) (pls. 44, 2; 46, 3), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 262 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of mitahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

[252] The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of circutillu. Tubers of the wild potato (pepa), are sometimes collected, but those of lawü, and of koifüñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

222 263 Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and orégano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Coñaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out.

The nut of the avellano—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe cones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, *3, 4*) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Coñaripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bio Bio and Bueno, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 52-year-old Coñaripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pulaifa [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Llancahue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

232 wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at that time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut unroasted; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the husks by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their husks—or we boil them in water, after which the husks are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the rafts. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

[263] Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Coñuripe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are humming. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into clayware and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the man had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey freed of its wax is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended chuwe from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

262 Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcubiñe), mote (luko kachillo), cotuto (mulrun or mul'a), and toasted wheat (kopasuhwa).

252 Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly roasted to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Blood meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other food were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Pejerrey (upper is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; sunapu and pelachilla were suspended on thin cellulite cords, which were passed through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Perca were salted, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Mocha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; 317 more recently cilantro and onions have been added to them. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba mate," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We got our salt from a

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went here one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there 317
were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell
or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today,
chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in
an empty tin eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be
cooked in such a shell.

Hens eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The
shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents
stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to
insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked chen egg is delicious, but
it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men
return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the
estancias—they will bring with them some chen eggs." She then told
the following: "People look for chen nests today in forested areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the
eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so
big [a] feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horse-
back looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one
before he knows it. Here, let us say the chen is off the nest feeding—
you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always
close by. The chen near the man on horseback come close to his nest.
He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the
man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a
dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird is on the
nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions
to break them. The male chen has a bad temper. The only time a
person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the
male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added
that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last.
As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks
upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze.
Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the
young chen.

Wild guinea fowl as food in the early days were quinea fowl wild 262

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen kurü* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *reniehtu kurü* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pan-kurü* ("night soup").[28]

There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet. Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yayo*,[29] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin kurü*. Sometimes, *cheihan* or *allpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal kurü*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[30]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[31] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[28] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *ñapel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[29] *Yayo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[30] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[31] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

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273 Freitura became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[28] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[29]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
915 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[30] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food taboo apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, [827] because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not [839] engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[31]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[32] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[28] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[29] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[30] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[31] The details of food taboo were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[32] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the which males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the oldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *Sinou*, dry fish cooked with levened wheat or maize; *pelli ovi*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with greens, and various other stews in which the meal or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The most Indians also use two or three edible bulbs of *ciper*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of food is the *ciper*, with which the Indians concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ciper* is their immediate antidote.

They have no special names for their meals.

The use of bread constitutes the Spanish component, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of tortillas or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Arawaconians, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

9.Cooper E.-6 (no date) 1946 SG4 Accession SG4

Honey, oil, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and greens, etc. A favorite fish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was small, parboiled lumps of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

Eating.—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barbosa, 1947, p. 202), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 251.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sit sitting on the ground.

The men sit together; the women sit apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:132, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Settlements.—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:129–31) or of poisoning (Gonzalez de Nájera, 1889, p. 66)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Merino de Lovera, 1865, p. 120; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

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Araucanian schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Note burnt-over land, now being used as pastureland. 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3, Lunch time at school. (Note garden fence of logs.)

[1.28/07]

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Formerly, according to a Pangipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a bottle-shaped vessel of leather (trahui, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground. 273 265

In the early days, muéki, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, muéki is drunk only at the ngillatun, machitun, and kuschatun. Women prepare both the muéki and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, 264

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FIG. 5.—Trahui, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenum of Pangipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal. 264 512

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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 708), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, rukas were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built rukas of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all rukas are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such rukas to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two rukas was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by means of various sticks and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which cups and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pots and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fine and cheaply because they give
311 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 6a, *b*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this mapui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[553, 782] my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

● 264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, 1; 72, 1.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mutwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [1957]

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [528] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Checeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Checeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackchan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologized, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruse* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *huenuvuyes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 727 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[788] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pros* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pros* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *reluan*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concurred in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canelos were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canelo planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, pp. 54, 56), Bascuñan (1863, p. 43), Rosales (1877–78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Ofa (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 253; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McClafferty, 1932, pp. 27–29.)

CYCLE

844 **Birth.**—It was taboo for a pregnant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latcham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Gusinde, 1936, pp. 561, 855, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

101 131 175 incorporated is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

175 The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[5]

669 But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of tipo oro portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

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[5] Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1577" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo sucedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his capter took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Geronimo Pizarro, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194 Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alvaro Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his extensive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 79; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por cuchillo a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olivares, p. 46.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígenes de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Mariñoso (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chawalonga*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival. [164]

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53]
●266 In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones,
727 most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was
534 forced to play his thibiocy on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and [illegible], producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish cul-
727 ture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had
[199] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced
121 the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 113.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 30 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jota [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotas gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there." 762

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sons—almost without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a hoe and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he shouted the dogs when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat of other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat human." 731 266

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [127] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

InGarcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
Aramburu 564

He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rieros, a native of Truxillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonso de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

[1] That the commander is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Lautaro.

[1] Hacen un campo y nombranse en formados
Escuadrones distintos, muy enteros,
Cada hila de mas de cien soldados,
Entre una pica y otra las flecharos
Que de lejos ofendan desmandados
Bajo la protection de los piqueros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta medir a pica el enemigo.

Si el escuadron primero que acometa,
Por fuerza viene a ser desbaratado,
Tan presto a socorrerle otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the hulks are removed from the brazier and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a cuisle, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a cuisle.

231 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on warm-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, which one can see them bubbling up. Tubs are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the tubs in chuzuros or pails. Children usually fetch it.

[857] At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba mate is taken by

211 all adults and many children (pl. 31, f). This drink was only recently

177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cañelipe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba mate when my oldest son was a baby; he is now 40 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a

[55] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called mate. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If hot beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

275 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba mate. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as mote (*Schinus bollifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (ypah, p. 701). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or maqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families eport in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 265 266

Drinking water was taken from an unmentioned spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 6a, 7; 7a, 8.) Houses were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 270 271 272

Beverages in the early days consisted of muday and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of palco and bark of maqui. Muday was made by fermenting quinoa and maize, cultivated small grain and corn, or wild-rice corn. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Muday is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulque), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of maqhein (unidentified), garrilla, and mitchel, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately crushed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally colihue. The crushed apples were poured into cullihin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated cullihin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 50-year-old woman making chicha from berries of garrilla and mitchel. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She crushed handfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven hillin (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentina law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; none has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba mate, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 274

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Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid. 272 [527] [415]

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal. 262

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the 273 273 733

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[25] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kulkull and the kuykul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifəlka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifəlka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

●272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been 264
cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when 252
cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for 462
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Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at 271
its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncon- 312
taminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there 361
was an uncontaminated source of water.

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing 272
decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat.

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I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made 272
of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and [424]

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272 [574] children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[i.e. yerba maté. -Analyst]

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735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 [491] Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29–32 and 138–68.

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come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, 273 they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with pitifully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their 342 traditional type of dwellings, which they call *rukas*. House building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.[13] The *rukas* are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 25 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.[14] Per- [352] sonally, I saw no *ruka* that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Carilaf affirmed that in "better"

[13] Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 169–83; and Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 12–29.

[14] For further details see Housse, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

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Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

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[23] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

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[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

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273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[836] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

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back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *konchotun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[30] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan wentrus*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

[30] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.) 857 524

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p.160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.). 276

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated. 273

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is
685 reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
273 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
276 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they
828 pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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THEFT, INTOXICATION

674 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the [685] Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

● 273 Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

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tion of a ruka. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Mudai, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (funa ponü, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and ruka-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the gillatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the gillatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 867 868

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as pavas. They are danced at the ñillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word pavas, Estancia knows that we are not speaking of the way that the Chilenos dance—Chilenos never dance like we do at the ñillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as pavas."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the pisu, the cueculo, the wulan (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the cuacha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the pavas. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and cassia leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, pisu, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at
533 any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so
539 when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Paradise has he no, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Paradise has he no, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting
[273] at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the herbs is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a cuisle, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a cuisle.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on wooded sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cisterns
[957] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by
177 all adults and many children (pl. 51, *j*). This drink was only recently introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cofaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian came first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my oldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a
[915] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

● 273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (*manzanas silvestre*) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, *araucaria* nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as mulle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or maqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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Formerly, according to a Panguipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground. 273 [415]

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the ñillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, 264

[415]

FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenum of Panguipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal. 264 512

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dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a lasso, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the gillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [439]

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241 used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now
[407] somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the cent and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[221] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and
[372] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de*
[231] *paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

132 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed
241 by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather.
[221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in
243 March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions,
[221] and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio
[433] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as
[462] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If
[231] too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture
[203] of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
341 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[409] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano,* and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often 868
acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of 593
the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the 593
situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is re- 574
placed by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many [273]
nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and [431]
husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between 868
mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early [593]
years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although [883]
this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they 868
are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older 857
sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This 233
is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact [885]
and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult
work.

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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

[529] [2173]

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [754]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker — outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628]
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment — no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public — at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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537 764 613 829 [769] Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin. 764 [293]

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery. 764 766 184

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions 766 556

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273] usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184] in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178] vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625] (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574] though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilisation about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturbance. 622
As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Chocoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Chocoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142
mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Pieunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 008
came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Checoque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Checoque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Checoque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[834] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

● 276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collio. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.) 857 524

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.). 276

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated. 273

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is
685 reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
273 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
276 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were tell-
828 ing me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. [272] Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him.

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifolka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kuikuil and the kuŋkul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifolka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifolka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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521 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While
539 she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [he imitated steam being blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehueico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years
276 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the ñillatun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dead wood of rauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kolupan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of rauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called potrem; the word kinnickinnick was not known to informants; Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out colihue stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, 3). Those of caciques and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

796 (stamping on the ground), and the huillafən kawell (galloping horse).
535 The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultruŋ.

Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made
796 by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver.
[276] Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifəlka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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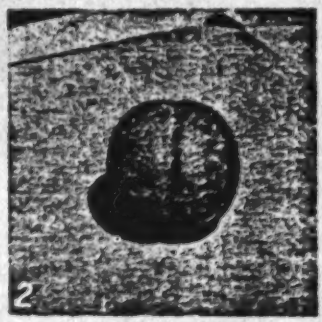
324
[415]
[172]



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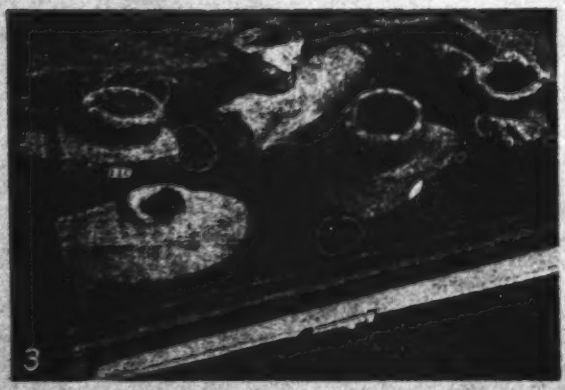

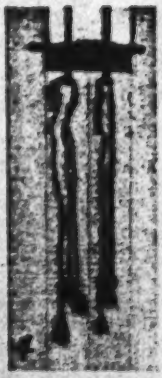

778

Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

756 nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most
[554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations. 842 [847]

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman." 842 755 [278]

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son. 842

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *walumraki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum vaginatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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In a general sense bodies Are supposed to come from the sky

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
● 278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul-on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother MAYE
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [278]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [784]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Boldos fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself. 553 431

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night. 854

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 862 863 [278 386]

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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863 side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap,"
[278 or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka*
326] are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing
515 in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer
863 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numer-
757 ous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who
[824] do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kūl·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The 723
army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at [704]
the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu lince*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), 411
slings (*huitrahue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of [278]
the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses.

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever 725
archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front.

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were 712
generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted.

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners 727
taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruiaucan* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 groups she is despised. One informant confided that a man, too, can
[581] be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a
[597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called kofum.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was *25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months*. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gamboa lists 847 [847] [278]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. 844
In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—kneels behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is 844
given a decoction made by boiling silvestre salvia, linaza, sanguinaria, 278
and karül'awen, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings none with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of ŋalaŋalau, a plant found in brooks.

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult de- 845
liveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 732). Quoting a Coñaripe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after labor pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil flaxseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (Cf. pp. 115-121 for performances of machitun.)

During the present study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife [278]
mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive.

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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846 down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either below the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This [184] is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

STERILIZING EYES OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps [278] a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call Ilumüelka [unidentified] [4] into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

[4] When translated, Ilumüelka means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Coñaripe identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as korekore. Félix José (1916, vol. 1, p. 95) gives the botanical classification of korekore as *Geranium corecore* Stead., fam. Geraniaceae, and the Spanish equivalent as corecore. In La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales (Anonymous, 1929) corecore is classified as *Geranium berteroianum*.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted. 291

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. 853

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of ñil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot. [278] [822]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

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Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting 841
Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chuküri, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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755 herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

757 Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of hardier plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

● 278 757 The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepúe area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Avellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in grazing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Chileans had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

——— Chillüm, collected close to brooks in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

——— Chukürí, found in pastureland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Esparto, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Fucsia, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Lingue. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

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Malva del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who is indoors sweats, so that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will find that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well, then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the malva del monte onto his scalp and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice several times before his head feels better.'

——— Nukiñ. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Palqui, found near creeks. Burns are overlaid with its leaves. The juice of its pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pañil, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomiting, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Parrilla, found in burnt-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

——— Padwe, collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the bare skin wherever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

Pillopillo, found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little piece of cloth and laid upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

Quilmay, found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt is put into an aching ear.

Quilquil, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns. The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Romara, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a boil or any swelling; reduces either.

——— Wilki kachu, found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery. It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

——— Wadawe. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also used as a love charm. Cf. p. 137.)

My inability to obtain Araucanian names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chileans and is not part of the traditional Araucanian pharmacology.

Huella, found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to reduce fever.

Triaca, found in dry cut-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Yerba del chavalongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally reduces fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alepúe area are the mawida (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the püllallfillkuñ (the informant would tell only that a lukewarm decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

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278 757 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Panguipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canelo. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

——— Chañchañ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."

Helecho grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."

——— Kərakuü. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of kərakuü have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

——— Mañiú. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that mañiú hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with culén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.

Saúco del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanəll, on the hot stones."

Toronjil. A decoction of it and culén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toronjil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, 583
she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home.

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful 832
that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on 278
volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will [756]
cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pollpoll were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wodawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenagwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wañókintuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257).

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiukü (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as choñchoñ, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the choñchoñ sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant [278] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 In Coñaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will 215 lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

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heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

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844 maqui;[5] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery, she was given a decoction of kanchan l'awen (unidentified) and 278 frutilla. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

844 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

845 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist: this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

[5] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

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placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 845

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall. 844 [171]

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse. [278]

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used. 846

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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [727] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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755 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are
759 often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy
[826] of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

278 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies.
757 Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever. 278 757

Cizaña. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it."

Crochilla (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is poulticed against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Fucsia. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Limpia plata, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llantén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Llinto or amancay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Maqui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and ends diarrhea.

Natri. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach ache and reduces fever.

Nenao. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Paico. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk ends vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Pañil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It soothes open wounds when poured into them.

Paramela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Parrilla and mala. A decoction made of leaves and stems of parrilla and of roots of mala is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of mala alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pasto de tres cantos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Poleo (an unidentified mint, "with leaves a little smaller than those of orégano"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach ache.

Quillay, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quitral (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Retamilla or lechuguilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and liver ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Roble chileno. A decoction of its core—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whom a tree has fallen."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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278 757 Soya. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are poulticed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

Toronjil. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant malba; in Chile it is called toronjil cuyano."

Unfermented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

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Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

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Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)

°1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer
301 months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarüloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarüloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian cul-
283 ture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until
286 recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.
[462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in
● 23 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly
32 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[a] At
463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[b] and the others purchase what they want

[a] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941a, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonseca, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[b] At Cautinchu, for example, even the memory of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarille and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares. 463

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. Commonest of all is the *pifulka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bitonal Pan pipe fashioned from laurel wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifulkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo. 534

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as *fillatues* and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancao, husband of Cautinche's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *llalkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by taking in the breath. A *llalkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleaned like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Rotaeche, but in no one of these places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy. [pl 32]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [23]
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the entire skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, flowers grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

raised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out. 286 386

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rags, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying. 281 281 413

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already. 281

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating. 323

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286 386 [437]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (*in* Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kütru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and east northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 445 323

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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278 Soya. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are poulticed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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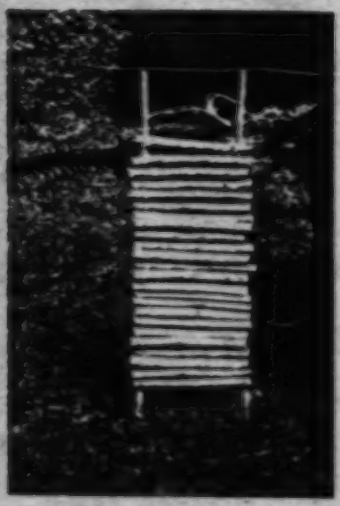

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1 and 2. Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kalaqam. 1. Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 2. Rear in carrying under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 3. A basket (bálsa) used as a dove and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5. A tubi. 6. An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Martha Big-Kanaiko, San Martín de los Andes.)

[p. 364 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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ground, so located that the rear of the toldo was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the toldo to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the toldo with paint made of white earth (mallo) or red earth (kelü barro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kaupan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 461

Hides used as toldo coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kura quillú) (pl. 74, 6), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic and quartz and light. Brain was not used in softening hides. 342 281

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

281 294 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as toldo coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

291 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kəpam), shawl (ekull), stickpin (təpu), neck and breast ornament (ʃīkill), headband (trarūloŋko), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a təpu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kəpam at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kəpam and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kəpam until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy ticking then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately 2 yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

301 The təpu was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The ʃīkill had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The trarūloŋko was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

291 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine open-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarūloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarūloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[33] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[34] and the others purchase what they want

[33] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[34] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarrille and

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source* before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macuagi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macuagi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilhue*) is found round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *lienos*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal; and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

* [i.e., the Calchaqui.—Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[354] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [287] 283 [289] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the quoike (*Bromelia lindlanii*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand
286 being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

p. 66; Cooper, 1917, pp. 198–99; cf. Lothrop, 1932, pl. 21, *c–d*, and fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank dalca.)

Dugouts (huampo, wampu (L. de Valdivia, 1887, huampu), canoe) were according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Toltén with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Such dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 89) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, in Lothrop, 1932, pl. 16, *b*.) 501

Balsas of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Toltén River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa María and Mocha.

Other "balsas," apparently rafts proper, made of *Puya* sp. or of "cypress" (*Libocedrus chilensis*) or "laurel" (*Laurelia aromatica*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa María and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the *Mapuche-Huilliche* region.

Sails are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877–78, 1:175), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friederici, 1907, p. 74). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early *Mapuche-Huilliche* watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1932, p. 245, pl. 21, *b*) describes and figures a [European type?] two-piece oar with crutchless rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chilotan plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Lozser, 1934).

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from plant fibers. Some of those more commonly recorded are: The loyo, made of *Chusquea*, of very fine weave; the chaiwe, made of voqui (*Boquila trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the llepü (fig. 74, *left*), of *Chusquea*, of flat round platter form; the kñiho (fig. 74, *right*), of *Lapageria rosea*, a large basket; the yola, of bajucos. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 241–244.) 285

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from flocha (*Greigia landbeckii*) or mollnachu (*Cyperus repetus*), were used in the making of ropes, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (pilua), and baskets (figs. 75, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 244–248.) 283

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well developed at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi- 286

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tuted. Dog-hair weaving was early reported (Goicueta, 1852, p. 96) among the *Chono*, but not among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The Chilotans made mantles from the bark of *Aristotelia maqui*, woven in some manner (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 224). Cotton weaving was absent. Spinning and weaving were women's work. 286

Wool, after being sheared, washed, dried, and combed, was spun on a wooden spindle, pointed at both ends. The wool was wound 283

[286]

FIGURE 78.—Pilue carrying bag. Detail of the side-wall of the bag. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 45.)

round the left arm, its end twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand and fastened to the spindle, and the spindle was also twirled with the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

For weaving (fig. 77; pl. 156, *top, right*) a two-barred loom (witral) was used, usually vertical for larger pieces of cloth, but stretched on the ground horizontally for belts and fillets. Molina (1901, p. 122) mentions a second kind of loom, "not very unlike that used in Europe," but gives no other details. 286

The woven products were used mainly as clothing and adornment, but also as bedclothes and saddle-blankets. Some of the products

10: Hilger [illegible]-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and 493
they are available. (Pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Coñaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, *1*). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, *2* and *3*.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, *1*).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chaquses sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiora and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [824]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Fuya* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called foto (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepín area when fishing

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

286

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857

Spinning and weaving: E. Hüger [illegible] Alonso girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. A. A. Young Collection
Indian weaving, D. Nelson

[p. 220(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepúe area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *6*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [46] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (llankan) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pishei) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepúe woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The spinner is seated on a low bench while spinning. Around her left arm, in loose fashion, she has wound one of the elongated wads. The upper end of the spindle is held casually in her right hand, while the lower end rests on the ground near her side. With her index fingers and thumbs she pulls some of the wad into a strand of workable thickness, and long enough to reach comfortably from the left hand to the spindle. Then, with a twist of the finger tips of the right hand, she sends the spindle rotating (anticlockwise) in midair. The strand of wool now becomes yarn. She undoes the slipknot in the groove of the spindle (which has kept the yarn already on the spindle from unwinding), rotates the spindle again in midair, and thereby winds the newly spun yarn onto the spindle. She again secures the yarn on the spindle with a slipknot in the groove and then repeats the process of spinning. 283

Spun yarn is twirled as a single strand or two strands together, depending upon the use to be made of it. Yarn intended for clothing must be finer and is therefore more firmly twirled than that intended for household articles, such as blankets, hose, and chaqueos. "For instance, there is no use weaving a poncho with yarn like this [just spun]; it must be made durable by twirling. It must be tightly twirled or it will not shed rain, or keep out those blasting winds." Men often help to twirl; so do older boys and girls.

An informant demonstrated twirling two strands of yarn that she intended to weave into a poncho. She unrolled several feet of yarn from each of two spindles, and prevented more from unrolling by means of a slipknot in the groove of each spindle. Letting both spindles rest on the ground, she rolled a strand of one spindle the full length of her right hand over her left wrist. She repeated this several times, and then held the end of it between her teeth to keep it from unrolling while she dealt in the same manner with a strand of the other spindle. This done, she brought the two slide together, held them between an index finger and thumb, and suspended both spindles in midair. The rotating spindles twisted the two strands of yarn into one. Since she wanted tightly twirled yarn, she now rested the lower ends of the spindles on the ground, released them, and suspended them again. As they spun again, the yarn was twisted tighter. Upon examination, she found the yarn not sufficiently twirled, for she remarked, "I want to use this yarn to weave a poncho for my husband," so she twirled it a third time. She twirled the remainder of the two spindles and then wound the twirled yarn onto an empty spindle from which it was later wound into a ball. When making a ball, the spindle

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

283 is kept in upright position by holding its lower end between two toes. Children were seen winding yarn on balls in this manner.

The informant then demonstrated twirling yarn used in weaving a lupum, for which only a single strand is twirled. She unwound several feet of yarn, then rolled the upper end of the spindle between her hands, caught the end of the yarn, held it, suspended the spindle in middle, and let it twirl there. She kept an eye on the yarn and when she thought it sufficiently twirled, she stopped it by letting the lower end of the spindle touch the ground. She examined the yarn closely now, and found it sufficiently twirled. After a strand was twirled, she rolled it onto another spindle, and secured it in the groove with a slipknot.

286 Yarn, not wool, is dyed by being boiled in a decoction made, as formerly, of native plants or of earth (pl. 98, *i*); in recent years commercial dyes bought in Chilean stores have also been used. Either the yarn and the dye-producing substance are boiled together, or the dye is first made and the yarn then boiled in it. Women do the dyeing. (Pl. 98, *i*, *j*.) Yarn to be dyed is formed into skeins, a single arm's strength in length, the number of strands in a skein depending on the amount of yarn needed for the article to be woven and also on the size of the bottle in which they are to be dyed. (The informant thought that there are never more than ten strands in a skein.) Near her lay five skeins, each of 70 to 100 double-twirled strands.

Dyeing was formerly done only in pottery-made olla; several informants still dyed black in olla, "for black dyed in a bottle fades the next day. A woman who does not have an olla usually weaves her lupum from the wool of black sheep. A lupum must be black; no woman would wear one of any other color." Iron bottles used in cooking are the ones used in dyeing. Table 6 lists native plants from which colors were extracted by informants.

An Alapile woman spent a fortnight in the woods chopping bark off skins. "Since I want to dye yarn a dark, dark brown, I had to search for old trees. Out here in the open spaces, I found only young trees; their bark gives a light-brown color. But deep in the woods I found the old trees I needed." She then proceeded with the dyeing. She broke the bark into chips, put a layer of them on the bottom of the bottle, two skeins of dry yarn on the top of the chips, another layer of bark, two more skeins on top of them, and then another layer of bark. The amount of bark used is of no account; the length of boiling is significant. She filled the bottle with cold water and suspended it from the fire rail so low that it rested directly on the fire. As it boiled, she occasionally pulled several strands forward with a stick to examine

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homespun cloth or of unsoaked skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homespun cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homespun clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun unwinded yarn; twisted yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in diamond fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and round.

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wrapround. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its name. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I dropped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they were learned to tell it then."

CRADLE, TRANSPORTATION BAGS, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent cylindric period of bark, or of a bend of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of soft hide or rope of cylindric bark, or of sheep gut. It ended approximately 6 inches from the free end—the bend of the U was the head end.

The second type, used commonly today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split cylindric sticks. The sticks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied over the ends to two straight cylindric sticks (pl. 74, 4, 5). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of twisted [218] hand along the spinal column of the brave—"this is exceedingly strong," Kalaquen stated. He apologized for using twine in tying the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pls. 60, 61, 65, 67, 70, 73.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentine children (pls. 62, 63-66). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians. 291

Clothes and other materials are washed today, as formerly, in rivers and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of chacay as a detergent—an occasional family today uses soap. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than 100 years, "we used bark and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name." 276

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Guanacos were not sheared; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informant indicated having the hide on the knee and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun. 283

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 78, *1,2*). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 23 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner carded wool by hand; she pulled it well apart and then shook it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated wads, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the wad of wool that extended between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist in midair. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twirled the spindle three times in midair. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twirling the spindle in midair. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at 10 years of age). A woman older

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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283 than 100 years, whom I visited, spun fine yarn. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of raull which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, 3.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (manzana silvestre) or chilichili, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, choapino (saddle blankets), matra (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and makun (rugs). Matra and choapino are placed under saddles; they and makun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2*, *3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1*, *4*; 80); for ponchos, the wearer for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, *5*).

286 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced
531 eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her yarn accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on
386 shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as mallo was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as lin." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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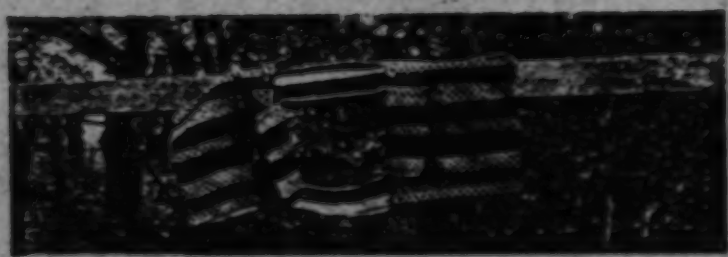
[531]



Spinning and weaving: 1, and 2, A woman spinning into yarn the wool wound about her left arm (Mallao). 3, A woman weaving a blanket (Quimahuina). 4, Kolupan wearing a poncho found in the collection of Bertha Ilg-Kessler (San Martin de los Andes). 5, A woven saddlebag with two pockets. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kessler.)

[p. 380(B)]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapoll, tpül) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kulkul) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 492 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1922, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Cucunados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Guicueta, 1882, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chiloteans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 10, 1917, [258] p. 349, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together [259] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 271) and later a 7-plank craft. (Gonzáles de Agüeros, 1791,

10: Kilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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854 The hanging cradle was not used in Alepie area; in Boroa area it was used almost exclusively. Two Alepie women examined with interest a hanging one pictured by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78) and discussed and evaluated it. "This netting [pointing to the backrest] is not what we make; we use a piece of wood for a backrest—two or three, if they are small ones. This is how a Mapuche cradle should look: [One woman drew two parallel lines and connected the upper ends with a line bent above each of the parallel lines.] We are wondering who made this cradle [illustrated in Cooper]; do you know?" Pangipulli informants said the hanging type was easily made. "You take two boards so wide [approximately 2 inches] for side pieces, or if you cannot find boards, chop two small straight limbs off a tree and peel them of bark. Use these for side pieces. Then find some small boards for the backrest, burn holes into the ends of them and also into the poles, and tie them all together with thongs."

Several cradles in use during the present study had parts fastened together with nails; all others, and also most museum specimens, were tied together with leather thongs or cords. Holes for tying had been burnt into the wood with hot irons.

There are no standard measurements for a cradle other than that it should be big enough for a baby. An informant said that the length of the backrest should be the distance indicated between his hands (28 inches) and the width approximately half that distance. The entire length, he thought, should approximate 34 inches "for the cradle must have two feet on which to rest. There must be some distance below the baby's feet. When the baby has outgrown the cradle, the cradle is no longer used. It is generally not used after the baby walks, but I tied my babies to theirs even then, for I knew then where they were—they could not get out my sight."

A cradle is not made ornamentally; no part of it is ornamented; no toys are attached to it. It is padded with either a piece of sheep pelt with wool side toward the baby or a piece of worn-down chamail; both are soft. Lashings are passed through knitted loops attached to the framework of the cradle or through perforations along the edges of the pelt or chamail, in which case the pelt or chamail is securely fastened to the framework. Lashings are woven bands, and only one band is used in lacing a baby to its cradle. In general, one end of the lashing is fastened to the first loop at the head end of the cradle, and is then passed through a loop at a time, alternating from side to side, until the foot end is reached. Here it is fastened into the last loop, and any unused lashing is tucked under the lacing somewhere. A baby is swaddled before being tied to its cradleboard. If it is so deep, its arms

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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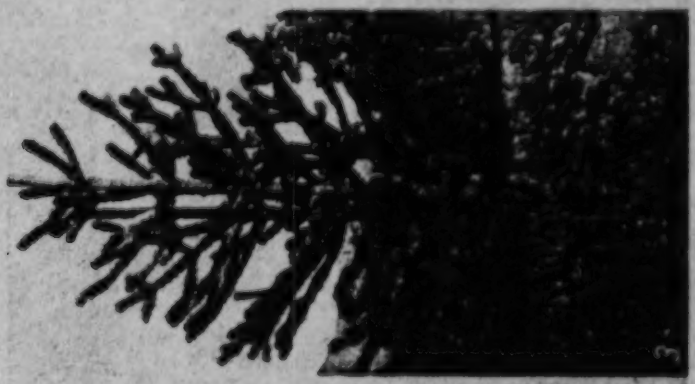

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[284]

Fences, and the araucaria pine: 1, Chicken-yard fence (Alepée); 2, Cattle pasture fence (Alepée); 3, A young non-fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Coñaripe); 4, A fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Panguipulli).

[p. 172(D)]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

p. 66; Cooper, 1917, pp. 198–99; cf. Lothrop, 1932, pl. 21, *c–d*, and fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank dalca.)

Dugouts (huampo, wampu (L. de Valdivia, 1887, huampu), canoes) were according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Toltén with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Such dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Baeztan, 1863, p. 89) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, in Lothrop, 1932, pl. 18, *h*.) 501

Balsas of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Toltén River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa María and Mocha.

Other "balsas," apparently rafts proper, made of *Poya* sp. or of "cypress" (*Libocedrus chilensis*) or "laurel" (*Laurelia aromatica*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa María and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the *Mapuche-Huilliche* region.

Sails are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877–78, 1:178), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friederici, 1937, p. 74). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early *Mapuche-Huilliche* watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1932, p. 245, pl. 21, *f*) describes and figures a [European type?] two-piece oar with crutchlike rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chiloten plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Lesser, 1934).

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from plant fibers. Some of these more commonly recorded are: The lwa, made of *Chusquea*, of very fine weave; the chaiwa, made of voqui (*Bupulin trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the lkapi (fig. 74, *left*), of *Chusquea*, of flat round platter form; the kilko (fig. 74, *right*), of *Lagenaria vulgaris*, a large basket; the yuin, of bejuco. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 241–244.) 288

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from ñocha (*Scirpus lacustris*) or mallocha (*Cyperus rotundus*), were used in the making of rope, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (pilua), and baskets (figs. 73, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 244–248.) 283

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well developed at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi- 286

5 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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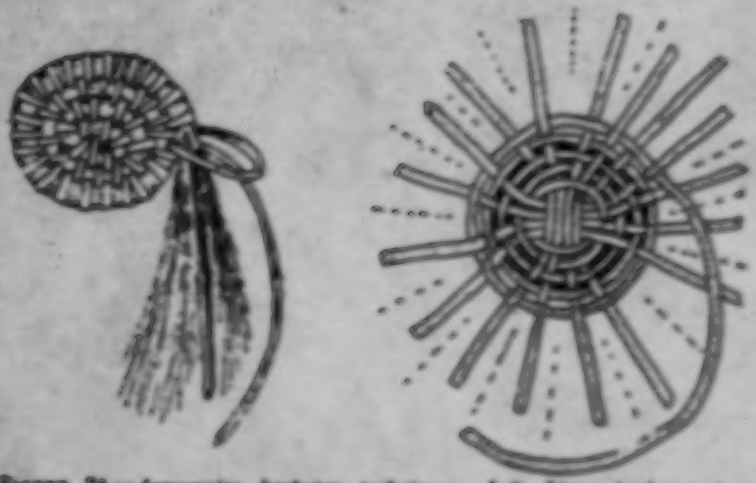

FIGURE 76.—Araucanian basketry techniques. *Left:* Large basketry tray. *Right:* Kitchen basket. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, figs. 30, 31, 5.)

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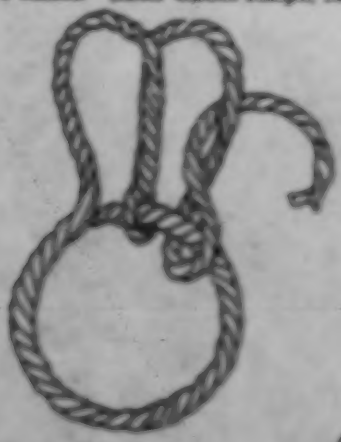

FIGURE 77.—An Araucanian pillow carrying bag. *Top:* The base. *Bottom:* The bag further braid. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 64.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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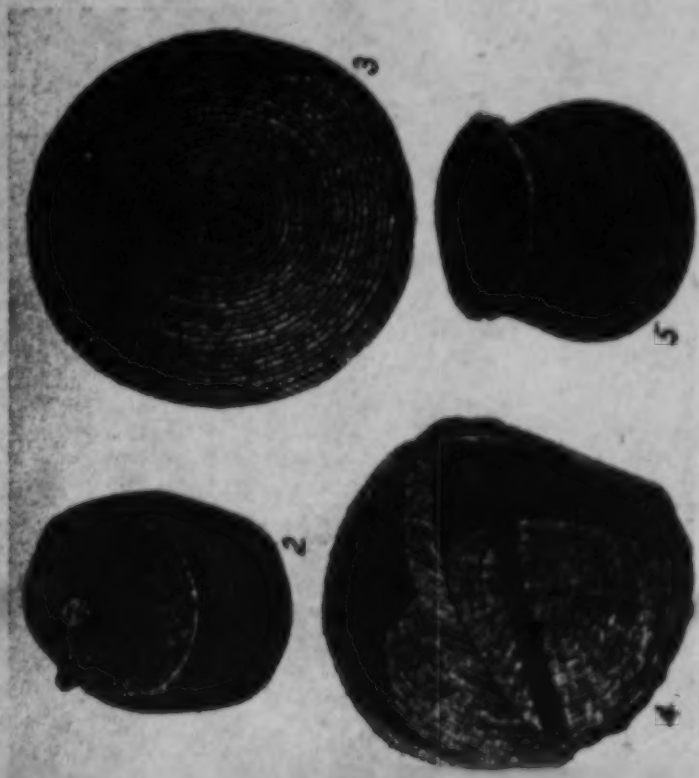
Chile



Baskets. 1, Colchagua [illegible] carrying cradle, used for carrying and storage. 2, A tightly woven basket, probably used for storage (Carrying Bluff, Rural de Illapria Natural, Santiago de Chile.) 3, Winnowing tray (Alepale). 4, A carrying and storage basket (Colcurrupe). 5, A basket (Ollawe) used as a filter, strainer, and drainer (Colcurrupe).

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[482]
[p. 188 (E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making mate from wheat (Cabrahigo): 1, Collecting ears of wheat; 2, Threshing wheat with the feet; 3, Winnowing the kernels.

[p. 188(F)]

10: Rüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Aeroscalano SG4
Chile

[215]

[p. 220 (H)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

286 fringes. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a
women's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no
531 significance. Kapam and ponchos have no designs. Belts and head-
bands often have variegated stripes running lengthwise, or stripes
of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of
one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional
one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually
black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed
white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the
edges. Lamas are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes
of a bright color in the wool, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

● 285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant
fibers: the chalwe, made of vuqui and used as a filter for chicha or
as a sieve or colander; the Iapú, a flat, round platter form made of
cullinlo; and the kilíko, a large basket, made of cogollos. He also gives
the lupe and the yulo as basketry containers—the lupe, of very fine
weave, made of cullinlo; the yulo, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wiñi (a carrying bag),
the kilíko (a carrying and storage basket), the chalwe (a sieve,
drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the Iapú (a winnow-
ing tray).

285 Wiñi (pls. 12, *1*; 38, *1*) are carried from cord made of ñocha, a
4982 grass found in damp places. (See p. 121 for cord making.) Both
adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones,
convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in trans-
porting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being
hung on five racks or on pegs on rules walls. In shape a wiñi is either
spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three
strands of ñocha through which a cord of ñocha is passed, or in loops
of ñocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a
cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wiñi may have two short handles
for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit
carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head.
Handles and straps are braided ñocha.

For the making of a wiñi, a 13-year-old boy had gathered ñocha
and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had no little sunshine
and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me
8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it

38: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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would have taken longer than that." The wilal was oblong in shape, 13 inches deep, and 10 inches wide. Its meshes were ½ by ¾ inch. It had an adjustable 33-inch-long braided carrying strap. A 24-inch draw cord was attached in such a manner that the opening could be closed, or, if he wished to form compartments in the wilal, he could use the cord to have the wilal either horizontally or vertically. Two bottles were then carried, in vertical position, one in each compartment; in one bottom, eggs were placed in one compartment and tomatoes in the other. Chances for breakage were lessened thereby. A 6-year-old boy carried his school papers and six eggs in a spherical wilal. His mother had put the six eggs into the bottom, laced the wilal horizontally over them, and then put his school papers in the upper compartment and laced the opening. The mother had carried the wilal, but an older brother had collected the bottles and made the cords. The wilal was 6 inches at greatest width, and 3 inches at the opening. A 30-inch carrying strap allowed it to be suspended from the shoulder, but since the boy was carrying eggs this day, he had shortened the strap and was carrying it by hand.

Kilhos are generally woven of wool by women specialists. The weaving must be loose enough to allow water to pass in and out of the basket "in case I want to wash potatoes of dirt, for example, as I walk home with them through a river." Colhuelpe women favor wool of the capybara; it is found throughout the area. Some women use wool of guanaco.

The kilhos shown in plate 46, *a*, was made of capybara wool by a Colhuelpe woman (pl. 46, *f*) who had become a specialist in making these baskets to help support her family, her husband being a non-horseman in the area. Her school-age children had obtained the wool from wounded herds nearby. The kilhos measured 12 inches across at the handle and 14 inches at right angles to it; its depth was 8 inches. In general, these baskets approximated 14 to 16 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 8 to 10 inches in depth. Small kilhos were made for small children. "These were for useful purposes; not for play."

Chalwa (pl. 46, *g*) are twined of wool of capybara. They must be so loosely made as to allow liquids to drain off freely. Specialists in kilhos making also make chalwa. In general, chalwa are pot shaped, and are from 8 to 10 inches at greatest diameter and from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The chalwa illustrated is 10 inches at greatest diameter, 8½ inches at smallest diameter, and 8½ inches deep.

Llaqui (winnowing trays) (pl. 46, *h*) are made of quila. Men make them, using the coil technique. "It takes a strong hand to do this weaving, for it has to be very tight." Their shape is that of a crushed

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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● 285 frontum. If given reasonable care, a Rapil will give 10 years of service. The Rapil I saw were 2 to 4 inches deep, 14 to 15 inches in diameter at the bottom, 20 to 23 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 5 inches along slanting sides.

POTTERY MAKING

333 (462) Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional olla (pottery containers) and cántaro (jugs)[illegible] containers, pl. 45, f) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 12 had made useful miniatures of olla and cántaro, and also whorls for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alapín woman found black clay "for these cántaros, near the Pacific; were around here [on the hills] is very good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one place of land in which there is much of it; most of the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women were using finely ground pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than chopping an olla." A mixture of clay and pumice is saturated with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an olla uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this coil she forms the bottom of the olla—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From there on, the olla is built up with one continuous coil—the end of one coil and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building process proceeds, shaping is done. Also the woman, at certain stages, pats the molding with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—positively no rough spots must be left for food to adhere to. When completely molded the outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the back of a mussel shell (*ancahell*) in Alapín area; and with the tip of a cow's horn in Pangipulli area. "But the inside, I again rub with my finger tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The olla must be dried gradually; if dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—"It depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a wind and hung at some distance

10. Miller E-3 (1946-1952) 1957

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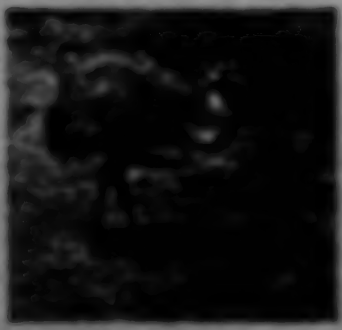

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1 and 2. Wilkinson's straight conflicting roads for Bariloche, 1, Dale to which child is tied (Pitch), 2, Blue to exploding under the production of Pumas. Tie-mind to Lanin (Lago Lanin). 3. A Indian (Indio) canal on a dairy and for [illegible] and storage (Transport). 4, 5 and 6. An [illegible] road of [illegible] [illegible] and to [illegible] Indio. (3 and 4, courtesy of Dorothy Jay Rosenstein, San Miguel, de San Andres.)

[p. 369 (B)]

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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cups for use at the gilletun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichafa was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rení, the lilliko (pl. 74, 4), and the kellaquin. All three were used for carrying; the rení and lilliko, as sieves also; the kellaquin, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rení; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the lilliko. Wheat was winnowed on a ciqual, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 285

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, 1; 72, 1). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the tolde. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the tolde directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In one instance a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Fig. 63, 1; 65, 1; 66, 2.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, 1). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, 2) that I saw (they were said to be 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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286 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that
386 I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting coarse material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihue stalks or colihue rind (pl. 74, *4*); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliñwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the ñiñatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (malo), a rare kind, was more covered; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a kilko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The least desirable clay for pottery was chapad (mud). Kolupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, *1*). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

for money, and comparatively little corn is grown. Plowing, harrowing, and similar tasks are done with conventional Spanish-Chilean tools, and the pattern of successive farming operations is the same throughout the countryside. Oxen are the favorite draught animals, and horses are rarely used for agricultural tasks.

The ideal system of land utilization throughout this part of Chile calls for a rotation of fields, whereby each plot can be left fallow after several years of use. When agricultural activities commence in the spring, preliminary plowing takes place if the soil is moist, but if the land is dry it is broken up with the aid of a toothed harrow. Before planting, a field is subjected to two more plowings, at right angles to each other, after which it is smoothed over with an improvised sort of drag, made by affixing tree branches to a harrow (Pl. I, Fig.2). Guide lines are then cut across the field at intervals of about ten feet, and as each section is seeded, it is lightly covered with soil. It must be understood, of course, that few Araucanians and not all Chileans take the trouble, or have the resources, to follow the ideal pattern.

Every Mapuche strives to sow at least six hectares of wheat. Thereafter, the principal crops consist of barley, oats, beans, peas, and potatoes. Onions, leeks, and chili peppers are grown in garden plots, most often by women, for use as condiments. Wild strawberries and other fruits are picked where available, and apple orchards are being planted in increasing numbers. Many families augment their food supplies by raising chickens and pigs; and a few enterprising souls keep turkeys, ducks, and geese. The average householder also has a yoke of work oxen, two or three all-purpose horses, and several dogs. Except for those who are destitute, each family maintains a small flock of about two dozen sheep. Excess lambs are generally sold for cash. Sheep are sheared in the spring, and the wool is spun and woven into rugs or garments by women.

A provident farmer plans to divide his yield into three parts. One is for the use of his family, a second is put aside for seed, and the third is used for paying debts or for cash sale.[11]

[11] In good years a farm will return as much as ten units of produce for every unit of seed sown. In bad years the proportion may fall as low as three

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chawal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trwülokko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelatache*. Both the *trwülokko* and the *trapelatache* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[171] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[30] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[31] and the others purchase what they want

[30] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941a, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonteciilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[31] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarrile and

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way. 177

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader. [23] 291]

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—subdued the fierce Araucanos. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink. 648 273 733

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life on hunters, shifting their tables from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed crosswise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs cunningly sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a queue, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured woollen band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favorite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the sufior skins, using cyclous needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There 291 [281] 302 292 [281] [177]

4 Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source,* before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the manufacture of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that
286 time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

289 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iwilla* or *mawayi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iwilla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *mawayi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trariloncs*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 Ornaments.—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llanos*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal; and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

* [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[25] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *nyoko* (*bromelia landbeckii*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[23] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand
286 being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

raised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny 286
wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours 366
principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out.

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. 281
Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. 281
It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer 413
than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying.

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. 281
On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already.

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of 323
this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating.

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

p. 64; Cooper, 1917, pp. 189-99; cf. Lothrop, 1922, pl. 21, *a-d*, and fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank dalca.)

Dugouts (*lamanpo*, *wampu* (L. de Valdivia, 1887, *lamanpo*), canoes) were according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Tubido with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Both dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Smeaton, 1902, p. 80) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, in Lothrop, 1922, pl. 18, *h*.) 501

Balsas of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of *voqui*, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Tubido River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa Maria and Mocha.

Other "balsas," apparently rafts proper, made of *Pupa* sp. or of "*yypour*" (*Libonodyas chilensis*) or "*tarul*" (*Lessonia arenaria*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa Maria and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the *Mapuche-Huilliche* region.

Sails are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877-78, 1:175), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friederici, 1907, p. 76). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early *Mapuche-Huilliche* watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1922, p. 245, pl. 21, *f*) describes and figures a [European type?] two-piece oar with crutchless rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chiloten plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Lessner, 1934).

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from plant fibers. Some of these more commonly mentioned are: The *kapa*, made of *Chusquea*, of very fine weave; the *chalwa*, made of *voqui* (*Boquila trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the *Kapá* (fig. 74, *left*), of *Chusquea*, of flat round platter form; the *kélko* (fig. 74, *right*), of *Lapageria rosea*, a large basket; the *yolo*, of *bejucos*. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 241-244.) 285

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from *ñocha* (*Greigia landbeckii*) or *mulkachu* (*Cyperus repens*), were used in the making of rope, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (*pilua*), and baskets (figs. 75, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 244-248.) 283

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well developed at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi- 286

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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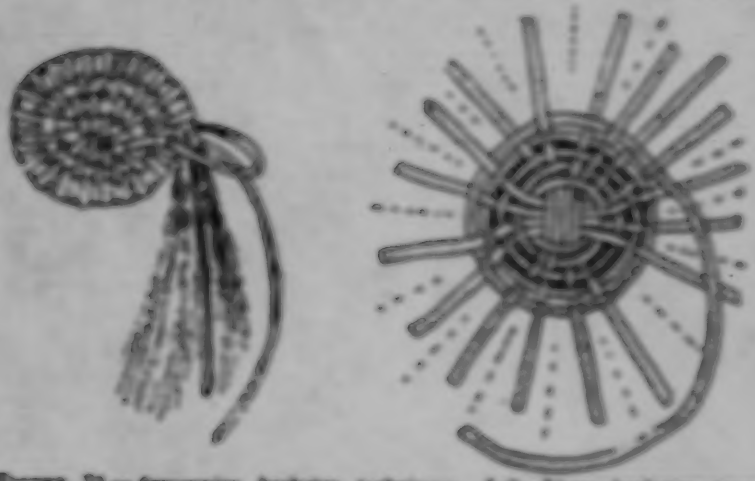

FIGURE 71.—Araucanian basketry mushroom. *Left:* Large basketry tray. *Right:* Riche basket. (After Claude Joseph, 1921, figs. 36, 38, 5.)

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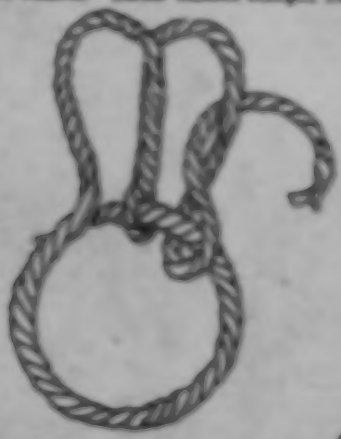

FIGURE 72.—An Araucanian pillow carrying bag. *Top:* The base. *Below:* The top border braid. (After Claude Joseph, 1921, fig. 44.)

3 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

twined. Dog-hair weaving was early reported (Goicueta, 1853, p. 96) among the *Chono*, but not among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The Chilotes made textiles from the bark of *Aristotelia magui*, woven in some manner (Rosales, 1877–78, 1: 24). Cotton weaving was absent. Spinning and weaving were women's work. 286

Wool, after being sheared, washed, dried, and combed, was spun on a wooden spindle, pointed at both ends. The wool was wound 283

[286]

Figure 76.—Fiber carrying bag. Detail of the side-wall of the bag. (After Claude Joseph, 1901, fig. 15.)

round the left arm, its end twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand and fastened to the spindle, and the spindle was also twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

For weaving (fig. 77; pl. 156, top, right) a two-barred loom (witral) was used, usually vertical for larger pieces of cloth, but stretched on the ground horizontally for belts and fillets. Molina (1901, p. 122) mentions a second kind of loom, "not very unlike that used in Europe," but gives no other details. 286

The woven products were used mainly as clothing and adornment, but also as bedclothes and saddle-blankets. Some of the products

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

some of the products

286 [531]

were of uniform color; others were in varicolored stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, and animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

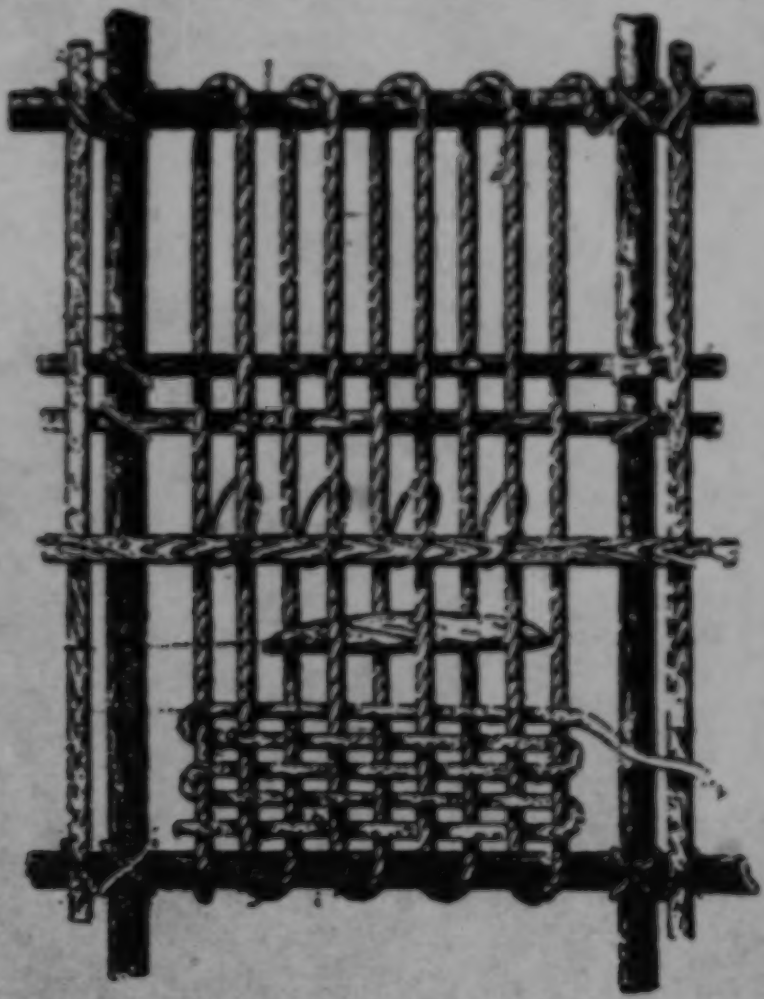

FIGURE 77.—*Mapuche* loom. (After Claude Joseph, 1928 a, p. 998.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Joseph, 1928 a; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:262–71; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 218–30; Looser, 1927, pp. 5–9; for illustrations, Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928.)

[42] Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to dye the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, ocher, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural ocher color and grays was also used. 286 386 [937]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and moist bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (in Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 170–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Milkin, 1934, 1:230–32); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1929 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then flushed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kötru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 415 323

1-Cooper E-4 (on deck) 1944 SDA Accession SDA

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Plate 135.—Automatic Gallery. Top left: Magnetic bottle device. Top right: Electric [illegible] machine. Cooper Gallery. Below: Magnetic gun. (See Lecture, 1897, app. p. 8.)

[p. 734 D]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

BO4 Araucanians BO4

Chile

[p. 92(J)]

10: Hüger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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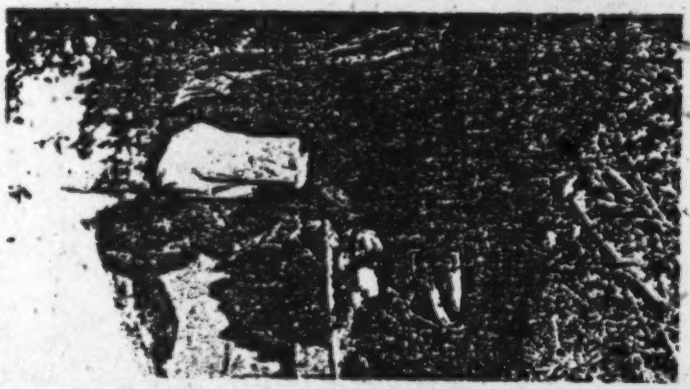
Spinning and weaving: 1, Eight-year-old Abipón girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. 2, A young Cabecipe woman weaving a blanket.

[p. 220(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



Dyeing (Alepic): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wilal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

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[482]

[p. 220 (G)]

40: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[285]

Weaving a choapino, a saddle cover or throw for stools and low benches (Alepúe): 1, Putting the warp on the loom. 2, Ready to begin to weave. 3, The completed choapino.

[p.220 (H)]

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, 2; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chumulwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kapam), shawls (lkölla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kolo)—oblong pieces of wood placed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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286 sections of collhüe poles. Swords (ngrewe) are of luma wood made smooth with glass and stones, and are of varying lengths and widths. One weaver at work on a blanket had seven swords: two (29 x 3 and 18 x 1½ inches) she used in beating down the woof; five others (17 x ¾, 13 x ½, 9 x ¾, 8 x ¾, and 7 x ⅝ inches) she used toward the end of the weaving—after the heddle had been removed—to pick up alternate strands of warp. Each of the seven swords was approximately one-half inch thick, and each had the edge used in beating thinner than the opposite one. Each one was flat on one side and convex on the other, and had both ends pointed. Another implement used is a heddle (tononwe). A second heddle (ranñelwe) is used when weaving a blanket. Both woof (dewewe) and warp (witrálün) are yarn.

Women sit while weaving and work from the bottom of the loom upward. When the area of weaving is no longer within convenient reach of the weaver, she rolls the woven part onto the lower beam and lowers the upper beam. When the article is nearly completely woven, she loosens the beams from the poles, reverses their positions on the frame, and then proceeds to weave again from the bottom upward, and ends at the part already woven.

An Alepúe woman (pl. 59) in setting up her loom leaned two 8-foot saplings against a fence near her ruka, and tied a 4-foot beam close to the top of these and another of the same length close to the bottom. She used heavy twirled yarn for tying, but could have used thongs or voqui, she noted. She then sent a child to fetch a nearby quila pole and with it measured the distance between the beams on the pole at her right. She marked the measure on the quila pole with a finger moistened with saliva. Then she measured off the same distance on the upright pole at her left, and adjusted the upper beam to equalize the distances between the beams on both poles. She was now ready to stretch the warp to weave a choapino. She tied together the ends of two balls of white yarn and fastened the combined ends to the lower beam at the right. Then, to provide for even- and odd-numbered strands, she passed one ball under the lower beam (clockwise) and over the upper beam (anticlockwise), dropped it, and did the same with the second ball (pl. 59, *1*). She continued this operation, alternating the balls, until she had sufficient warp. She now spread the strands into the positions in which she wanted them when she began to weave. To make certain that the width of the spread was what she wanted, she measured it with hand stretches. She counted the strands, and remarked, "I have here 120 double strands: 120 even ones and 120 odd ones. It will probably take two kilos of wool to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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weave this choapino." (A choapino is not unlike a hooked rug.) 286
She next twirled sufficient yarn slightly to make a soft cord. With it she fastened the heddle to the odd strands by passing it around the heddle and then around a strand. Then she inserted a sword above the heddle so that all even-numbered strands were on one side and all odd-numbered ones on the other and pushed the sword upward a little. This was done to give some tautness to the strands. She used another sword to beat down the woof while weaving.

She now filled a shuttle by winding a strand of the yarn a few times around one end of it, then moving directly to the other end and winding it around that end several times, and from then on moving back and forth from end to end until she thought the shuttle still light enough in weight to be shot through the sheds without difficulty; at this point she wound the yarn around one end of the shuttle several times and severed the strand from the ball by tearing it. She filled several shuttles in the same manner, then wove a rather loose foundation by the ordinary weaving technique. This done, she worked short pieces of yarn down and back between woof and warp, and tied each one. She had cut these short pieces from skeins she had dyed in various colors. As she worked, she selected the color that filled in a design she was working out—"the design is in my mind; you will see it when I have made it." Plate 59, *3*, shows the design and the completed choapino. Choapino usually have overlapping rows of fringes on both ends, which are generally of the same color as the foundation into which the design is worked, that is, either white or brown. They are also separate pieces of yarn, but are decidedly longer than those used in the design. Proportions are usually 22 inches of a design and 11 inches of fringe at each end.

A 19-year-old Coñaripe girl wove a blanket (pl. 57, *2*) of standard size, 4 by 6 feet, for the wife of a Chilean who worked at the lumber camp in another valley. The Chilean husband had ordered it. Both warp and woof were twirled double strands of white yarn. She was weaving two 1½-inch wide stripes on each side in purple. "I dyed the yarn with purple dye the Chilean brought me," she explained. "When I have this blanket woven, I shall weave a poncho for my father. Ponchos must be woven very tight so that no rain can get through and no wind bother the person."

Lama are woven of heavy twirled double strands of wool yarn by the same technique as blankets. After they are removed from the loom they are usually combed with the thistles of a hard, dried seed pod (not identified) to give them a nap. The woof at both ends forms

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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286 fringed. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a woman's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 531 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no significance. Kapam and shawls have no designs. Belts and headbands often have varicolored stripes running lengthwise, or stripes of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the edges. Lama are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes of a bright color in the woof, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant fibers: the chaiwe, made of voqui and used as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the llepü, a flat, round platter form made of colihüe; and the külko, a large basket, made of copihue. He also gives the loyo and the yole as basketry containers—the loyo, of very fine weave, made of colihüe; the yole, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wilal (a carrying bag), the külko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieve, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray).

285 482 Wilal (pls. 12, *2*; 58, *1*) are netted from cord made of fiocha, a grass found in damp places. (See p. 101 for cord making.) Both adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones, convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in transporting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being hung on fire racks or on pegs on ruka walls. In shape a wilal is either spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three strands of fiocha through which a cord of fiocha is passed, or in loops of fiocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wilal may have two short handles for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head. Handles and straps are braided fiocha.

For the making of a wilal, a 13-year-old boy had gathered fiocha and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had so little sunshine and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me 8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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283 than 100 years, when I visited, spun fine yarn. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of rauli which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, 3.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (manzano silvestre) or chilchilí, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, chompino (saddle blankets), matra (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and makun (rugs). Matra and chompino are placed under saddles; they and makun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2*, *3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1*, *4*; 80); for ponchos, the wearer for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, 5).

286 531 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her [illegible] accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286 386 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as mallo was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as lüu." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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other dye. To bleach yarn white, the length of strands needed, "like for a diamond-shaped design in a chompion," are measured off and each wound around a leaf or small stick and stored away in mallo. An 80-year-old woman had seen her mother-in-law bury yarn in a few handfuls of mallo that she had put into a corner of a hewn-out tree trunk. She had prepared two sticks of wood, "as thick as my finger," one about so long that she had called wentru (man), and the other so long, that she called domo (woman) (4 and 2½ inches, respectively). Around each stick she wound one layer of yarn, very tight and very close together. When the yarn was removed from the mallo, it was pure white. "It always remained white. My mother-in-law wanted it for a cross design in some weaving she was about to do."

TABLE 10.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Argentina)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Red (kelli)	Relvin (*Rollandinia longicarpium*)	
	Yerba vinagrillo (*Oxalis articulata*)	
	Heart of ñilin (*Nothofagus obliqua*)	
Rose color (kelli mora)	Roots of pimpinela (*Acaena ovalifolia*)	
Coffee color to dark brown (mulin kelu)	Bark of ñilin	
	Bark of ñogal (*Lomatia obliqua*)	
	Boldo (*Peumus boldus*)	
Gray (kafi)	Ñogal	"Nalca produces a delicate shade of gray."
	Rulo (unidentified)	
	Roots of nalca (*Gunnera scabra*)	
Yellow (chuf)	Bark and roots of michai (*Berberis darwinii*)	
	Romerillo (*Lomatia ferruginea*)	
	Pogoll (unidentified)	
Chestnut color, like that of guanaco wool (Tuan kel)	Bark of ñilin	
Black	Bark of ñogal	"If boiled a very, very long time."

Sheep's wool is dyed after it has been made into yarn. It is boiled in water containing the substance in which the dye is found. Darker shades can be obtained by using more of the dye substance or by longer boiling with less of the substance, boiling being timed to the shade of the color desired. Informants had obtained dyes from barks and roots listed in table 10.

Formerly, no substances were known to dye blue, green, purple, or orange. In recent years, commercial aniline dyes have been used for these. Today, commercial dyes are used almost exclusively for all colors. A woman explained: "I always fear being arrested by the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

286 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that
386 I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting coarse material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihüe stalks or colihüe rind (pl. 74, *4*); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliüwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the ñillatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (mallo), a rare kind, was more coveted; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a küllko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The least desirable clay for pottery was chapad (mud). Kolupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, *1*). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

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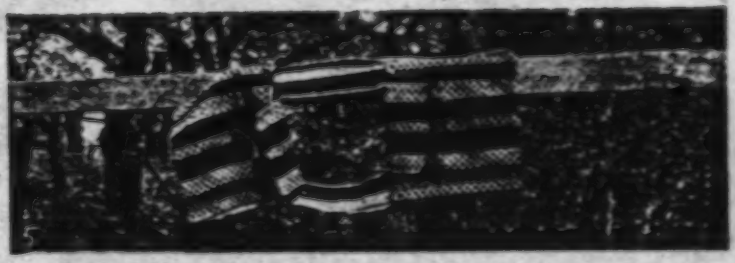

Spinning and weaving: 1, and 2, A woman spinning into yarn the wool wound about her left arm (Malleo). 3, A woman weaving a blanket (Quilaquina). 4, Kolupan wearing a poncho found in the collection of Bertha Ilg-Koessler (San Martin de los Andes). 5, A woven saddlebag with two pockets. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 380(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

Weaving done from home-spun and home-dyed yarn: 1 and 4, Blankets. 2 and 3, Traditionally, throws; today, often used as rugs. (1, 2, and 4, courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kessler; 3, courtesy Lisa Pfister.)

[p. 380 (c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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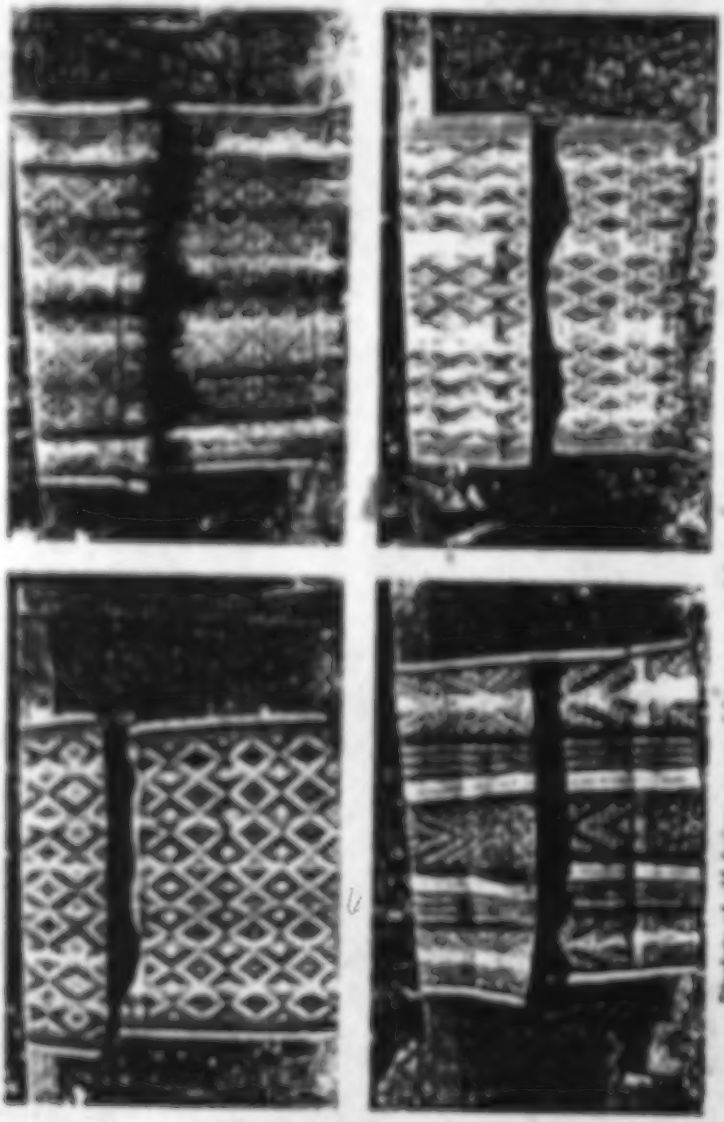

Patterns of old designs woven of home-spun and home-dyed yarn. (Courtesy Dorita Du Brandes.)

[p. 380(D)]

1: Tillev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche horseman

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

DRESS

Araucanian males of all ages have abandoned their old-style costumes almost entirely, except for the constant wearing of woolen ponchos (Spanish, *manta*; Mapuche, *mahuel*). The most common garb for all occasions consists of a pair of woolen trousers, usually shoulders or separately packed, an inexpensive cotton shirt, a short poncho that covers the chest and back, and a felt hat (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). When no hat is used, men generally bind a colored handkerchief about the forehead. Shoes are sometimes worn, and rubber sandals may be utilized in winter, but most often men go barefooted. Chaps or trousers of unstained rawhide are occasionally worn by men when they must travel over muddy roads, and two or three ponchos are put on, one above another, on cold days. Except for differences of size, little boys dress in the same fashion as do adults (Frontispiece).

Young women usually wear simple cotton house dresses, aprons, shawls, stockings, and if they can be obtained, such conventional underpantaloons as slips or chemises. By way of contrast, older women generally wear more traditional styles of clothing. Their most essential garment still consists of the unbleached type of heavy woolen dress that is called a *chawal*. It is draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a pin, frequently nowadays with a large safety pin, and it is passed under the right armpit so that it envelops the body and hangs almost to the ankles.* It is held at the waist with a woven sash or belt that encircles the figure twice and is looped at the left side. An apron is commonly worn over the *chawal*, and when the weather is cool a shawl is draped over the shoulders and may be fastened in front with a large safety pin. A kerchief or scarf is the conventional head covering and is usually the brightest part of the daily costume. Some of the older women wear shoes, but most of them go barefoot, and in general they do not wear stockings or underpantaloons.

* The use of the *chawal* leaves the left shoulder bare. At present, a blouse is worn under the traditional garment. Further information on the subject of clothing may be obtained in Latcham, 1909, p. 356; Lothrop, 1930, pp. 94-95; and Mondaca, 1930, pp. 109-111.

PLATE II

Fig. 1. The framework of a radar radar construction.

Fig. 2. A lodge shell in its emplacement.

[end plate 2]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antimao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collío identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Leviu ("Sekuta") Paineo playing a *llollkin* of his own make at Carrarriñe. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XI

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FIG. 1. Dedication of a new cross at Coigue. A *ñillatun* field is being inaugurated. The donor of the cross is in white shirt sleeves at the left of the second row. The officiating *machi* faces the group, and a *trutruka* player is at the left. A Chilean flag, a black standard, and jars of *mudai* and *chicha* are next to the cross.

FIG. 2. The principal *ñillatun* field at Carrarriñe. The same area is used for hockey.

[end plate 11]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul-truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XV

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FIG. 1. The family of Segundo Paineo at Carrarriñe, in front of a storehouse, by the *ruka* in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Paineo's brother.

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FIG. 2. Hockey game at Carrarriñe. Players and spectators wear everyday clothes. Fermin Collio stands left of center, with his feet spread wide apart.

[end plate 15]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291 ●
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macunyi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macunyi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trariloncо*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llanca*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXIV.

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate I]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893)1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXV.

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate 2]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1909, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 22–39; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–48, 229–51.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

● 291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the kəpam and the ekull (ükella). Chamall, makuñ, and kəpam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and ekull, of *Quechua*.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or wäist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his makuñ, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kəpam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ekull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

We can, nevertheless, trace back the chiripa among the Argentine *Araucanians* and *Mapuche-Huilliche* to the first half of the 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:183; Smith, 1855, p. 184), the kapam and ekull to the second half of the 18th (Molina, 1901, p. 148), the makufi, the poncho proper, to the mid-17th. (Marcgrav, 1648, pp. 283–84, woodcut, p. 284; cf. Ovalle, 1888, 12:160; Brouwer, 1892, 291

FIGURE 73.—Earliest known illustration of a poncho (*Araucanian*). (After Marcgrav, 1648, p. 284.)

p. 60.) The kapam resembles in many respects the woman's garment described and figured by Marcgrav (ibid.). It is in Marcgrav (ibid.), too, that we get our earliest unmistakable record, not only in Chile but in South America, of the true poncho (fig. 73). Montell (1925; 1929, pp. 238–244) has presented strong evidence for his theory that the true poncho as distinct from the widely distributed Andean sleeveless shirt, was a *Mapuche-Huilliche* invention, and has suggested that

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

• 291 it was probably a modification of the sleeveless shirt to permit greater freedom of action on horseback.

As described by Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 230), the early *Huilliche* men of the Ancud region wore breeches, shirt, and cape, all of [llama] wool. The shirt, like the *Mapuche* type described by Góngora Marmolejo (1862, p. 2) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 39) as "without sleeves," was presumably the typical Andean rectangular sleeveless shirt. González de Nájera's description (ibid.) of the short breeches as a "paño revuelto" serving as a "pañete" and reaching to the midthigh is somewhat suggestive of the later chiripa. According to Marcgrav (loc. cit), the breeches reached to the knee. According to Brouwer (1892, p. 60), the early Chilotans wore breeches that flared at the bottom like a sailor's, and a mantle, but no shirt or coat.

Mapuche-Huilliche garments were mostly of woven llama wool. The púnu, a small apronlike, leather pubic covering, was used by hockey-players and transvestites (Bascuñan, 1863, pp. 61, 107).

The *Huilliche* of the Ancud region were wearing pointed woolen caps or hoods when first encountered by the Spaniards (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 230; Ercilla, canto 36, 1910, p. 579). Elsewhere, however, as a general rule, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* went without hats. Both men and women used a woven woolen fillet (tari longo, trarülo̧ko) to bind the hair, caciques often using a silver band in place of it. Warriors frequently wore animal or bird heads or skins on the head. The cotton, silk, or woolen square worn like a turban, and the woman's beaded headgear, are not reported earlier than the 19th century.

The earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* ordinarily went barefoot. In the mid-17th century, low footgear ("caligae") were being used by men on festival occasions (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283). By the second half of the 18th century, natives of rank were using woolen boots and leather sandals (Molina, 1901, p. 148), which later became more common. The zumel (shumel), or "bota de potro," made of the hide from the leg of horse or cattle, softened and allowed to dry on the foot, was introduced, apparently from the Argentine Pampa, in the first half of the 19th century (de la Cruz, 1836, p. 33; Smith, 1855, pp. 323–324). It was used as a riding boot, the point of the boot being left open to allow the rider to grip the stirrup with his big toe. The tamango, pieces of sheepskin or cowhide with the hair side in, lashed on the feet and legs for crossing the Andean passes in the snow, was used, apparently by Indians, at least at the Uspallata Pass in *Picunche* country (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:704, 899; on the earlier *Pehuenche* snowshoes, see infra, section on "*Pehuenche*," p. 760).

302 Hair.—References in the early sources to coiffure are scattered and vague. Brouwer (1892, p. 60) found the mainland *Huilliche* men with their hair cut short around the ears. (See also Góngora Marmolejo, 1862, p. 2, and Marcgrav's woodcut, 1648, p. 284.) Since at least the

S:Cooper Z-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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PLATE 116.—Araucanian Indians. *Top (left)*: *Mapuche* female shaman. *Top (right)*: *Mapuche* woman weaving. (Courtesy Green Line.) *Bottom*: *Mapuche* girl. (After Lenner, 1937, opp. p. 3.)

[p. 734 D]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapoche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marino de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Puelmanche*" of Marino de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Puelmanche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Puelmanche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Puelmanche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including those latter "*Puelmanche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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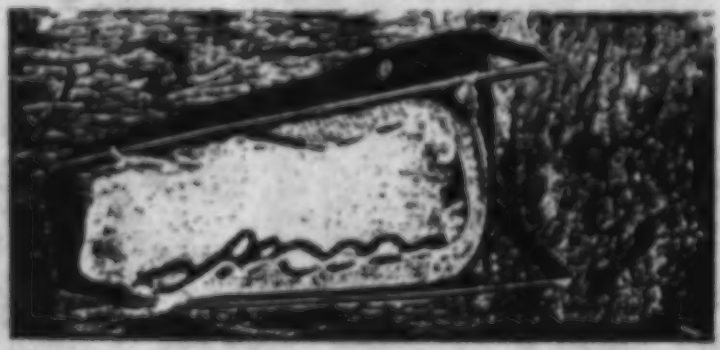

Araucanian cradle (Alapale): 1, Front view. (Notice finished wall of reds.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[A 12 (B)]

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Chile

SMITHSONIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS NO. 4

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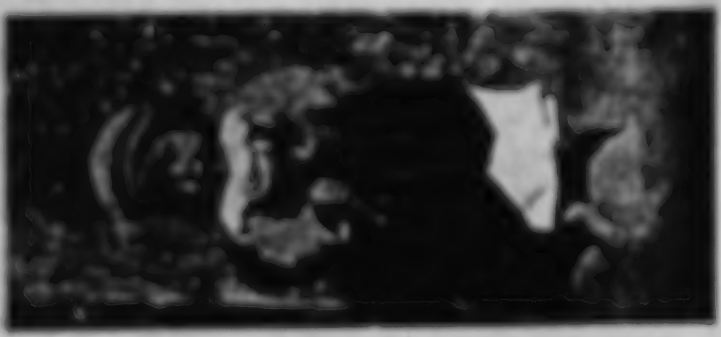

Indian and mestizo children. 1, Boy engaged in cupella (Pucon). 2, Mother carrying her 2-year-old boy (Valdivia) 3, Boy in Alpaca (Valdivia)

[p.12(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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[415]

Small children (Alepie): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shoes lacking, this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p. 12(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Small children (Alepúe): 1, "We just got dressed up to have our picture taken." (Coñaripe.) 2, Older girl: "Ah, you photographed me!" Mother: "This little girl does not want to wear her shoes." (Alepúe.) 3, Two little girls from an unhappy home (Alepúe).

[p.12(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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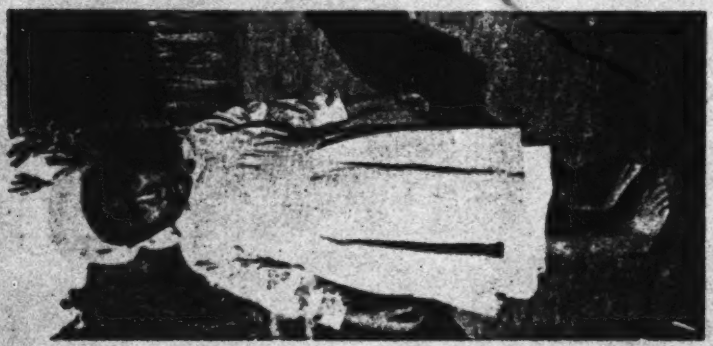

Older children: 1, "You can photograph me. I don't mind!" 2, "So these two women are North Americans." 3, "Bueno! I am standing still. It's the wind."

[p. 28(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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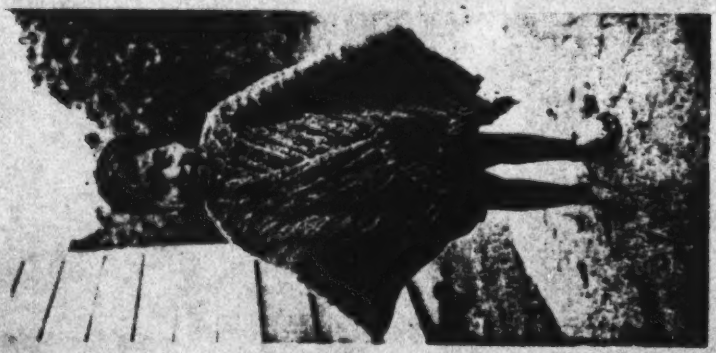

[492]

Children old enough to carry responsibilities: 1. "I am ready now to show you the way to Mehuin." (Alepúe.) 2. A boy ready to deliver and fetch the mail. The horse he rides belongs to him. (Coñaripe.) 3. "Here, papa! Take this bundle of wheat." (Coñaripe.)

[p. 28(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Araucanian schoolchildren: 1, Boys on their way home from school. (Note burnt-over land, now being used as pastureland. 2, Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3, Lunch time at school. (Note garden fence of logs.)

[p.28/07]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Alagüe schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[p. 28(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted. 291

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. 853

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of ŋil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot. [278] [322]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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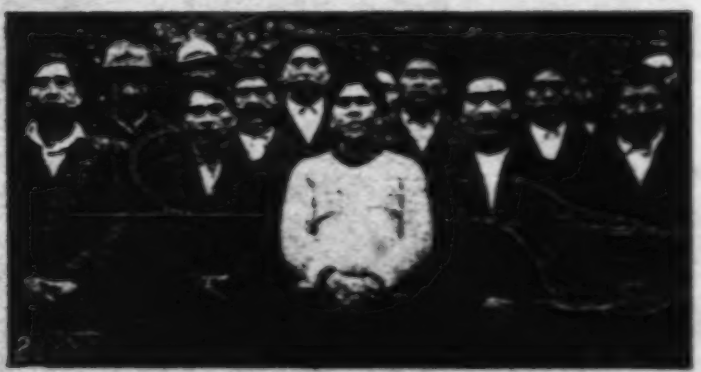

Chilean Araucanians: 1. A Collaripe family. 2, 3. Alepúe men and women who welcomed the writer and her field assistant to the Araucanian country.

[p. 92(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Young men Araucanians: 1, 2, Cañete man, side and front views. 3, Alepúe man.

[p92(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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[p.92(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG6 Araucanians SG6

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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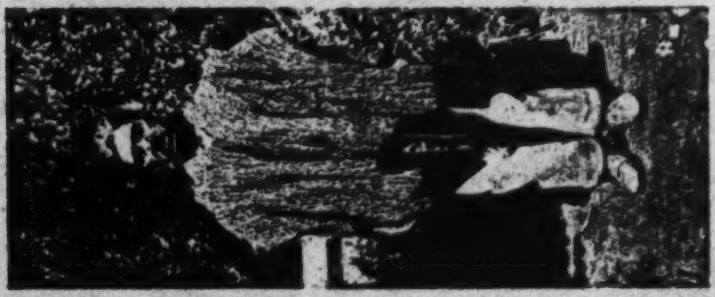

Informants: 1. Domingo Huenun, chief informant of Panguipulli. 2. Coñaripe man, more than 100 years old. (Note the ojotas, native footwear.) 3. One of Alepúe's finest young men.

[p. 92(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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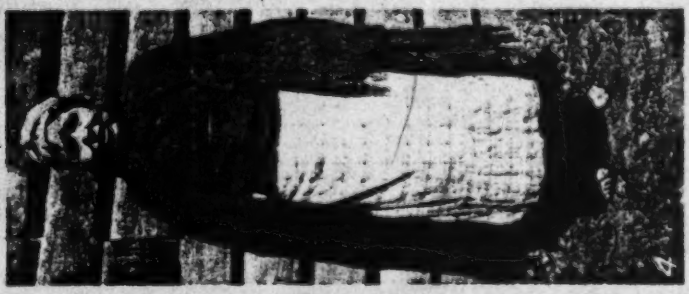

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Women's clothing (Alcpúc area): 1–3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[p. 220 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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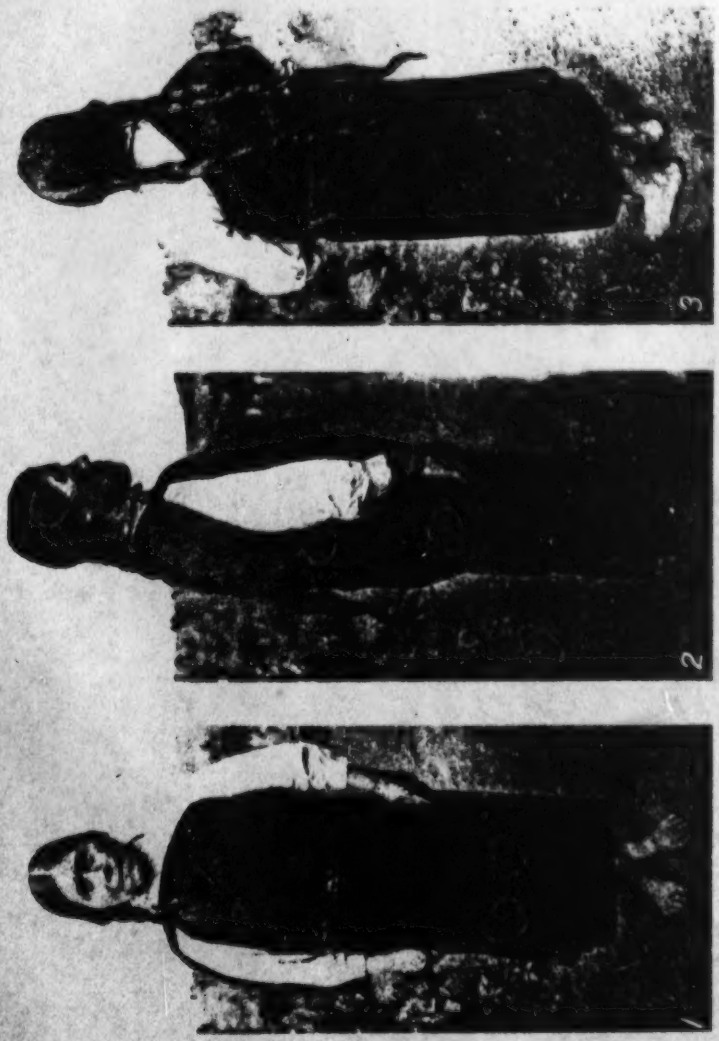

Three views of the kapam, the woman's traditional homespun and homewoven dress of black yarn (Alepúe).

[p. 220 (E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [758]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihüe sections of equal length with voqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or hoof-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Collipulli area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (küllko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wiñi), dried gourds, paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 291

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

291 formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chochol (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a makuñ (poncho), a chamallwe (woven belt), a trarülonko (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of tranu (leather soles tied to the feet), several traükuque (metal bracelets), and trarünamun (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Coñaripe] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemel. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

301 Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's saddle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarütuwe, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamallwe, was homewoven and not ornamented.

291 Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamallwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his sons for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (tranu) (pl. 26, *2*). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the section as marked, pokes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tranu are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, *2*; 8; 9, *1*; 11, *1*, *3*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *2*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *1*). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kapam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ikalla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarülonko (headband of silver medallions) or a llafllafnotrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

291 [302] a nətrowe (yarn braided into the hair or wound around bunches of it and around the ends of braids). Ponchos were not worn by women; nor did women wear tranu—all walked barefoot. Today, in general, women of all ages wear a long-sleeved waist and a kəpam, and over these, an apron; a factory-woven black shawl is worn when away from home. (Pls. 2, *3*; 3, *2*; 4, *1*, *3*; 24, *2*, *3*; 29, *1*; 38, *3*; 56; 58.) Most women are barefoot at all times; those who have shoes wear them only on special occasions.

A kəpam is rectangular in shape. (The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said the kəpam could also be called küpam or pillkeñ.) A married woman demonstrated the manner of wearing the kəpam. (Cf. pl. 56.) She placed the kəpam against her back lengthwise at the shoulders. Then she brought one corner toward the front, across the right shoulder, and the other corner under her left arm, across her chest, and over her right shoulder; then she tied a belt (trarüwe) tight about her waist. Next she folded the two corners on her right shoulder, one over the other, in front of the right shoulder and pinned them together with a safety pin. After this she adjusted the overlapping skirt parts—at least a foot of each. The only clothing worn under the kəpam was a long-sleeved waist of considerable length. Married women, after the arrival of the first baby, wear the kəpam pinned on one shoulder only, "as I showed you; it is easier to nurse the baby when the kəpam is pinned on one shoulder only." Unmarried women pin them on both shoulders.

Girls formerly wore clothes styled like those of adult women. Usually the mother wove a kəpam to fit the girl. "I recall my mother taking my measurements for one she was getting ready to weave for me; I had only one; she had made that one out of the less worn-out part of an old one of hers."

Waists and aprons are made of cotton cloth bought in Chilean stores; they are hand-sewn by the women—no family owned a sewing machine. Buttons being scarce, in Alepúe area a row of Chilean 20-centavo coins with two holes punched in each were often seen sewed down the front of a waist.

The factory-woven shawl worn today by both women and girls is folded double so that corners fit exactly. This gives it the shape of the ikülla worn formerly. The shawl is worn over the shoulders (over the head only in the rain) and is secured at the neck with a safety pin or stickpin.

In all areas a few women, both young and middle-aged, who were either working as servants in Chilean homes or had done so, wore modern dresses exclusively. Having worn modern dresses as residents

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kəpam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kəpam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kəpam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kəpam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumperlike knitted ones. (Pls. 5, *3*; 7, *1*, *3*; 11, *2*; 17.) 291

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.) 301

FIG. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and even non-Araucanians used 296

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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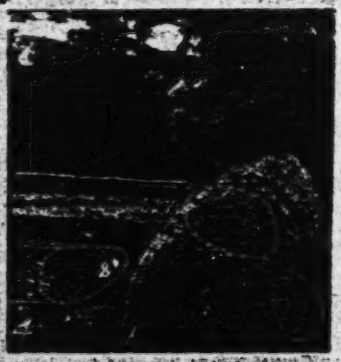

Argentine Araucanian informants.

[p. 268(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentine Araucanian informants.

[p. 268(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Informants, interpreters, and field assistant: 1, Obtaining information regarding the trutruka from Kolupan of Pilpil. To his right, Bertha Ilg-Koessler of San Martin de los Andes, interpreter; to his left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Informant in Quilaquina (left) and Lisa Pfister, of San Martin de los Andes, interpreter.

[p.268(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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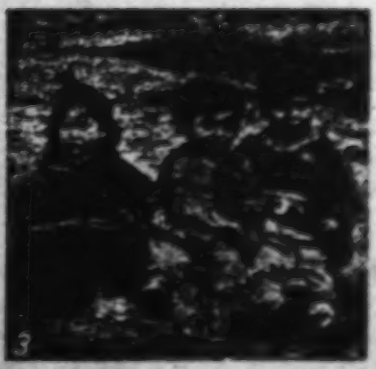

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Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilipil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Tromped). 3, Three children gathered from a map to have their picture taken (Tromped). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilipil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilipil.)

[p. 268(C)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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Mulleo: 1. The cacique of Mulleo, his wife and four of his children, and Father Ludovico Pernisch, the late Salesian missionary to the Araucanians. 2. The house of the cacique. 3. A view from the cacique's home showing some of the cultivated and pasturelands leased by him from the Argentine Government for the people under his jurisdiction.

[p.268(41)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwirled yarn; twirled yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in shirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused. 854 291

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then." 463

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent collihue peeled of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of collihue bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end. 854

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split collihue stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two unsplit collihue stalks (pl. 74, 1, 2). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon [283] found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupen noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, olla and chuzuca and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251

Things seen stored in sheds included leaves of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, hoeing, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homemade blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, hoes, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of cullide stalks that rested on boxes of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days gilmoso wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 297 271

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripa) and a poncho (ponchi). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (*funell*). Kolupan demonstrated how a chiripa should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (*trarlwe*), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or *funell* (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it over the temple.

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1997
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as table coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied above the ankle. Spurs were fastened above the ankle and heavy. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kapan), shawl (dwell), sikipin (tapa), neck and breast ornament (jbell), headband (ewrilinqlin), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pleated together with a tapa. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kapan at the waistline. Belt and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kapan and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kapan until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy clothing then to make clothing. Anyway, the Wincas wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately a yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When gaucaos wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

The tapa was a sikipin with a large silver disk. The jbell had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with dangles, and ended in a cross. The ewrilinqlin was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine contemporary styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pfa, 6a, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6n, 6o.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentinian countrymen (pfa, 6a, 6p-6t). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians. 215

Clothes and other essentials are washed today, as formerly, in streams and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of *chasny* or a detergent—an occasional family today uses soap. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than one years, "we used herb and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name." 216

DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, spinning wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Garments were not dyed; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informants indicated having the hide on the knee and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun. 217

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 38, *i,r*). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 25 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner carded wool by hand, she pulled it well apart and then dwelt it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated ropes, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the end of wool that remained between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist to unlock. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twisted the spindle three times to unlock. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twisting the spindle to unlock. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at six years of age). A woman older

[illegible] Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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Figure 1. [illegible]

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world"? Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 648 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [982] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, A shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their A custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly 482 for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lochu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country. A 648 A

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Checeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Checeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback', on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise. 574 264 415 262 A [291 411] [861]

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Mamuenes, but the chief part more to the northward, A 622 554

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarūloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarūloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[171] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[33] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[34] and the others purchase what they want

[33] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[34] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarriñe and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XII

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FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul-truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the *nillatun* is in progress.

[end plate 13]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, flexous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether
241 they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas,
411 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snow-
● 292 shoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also
222 Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather
421 piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*"
171 between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Panguipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huenum's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

[p. 92(G)]
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10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Women's clothing (Alpaca wool): 1-2, Women dressed for feast; 3-4, woman in her everyday dress.

[p. 220 (D)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 648 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepun* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [19] [882] [342] [556] [291] [292] [82] [86]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [24]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will 177 182 114 105

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water cincured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, but are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as machitun. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten. §55 797 [794]

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be fiddlers. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by scratching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, dolowe, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, mitrowe, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to vapriada.) [800] §61 667 (678 [97])

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to disturb their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that Ancuchu ("Ghost") would eat their livers; or else that an evil spirit, ahcho-mallin, would snatch away their shadows (wesh). §67 [78]

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, Ankah.* §68 272

* Typical masks are figured in Joseph, supra, p. 75.

§64 Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood and
●293 worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufu*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by mentioned shamans. It used to be customary for each household to have a *kalal* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people will possess masks.

§65 A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unusually troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of ceremony. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *kalal* had departed. If this maneuver failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

§67 Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he learns many folk tales that exactly mend lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.* Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded executive accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and sweethearts, since men work in the [illegible] girls [illegible] much of the time.

* [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible].

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tranu are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, 2; 8; 9, 1; 11, 1, 3; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, 2), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, 1). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Pangipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kapam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ñüilla or ñulla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarüwe (belt); two alucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarülopko (headband of silver medallions) or a llellofpatrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *a*; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kapam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kako)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwälle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1, 2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and 202
fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from 804
tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chapilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nilfkü), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan.

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended— 804
"it has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from 294
an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was,
[517] and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach
[516] a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

281 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they
294 were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of cowhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as toldo coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes needed to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and instep. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

291 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kapam), shawl (ekull), stickpin (tapu), neck and breast ornament (ſikill), headband (trariloqko), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a tapu. A woven belt, wider than one used by men, secured the kapam at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 60-year-old woman examined a photograph of a Chilean woman in kapam and said sadly, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kapam until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy ticking then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately 2 yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When guanaco wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. No design was woven into a shawl.

301 The tapu was a stickpin with a large silver disk. The ſikill had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with danglers, and ended in a cross. The trariloqko was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

291 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Argentine open-country styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made canvas

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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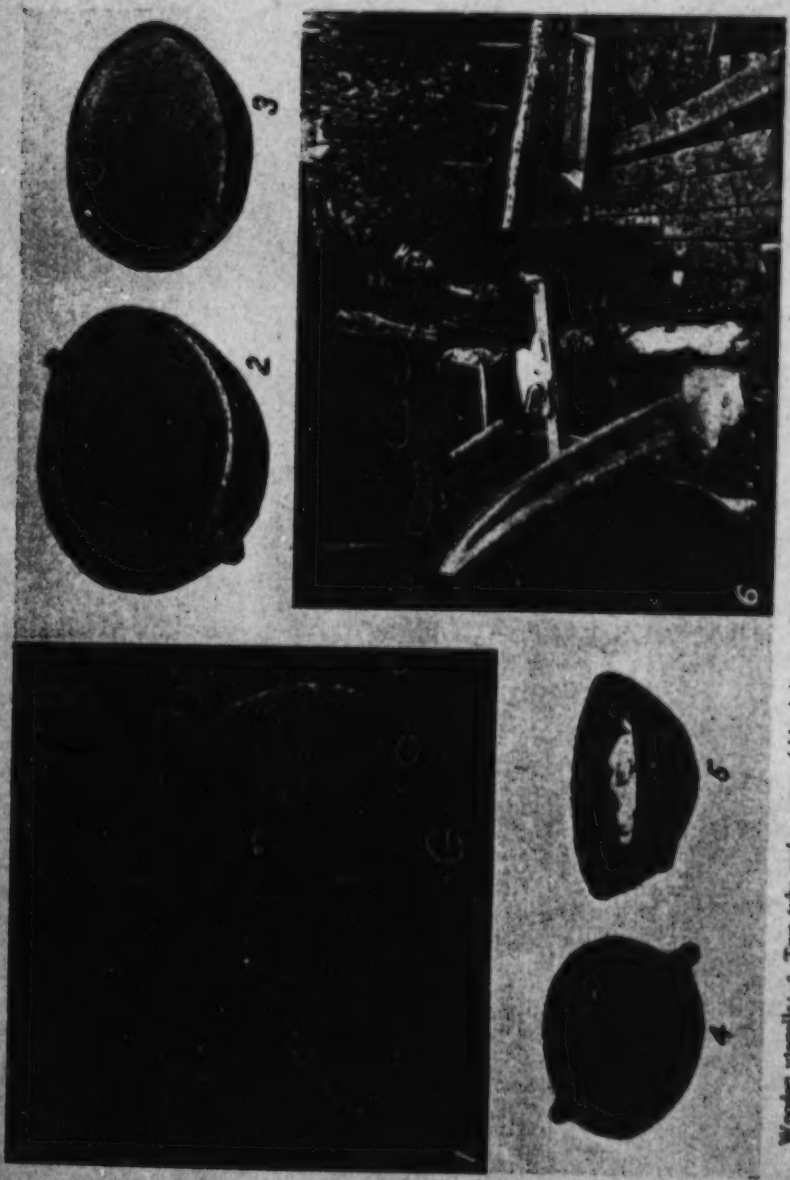

Wooden utensils: 1, Two tubs and a spoon (Alepúe). 2-5, Wooden dishes. (Figures 2-4 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile; 5, Alepúe.) 6, Wooden trough (right) and wooden ladle (in woman's hand) used in washing clothes. (Picture bought in Temuco.)

1415
[29]
[P. 188(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kapam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kapam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kapam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kapam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jumperlike knitted ones. (Pls. 5, 3; 7, 1, 3; 11, 2; 17.) 291

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alepúe girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.) 301

FIG. 6.—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alepúe area, nine women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly all instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All these on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands, and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 59-61 for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the ruka, usually the same brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours previous to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is soft, and even non-Araucanians used 296

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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296 soap sparingly, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alepie area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slat, and is slapped with a flat, long-handled, wooden ladle (pl. 42, *6*), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well slapped, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Slapping and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The wash is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the rural Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, DYEING, WEAVING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The woman then pours boiling water over it and takes it to the brook or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out o' it and float away." No soap is needed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 [#46] Formerly all women and girls, and many boys 10 years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and fewer do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wads by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (huskuen) (pl. 57, *1*) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pidun) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alepie woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." Her spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 16 and 21 inches in length, and ¾ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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shoes are worn in summer and leather shoes in winter. (Pls. 60, 61, 66, 67, 70, 73.) Women's adornments today are earrings and finger rings. Children wear modern clothing like that of Argentine children (pls. 62, 63-66). In general they are barefoot when around home but wear shoes at school and when among non-Araucanians. 291

Clothes and other materials are washed today, as formerly, in rivers and creeks, that is, in flowing water, with crushed leaves of chacay as a detergent—an occasional family today uses soap. "During the time we lived in Chile," said an informant older than 100 years, "we used bark and wood of a tree—I have forgotten its name." 276

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING AND WEAVING

Formerly, guanaco wool was spun and woven into clothing and coverings of various types. Guanacos were not sheared; the wool was collected from those killed for food. The hide was prepared for the removal of wool by rolling it up tight, with the wool inside, and letting it lie for three days, after which the wool was easily plucked off by hand. (Informant indicated having the hide on the knee and pulling off handfuls of wool at a time.) Because the wool was so short, it was spun before it was washed, to prevent loss. Today wool shorn from sheep is used; it is washed and then spun. 283

The traditional spindle—still in use today—is a round piece of wood pointed at each end (pl. 78, 1,5). In a notch made at the upper end the spinner fastens one end of the yarn with a slipknot. Near the lower end is a whorl made of clay. A spindle I saw in use was 23 inches long; its whorl was 2 inches in diameter. The owner carded wool by hand; she pulled it well apart and then shook it vigorously to remove foreign substances; any that remained she picked out by hand. This done, she prepared to spin. She pulled the wool into elongated wads, wound one loosely around her arm, and then fastened an end of it to the end of the yarn on the spindle by rolling it between her fingers. She now rested the spindle on the ground, letting it lean against her, twisted the wad of wool that extended between it and her arm, lifted the spindle, and gave it a twist in midair. This spun the yarn. Since she wanted very finely spun yarn, she twirled the spindle three times in midair. She then opened the slipknot at the notch and wound the yarn that she had just spun onto the spindle by again twirling the spindle in midair. Girls learn to spin "when old enough to be taught how to do it" (probably at 10 years of age). A woman older

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and
●301 ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarūloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarūloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[171] In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian cul-
283 ture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until
286 recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.
[462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in
28 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly
32 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[a] At
463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[b] and the others purchase what they want

[a] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonteville, 1946. Guevara (1909, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[b] At Cautiche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrerville and

4:Latch m F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

283 There
286 is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving,
177 probably from the same source,* before the arrival of the Incas (circa A.D. 1450), and that they utilized the wool of the guanaco slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognized art among the northern tribes, although farther
286 north the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalized till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chawal* and the *iwlle* or *wawayi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The iwlle of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. Since the introduction of cotton goods
[177] the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *wawayi* or *poncho*. A headkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilonco*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go bareheat, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilization, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

●301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the ear-rings and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxide), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling these *lemu*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. These tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

* [i.e., the Calchaqui.—Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish conquest and the setting of mission among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [117] [77]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or bell-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither dacks his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern more seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them, if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far to the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with thongs cowpen. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indian. The construction is not all conducted at one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [521]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [518]

4. Lutchkam F-6 (1988-1993) 1989 BDA Arnaoumlikas SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Pl. [illegible], 1993, Plate [illegible].

[illegible]

[end plate X]

4 Latham F-6 (1888-1891) 1909 SG4 Arawaneiaea SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXV.

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[end plate 2]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Martín de Lovera, 1665, p. 132). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 67).

All accounts since the late 16th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyneche, 1875, p. 130, and others thereafter). Molina says "varies toward" (1901, p. 148). Ovalle (1888, [2:161]) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 67) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marsgrave (1648, p. 202, cf. also woodcut, p. 204), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during sorrow. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brooner, 1888, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (*peine*) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two tweezers (*Molucca-pincette*) or between two stones was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marsgrave, 1648, p. 202; Rosales, 1877–79, 1:107; Herrmann, 1888, 2:608–7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 60, 61.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. *cuti*; cf. Molina, 1888, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 10).

Dwelling adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in pieces thus, or by wearing for hair- and feather-adornments (Rivella, 1910, p. 40; Molina, 1879 b, pp. 416, 441), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were directed their attention to decorating their mobile gear rather than themselves. Huasteca formerly wore large silver earrings.

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of *Tacuna* (*Sadai*), tupu pins, bracelets, and ear pendants. The *Tacuna* were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the *Tacuna*. The tupu (*Tupu* (*Sadai*)) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semilunular or spherical head used

S/Cooper E-6 (no date) 1995 BG4 Arauquanians BG4

301 to fasten the shell. Glass beads, sleeplines, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal issues. The characteristic large symbiogyrate metal ear pendants (*chapell*, *tapil*) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:100); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (Gonzalez de Fajardo, 1605, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e.g., Mossbach, 1930, pp. 313–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass sleeplines (beads) for the native issues, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

Transportation

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in Inca territory, but only trails. Bridges (*kalkal*) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and the long of simple-loop carrying baskets were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 706).

492

493 **Water transportation.**—Three *skin* types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche*: the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed boat. *de Lothing* (1908, p. 102) points out, all three were more or less crescent or cow-horn shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (*lafen*, *ginagua*) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Corcovado Gulf when first encountered by Cornelio Bayas in 1828 (Gulamena, 1903, p. 91). Plank boats, which were characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland Huilliche, were also observed farther north (Cha, cacic (8, (40), p. 208, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together with thong rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which then was set under water, and sealed with leaves of thong (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 102) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled, by about 8 to 12 rowers, a rowerman standing on the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the *lafen* was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 4-plank (Ehrenreich, 1878, p. 371) and later a 5-plank craft. (Gonzalez de Agüero, 1791,

[3.19]
[3.20]

113 Indians 1787, Falkner (1888) between circa 1746 and 1787, Azara y Ambrosi (1837) circa 1783, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875) last third of 18th century, Sem (1901) circa 1780-85, De la Cruz (1888) 1806, Pampig (1859-60) 1809-10, D'Orbigny (1839-47) 1828, Barbará (1879, 1880) 1867-68 to circa 1838, Guinnard (1864) 1858-59, Cox (1862) 1860-61, Moreno (1873) 1869-70, Moreno (1877) 1879, Moreno (1879) 1876-77, Milanesio (1888) 1884-86, La Vanda (1887-88, 1891) 1886-87. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine Araucanians is not nearly as abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

117 The culture of the Argentine Araucanians was distinctly a pedimont one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic western Araucanian culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

[illegible] Among many of the Argentine Araucanians, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean Araucanians, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1888, pp. 38, 139; Cox, 1862, p. 98; Moreno, 1877, pp. 70-71, 259; Milanesio, 1888, p. 38.) Sem (1901, 89-104) states that the Pehuenche extensively did not plant. The Pehuenche of Molina (1801, p. 300), De la Cruz (1888, p. 60), and Pampig (1859-60, 1:304, 305) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the Araucanians further east in the Pudunent and east on the Pampa, hunting, with the lance and other weapons, entirely supersaded horticulture.

[illegible] The Pehuenche were as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Azara y Ambrosi, 1837, 69-71; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1875, p. 139; Sem, 1901, 99-101.)

117 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-Araucanian Pampean tribes, were: The bola de pelo (Molina, 1801, p. 300; De la Cruz, 1888, p. 59) running mare by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1862, p. 108); the portable skin-covered tent of animal (Pampig, 1859-60, 1:302) or cabin (De la Cruz, 1888, p. 37; Cox, 1862, pp. 144-45 ff.); circles of fermented algarroba beans (Moreno, 1877, 9:40); drawing of stolen mare (Guinnard, 1864, p. 101); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1888, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1839-47, 3:300); and of a certain clay for rub-

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 896
babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One piercing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have theirs pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful." 304

Any person may do the piercing, but since a number of the family may be too tender-hearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our rancho and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with salve and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the salve would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with salve, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the lobe to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone handling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs. [301]

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still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut 302
shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down [301]
the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and [515]
keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were compli- 832
mented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of 301
silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his per- 515
sonal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not insti- 572
tutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

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sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, *a*; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kenkenkina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [324] [145]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarülonko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b). 301 [622]

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of a distinct style (fig. 4, *b*). Boys sometimes wore them until early adolescence, "for when a boy began to be treated like a man, he wanted to look like one." In Panguipulli area, an occasional man wore them "because his grandfather, who was reared in Argentina, did so." No specimens of earrings in Museo Araucano de Temuco were labeled as having been worn by men. Whether feathers played a role in bodily adornment was not ascertained. Cooper's sources say they played a minor one (1946, p. 711).

Women wore silver pendants known as chawaitu. Chawaitu consisted of small plates decoratively incised and either with or without dangles of small silver disks. Those seen today are heirlooms, as are most personal ornaments. Since silver is expensive today and silversmiths are few in number, silver earrings of the old pattern are no longer being made, "anyway one can buy pretty ones in Chilean stores." Nose rings were not worn. A 50-year-old man had not seen men wear bracelets but had heard old persons say that formerly both men and women wore them. Women wear them today.

Men did not wear necklaces. According to Cooper's sources women wore necklaces of llanca (llaŋka), stones of green and bluish-green color, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of seashells were used (1946, pp. 711-712). Women I saw wore two kinds of neck pieces: one, worn close to the neck called trarupel; another extending over the chest called trapelakucha. The owners said they were heirlooms. The trapelakucha consists of three strands of silver links attached to a plate (pls. 27; 55, 3). The plate consists of two engraved birds facing each other. To the lower ends of the three strands of links is attached a trapezoidal or half-moon-shaped plate incised with a decorative floral design. Generally disks dangle from this plate. Evidently there are standard measurements for the trapelakucha, for six specimens measured 11 inches in length, and the plate with two birds facing each other 4 to 4½ inches, horizontally.

Stickpins were used by women primarily to fasten shawls close to the neck. One type of stickpin (pl. 27, 4), the tapu or akucha tapu, has either a discoid or a spherical head. Heads of five specimens varied in diameter from 2½ to 6 inches. The length of the pin was 8 to 10 inches. Decorations along the edge on one discoid were dots, not quite perforated, and two lines that crossed at right angles at the center. Another type of stickpin (more often it is a safety pin) was the ʃikill. (Museo Araucano de Temuco specimens were labeled siquel.) A single strand of silver links is attached to it, to the last link of the strand a formée cross, and to the cross either several small disks or one large one with several dangles. The usual length of the ʃikill is 12 or 13 inches.

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A headband, called trariloñko, worn by women, has links of silver disks dangling from the section above the forehead and/or temples (pl. 55); disks number from 41 to 45. A trariloñko serves to keep the hair back and also as an ornament. The lləfallləfnetrowe (pl. 55, *1*), a woven band with sections of silver studs, is merely ornamental. Total lengths of lləfallləfnetrowe varied from 27 to 35 inches. Unstudded sections are wound around bunches of hair. An occasional adult man or woman or young woman today wears a ring made from a 20-centavo Chilean coin; many young men wear them. 301

According to Cooper's sources there was not much face or body painting until more recent times, when face painting was not uncommon (1946, p. 711). During the present study young women were seen occasionally with cheeks slightly rouged; in general, these women had been employed in Chilean families. Aside from this, there was no body painting. 302.

Brown is the accepted proper skin color. "It is the Mapuche color; Chileans could not be brown, if they wanted to be; neither could you, you were born white. Are the Mapuche in North America dark-skinned too?"

Every Araucanian man and woman is proud of a nose if it is like the bill of the handerria, "like the nose of a Mapuche should be." It is like a Roman nose with a decided flare of the nostrils. (Cf. pls. 23, 24.) As previously stated (p. 20) no Araucanian is proud of a low hairline. Adults are known to pluck hairs in order to raise the hairline. The writer saw boys doing so to each other at school; girls also. Those who live in localities where Chileans predominate not infrequently shave the forehead to heighten the hairline. Non-Araucanian herbalists in all areas had been asked for depilatories to remove the hair on the forehead.

Instances such as the following indicated that informants were conscious of their personal appearance: A young man arranged to have a picture taken of himself, "but not until tomorrow." The next day he appeared well dressed except for a hat. He obtained a hat, which any man may borrow from the teacher when he must go where Chileans are, and posed for his picture, making certain that the hat was properly tilted and that the corners of a fancy handkerchief he had tucked into his breast pocket showed. He moved his feet about until they were in the desired position, looked into the camera, and said with satisfaction, "Bueno!" When he saw the picture (pl. 26, *3*), he was pleased, but remarked that he looked rather well fed. On another occasion, wanting a picture of a kapam (dress worn by women), I asked a young woman to remove her apron so the kapam

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Photographs women in footy attire: 1, 2, 3, Two views of Domingo Huenun's wife, and 3, a his daughter.

[p. 92(G)]

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Women's clothing (Alepin area): 1-3, Women dressed for fiesta. 4, A woman in her everyday dress.

[p 220 (D)]

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29¶ formant) was a boy: a chiripa (pants of chamall, a rectangularly shaped, rather loosely woven piece of cloth), a chochal (sleeveless sweater of chamall), a ponchi (poncho), a chamalliwe (woven belt), a trariknipo (headband, no head covering); and for men, but not boys, a pair of trawa (leather soles tied to the feet), several trailkoupe (metal bracelets), and trarlumuma (metal anklets). A chiripa was secured at the waistline with a belt, and then drawn up between the legs from behind and tucked under the belt in front.

When Father Sigifredo arrived among the Araucanians about 1900 nearly all men were still wearing chiripa and walked barefoot. Conservative old men in all areas wore chiripa as recently as 1940. "In fact, the cacique [Cathripe] who died recently never owned pants." In all areas today some men and boys still wear chiripa when working near or at home—"one must have money to buy commercially made pants; a chiripa is cheaper; our women weave chamall for chiripa."

The oldest informants had heard old people say that when they were still young the Araucanians wore clothing made of dressed hides of a wild animal "of which there were plenty then." One informant believed it was the huemul. An old woman who was listening in said she had heard that it was the puma.

30¶ Informants recalled the days when the caciques wore one earring, a silver one, and when a man's middle gear was ornamented with silver; but no informant knew of any man who owned such ornaments today. All remembered that a man of means—"and most of them were that," a woman listening in interjected—could be distinguished by a trarlumuma, that is, a leather belt ornamented with silver; the belt worn by others, the chamalliwe, was homespun and not ornamented.

29¶ Today, in general, men, both young and old, wear shirts and pants the same as Chilean men, securing them with the traditional chamalliwe instead of a leather belt as Chileans do. All men wear ponchos; some also wear coats. (Pls. 20, 22, 23, 25, 26.) Men often have two ponchos, one for work and errands in the area and a better one for special occasions such as trips to other areas, fiestas, and church services. At present, too, men wear shoes on these special occasions; and if a man can afford it, he will also have shoes for his wife for such occasions. At home all are barefoot, unless a man makes for himself a pair of ojotas (trawa) (pl. 26, *1*). Ojotas are made from dressed, untanned horse or ox hide. In making a pair, a man steps on a piece of hide and marks on it the outline of his foot, making the pattern large enough so that when the edges are brought together the hide will cover the entire foot. He cuts out the section so marked, makes holes at close intervals along the edge and runs a thong through them.

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He then makes a duplicate and sinks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried tissue are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; tissue is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 24

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5: 2, *r*; 8; 9, *l*; 11, *l*, *p*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamois or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn cloth of men. In Colhuipe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 25 26 [77]

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Colhuipe area wore sandals to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *r*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *r*). A 9-year-old Colhuipe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 13-year-old sister. 24

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Pangipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a lequen (dress, homespun of black yarn); an Ilille or Ilelle (shawl woven of black yarn); a trachow (belt); two chawlas (ceinlaces), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trachiqlin (headband of silver medallions) or a Ilellelqutrowe (headband ornamented with little silver seals) or an embroidered woven band—all were to keep the hair from the face; and 24 25 26

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for 3 or 4 years in boarding schools did not keep them from wearing the kapam as adult women, noted the interpreter. "I have noticed, too," she added, "that as soon as they marry, they wear the kapam. One young woman told me recently that, in any event, the kapam was more comfortable." Girls of school age wore modern dresses, unless they came from very isolated areas, in which case they wore the kapam; older ones wore calico dresses; younger ones, either calico or jaspe-like knitted ones. (Pls. 5, 8; 9, 6, 8; 11, 9; 17.)

Children are barefoot. If shoes are owned they are usually worn only at church services and when going to Chilean towns. One little Alapin girl wore her sister's shoes to school, "because I have a cold."

Women today who own traditional silver accessories and ornaments quite evidently wear them with a feeling of distinction. (Pls. 27, 55.)

Pls. 6—Women's earrings. (Courtesy Mrs. Araucano de Tamaro.)

They are highly prized, and are always worn at festivals, "or when the Mapuche meet in large crowds anywhere." At a festival in Alapin area, elder women, probably older than 50, who wore silver ornaments were pointed out by other women as being dressed in the "real Mapuche way of old times." With few exceptions, silver ornaments were heirlooms, and in nearly 63 instances had belonged to an old relative of the owner, usually the woman's mother. "All those on my head were given to my mother when she was a young girl." Silver things worn by women were stickpins, safety pins, large ornamental pins, ear pendants, headbands and head ornaments. (Cf. pp. 398ff. for personal adornments.)

Clothes are washed on flat rocks or on wooden slats in running water found near the rocks, usually the main brook from which drinking water is obtained, but below the source of the drinking water. Women and older girls do the washing, with, occasionally, a boy of school age helping. Several hours preceding to washing, things to be washed are soaked in water at home, and soap, if there is any, is added. In most areas the water is cold, and even non-Araucanians used

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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, but spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (Ifmu-ed). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

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The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called kilfulun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

515 [828]

A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of hide to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

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301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and weddings on belts. Women

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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a bowful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for buried deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1932 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being lynched. 864 689

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun is the mom- 576

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(22) "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a rendwer! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an adlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kelequen, and added that the adlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Tokí, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 5, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nacional Etnográfico, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Parlin (Chile). These tokí, except one in the Museo Nacional Etnográfico, are of dark unpolished stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nacional Etnográfico is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[30] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark unpolished stone, similar to that of the tokí.

(23) Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their rukas some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the rukas. (According to Kelequen the army introduced the word ruka and called a settlement of rukas a rukería; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the rukería. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's ruka—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each with generally had a ruka. Above here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had helmetsmen. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his rukas where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The rukas of the men with the lances and helmetsmen were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kelíñhues were known to have done so. Ronnai, one of the sons of Kelíñhues, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

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261 Ojotas were made from horsehide. The person for whom they
262 were intended stood on a piece of hide, which was then cut to shape well beyond the outline of the foot. The edge of the leather was then punctured at intervals with holes through which a lacing of rawhide was passed. The lacing could be drawn to bring the hide together at the ankle, where it was secured with a knot.

Boots were made by stripping the hide off the legs of a horse, removing the hoofs, and then treating the flesh side as were the hides used as table coverings. The rider's toes protruded through the opening made by the removal of the hoof. "Toes curled to protrude, since the big toe controlled the stirrup," noted the informant. If a boot did not fit snug, it was tied about the ankle. Spurs were fastened about the ankle and heels. A spur was a nail hammered through a block of wood that was fastened to a band of leather.

261 A woman was completely clothed if she wore a dress (kepan), shawl (chull), sikhpin (tupu), neck and breast ornament (*Chill*), headband (*ruvilhuipin*), and silver earrings. The dress reached from shoulders to ankles and overlapped in front where it was held in position by being pinned together with a tupu. A woven belt, either thin one used by men, secured the kepan at the waistline. Back and front were overlapped on one or both shoulders and fastened with a little stick or twig, more recently with a safety pin. A 80-year-old woman recalled a photograph of a Chilean woman in kepan and said aloud, "It is a pity that all this had to end. I wore a kepan until the soldiers came and chased us from place to place. It was impossible in those days for women to set up their looms long enough to weave. We had to buy clothing then to make clothing. Anyway, the Whites wanted us to do away with our own way of doing things, and that included our way of dressing."

The shawl was a piece of woven material approximately a yards square. If a woman wove one for her own use, it was of one color throughout; if she intended it as a gift (shawls were often among the gifts exchanged at the marriage ceremonial), she wove it of one color with a border of white. When gaucho wool became scarce, sheep wool dyed black became a favorite color. Its design was woven into a shawl.

261 The tupu was a sikhpin with a large silver disk. The *Chill* had several pieces of silver strung one below the other, often with dangles, and ended in a cross. The *ruvilhuipin* was a silver-ornamented headband worn to keep the hair in place.

261 Adults today wear modern clothes patterned after Araucanian aboriginal styles, made of factory-woven cloth. Factory-made woven

LC Form E-6.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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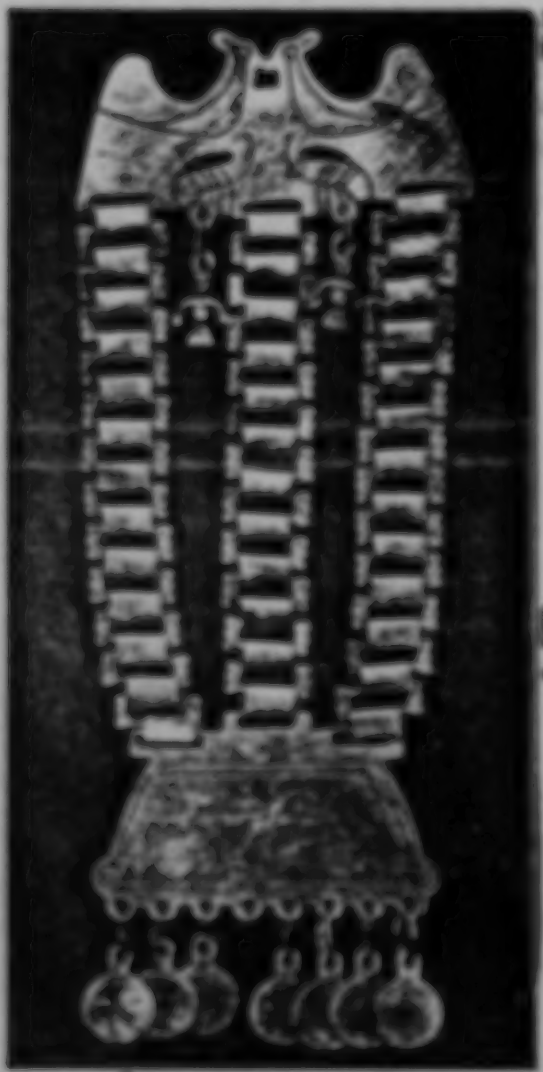
Photo by John C. Dean

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1994) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

[Facing p. iii]



"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks or the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

12: Faron E-4, 3 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *pawun* (a dance) has begun around the *ngwe* (main altar). The *ngwe* elders now take up their positions in the *pawun*, the two *wapanis* assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *machitufe*. After a series of fast and slow *pawun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *kodopawun*, danced by men to demonstrate the relations between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *pawun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of canelo or maqui—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *ngwe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *ngwe* entertainment, the *pawun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *ngwe* and the *pawun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single or multiform whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *pawun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*ngwe*) facing the *machitufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *machitufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *ngwe* and the *kelü*. The *machitufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *machitufe* orders his entire to four circuits. During the intervals between the circuits, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of these assembled.

The *machitufe*, with assistance from the captains and *wapanis*, kills one of the sheep raised near the *ngwe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *machitufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, tears the heart out and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

1: Tiwaw E-5 (1968) 1951 SDS Accession 504
Mapuche-Huilliche

and from here the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a hobbyhorse. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the machi, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the machi began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Chonchol for the night.

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and sponging was now so copious as to suggest a miniature shower.*

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the machi, obviously

* Kilian mentioning that such rain favors black, to represent storm clouds. Those designed for the opposite purpose are white, which stands for the sun. At Colgue rain was wanted because a long drought was making bad planting difficult.

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a
nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not
brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted
gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of
life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [23]
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spiritous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that
the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the
declaration of the Republican Government, when there were larger leases of
power, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by
distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this
traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a
few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced
the mandate Araucanos. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being
a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless
vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge
in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incaic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their tables from time to time as the
migration of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [181]
wild beasts, sometimes being so sparse by strips of hide from the waist, or passed
somewhat between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they
protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of fine coarsely
woven tapestry, or by gaucho skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the
present day. In these earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide.
Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut
off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a
bright-coloured woven band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favorite
colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and
fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude shoulder shirts of
the softer skins, using spinous needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or
vegetable fibre. In more parts they also produced a coarse kind of fine cloth, [28]
employing cotton, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Chilenqui, [177]
who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXIV.

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate I]

4:Latham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909. Plate XXXV.

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate 2]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

291 it was probably a modification of the sleeveless shirt to permit greater freedom of action on horseback.

As described by Maríto de Lovera (1885, p. 220), the early *Huilliche* men of the Ancud region wore breeches, shirt, and cape, all of [llama] wool. The shirt, like the *Mapuche* type described by Góngora Marmolejo (1862, p. 2) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 39) as "without sleeves," was presumably the typical Andean rectangular sleeveless shirt. González de Nájera's description (ibid.) of the short breeches as a "pato revuelto" serving as a "pañete" and reaching to the midthigh is somewhat suggestive of the later chiripa. According to Marcgrav (loc. cit), the breeches reached to the knee. According to Brouwer (1892, p. 60), the early Chilotans wore breeches that flared at the bottom like a sailor's, and a mantle, but no shirt or coat.

Mapuche-Huilliche garments were mostly of woven llama wool. The pénu, a small apronlike, leather pubic covering, was used by hockey-players and transvestites (Bascuñan, 1863, pp. 61, 107).

The *Huilliche* of the Ancud region were wearing pointed woolen caps or hoods when first encountered by the Spaniards (Maríto de Lovera, 1885, p. 220; Ercilla, canto 28, 1910, p. 579). Elsewhere, however, as a general rule, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* went without hats. Both men and women used a woven woolen fillet (tari longo, trarlonko) to bind the hair, caciques often using a silver band in place of it. Warriors frequently wore animal or bird heads or skins on the head. The cotton, silk, or woolen square worn like a turban, and the woman's beaded headgear, are not reported earlier than the 19th century.

The earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* ordinarily went barefoot. In the mid-17th century, low footgear ("caligae") were being used by men on festival occasions (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283). By the second half of the 18th century, natives of rank were using woolen boots and leather sandals (Molina, 1901, p. 146), which later became more common. The zumel (shumel), or "bota de potro," made of the hide from the leg of horse or cattle, softened and allowed to dry on the foot, was introduced, apparently from the Argentine Pampa, in the first half of the 19th century (de la Cruz, 1836, p. 33; Smith, 1855, pp. 322–324). It was used as a riding boot, the point of the boot being left open to allow the rider to grip the stirrup with his big toe. The tamango, pieces of sheepskin or cowhide with the hair side in, lashed on the feet and legs for crossing the Andean passes in the snow, was used, apparently by Indians, at least at the Uspallata Pass in *Picunche* country (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:704, 899; on the earlier *Pehuenche* snowshoes, see infra, section on "*Pehuenche*," p. 760).

302 Hair.—References in the early sources to coiffure are scattered and vague. Brouwer (1892, p. 60) found the mainland *Huilliche* men with their hair cut short around the ears. (See also Góngora Marmolejo, 1862, p. 2, and Marcgrav's woodcut, 1648, p. 284.) Since at least the

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Macito de Lovera, 1935, p. 122). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 47). 312

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyneche, 1875, p. 126, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 145). Ovalle (1888, 12:161) and Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Mawgrew (1848, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brewer, 1883, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (rusa) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Mawgrew, 1848, p. 283; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:206–7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 30, 32.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. cuid; cf. Molina, 1882, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 15). 304 362

Bodily adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in peace time, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 420, 445), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Huilliches formerly wore large silver earrings. 311

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of llancas (llaqka), tupu pins, bracelets, and ear pendants. The llancas were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the llancas. The tupu (from *Quechua*) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, 383) [231] practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and [224] other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

? 301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y 302 Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 262; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:455); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 [854] A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

● 302 Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rana) from calle calle or from rüna (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, rana were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this. 302 [301] [515]

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes." 832

Most girls seen were earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned. 301

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty. 516

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "These two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends." 572

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENT, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *1*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepín area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rinu (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (fairowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

SD: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

sometimes an entire twist is so called. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, 7; 36.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of pilhuewal (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kodwalahn (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [324] [325]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarilaqko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b). 301 [602]

SB: Hilger E.-S (1946-19[illegible]2) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

A headband, called [illegible], were
disks dangling from the section above
(pl. 55); disks number from 41 to 45. A
hair back and also as an ornament. The
a woven band with sections of silver
Total lengths of Ilfalfalfuatrowe varied
studded sections are wound around hi
adult man or woman or young woman
a so-centavo Chilean coin; many young

According to Cooper's sources these
painting until more recent times, when
now (1946, p. 711). During the pre
ans occasionally with chalks; slightly
women had been employed in Chilean h
was no body painting.

Brown is the accepted proper skin co
Chileans could not be brown, if they w
you were born white. Are the Mapu
skinned too?"

Every Araucanian man and woman
the bill of the handsome, "like the nose
is like a Roman nose with a decided
25, 26.) As previously stated (p. 8
of a low hairline. Adults are known th
the hairline. The writer saw boys doing
girls also. Those who live in localities
not infrequently shave the forehead to
Araucanian barbaline in all areas had
remove the hair on the forehead.

Instances such as the following b
conscious of their personal appearance
have a picture taken of himself, "but n
day he appeared well dressed except f
which any man may borrow from the
Chilean are, and posed for his picture,
was properly fitted and that the cuff
had tucked into his breast pocket show
until they were in the desired position, h
with satisfaction, "Bueno!" When he
he was pleased, but remarked that he
another occasion, wanting a picture o
women), I asked a young woman to re

by women, has links of silver 301
the forehead and/or temples
A trariikopko serves to keep the
e Ilfalfalfuatrowe (pl. 55, 2),
studs, is merely ornamental.
l from 27 to 35 inches. Un-
aches of hair. An occasional
oday wears a ring made from
men wear them.

was not much face or body 302
face painting was not uncom-
ost study young women were
y rouged; in general, these
nalities. Aside from this, there

or. "It is the Mapuche color;
nted to be; neither could you,
he in North America dark-

s proud of a nose if it is like
of a Mapuche should be." It
are of the nostrils. (Cf. pls.
o) no Araucanian is proud
pluck hairs in order to raise
g so to each other at school;
where Chileans predominate
heighten the hairline. Non-
been asked for depilatories to

icated that informants were
: A young man arranged to
t until tomorrow." The next
or a hat. He obtained a hat,
acher when he must go where
, making certain that the hat
s of a fancy handkerchief he
ed. He moved his feet about
oked into the camera, and said
saw the picture (pl. 26, 3),
looked rather well fed. On
of a kapam (dress worn by
move her apron so the kapam

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

302 could be better seen—it being a warm day she had already removed her shawl. She resented the request, said something about modesty, scolded, straightened her apron, put on her shawl and pinned it properly (the kapam was nearly completely covered by now!), shooed away the children, posed, and said, "Bueno!" One day in Alepin area a man galloped along the Pacific beach on horseback to catch up with me to say that an airplane had come within five yards of the ground where he happened to be examining a fence; in fact, it was so close that he could see the man sitting in the cockpit—something he had not expected to happen in his lifetime. He was filled with surprise and excitement. His horse, with head high, snorted. The setting was perfect for a photograph. When asked to halt a moment to have his picture taken, he answered, "Nothing doing! Nothing doing! Not in this torn pants." (His pants at the knees showed four distinct layers of patches.) He swung his horse around, called once more with emphasis, "Not in this old pants!" and galloped away.

FRIENDSHIPS

572 Sincere and lasting friendships existed. Close friends were usually relatives. "I have noticed that always two women who are particular friends are related," said a non-Araucanian; "the same is true of men." A 21-year-old man wanted his 24-year-old distant relative in a photograph with himself. "He is my best friend," he remarked. "I ask him for things sometimes, and he gives them to me; he seldom asks me for anything, for he is richer than I am. We also ask to use each other's things. He and I are not like brothers; we are best friends. Everybody has a special friend." It was noted, however, that an occasional man and woman did not have a very close friend.

Occasionally in former times two unmarried men, or two married men and their families, gave expression to their mutual friendship in a get-together known as kanchotun; if the expression of friendship was one between two women or a woman and a man, it was called mechatun. (Cf. also Cooper, 1946, pp. 727, 743.) Essential characteristics of both kanchotun and mechatun were sincere mutual respect and the presentation of a lamb or sheep by one friend to the other followed by eating together an ample meal—not the lamb or sheep received as a gift, but one supplied by the recipient.

An informant described a kanchotun between two men as follows: "This is done only where deep, deep friendship exists. A man will bring a lamb or a sheep to his friend as a gift. The friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own lambs or sheep and prepares

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG6 Araucanians SG6
Chile

Three views of the hogan, the woman's traditional hairstyle and homespun dress of black yarn (Hilger).

142
291
302

[p. 220 (E)]

He then makes a duplicate and makes both in wooden. When they are 298
[illegible], he places a hoop on each, brings the edge over the hoop by pulling
up the lacing, which he ties to a hoop over the top, and goes about his
work. "The dried tubers are then like a fried chuño," remarked the
interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted, more is preferred
for this because of its flexibility.

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of home-
bought pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 1; 297
2, 4; 8; 9, 11; 10, 4, 5; 11.) Boys' pants are usually made of new
cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a
piece of discarded or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are
cuttable until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by
hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are
sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are
either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Colchagua
nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wears a chemisette,
short-legged, sleeveless knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown
color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother
or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was
introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were 277
worn of yarn.

In general boys were barefoot; no considered one in Colchagua wore
some sandals to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby 291
that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not
afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was
about to be taken (pl. 4, 2), as stockings give greater prestige than
do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher
than were sandaliae. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all
areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town
or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer,
when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger
boys were bareheaded (pl. 8, 1). A 6-year-old Colchagua area boy
wore a cap. "Because the sun shining on his head makes him sick,"
said his 13-year-old sister.

Regarding women's clothing and accessories, the 70-year-old 294
Pangipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones 301
when he was a child: a lapaza (dress, homespun of black yarn);
an ikilla or ikilla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trarilwe (belt);
two chuchu (skirpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other
the shawl; a trarilapiche (headband of silver medallions) or a
ikilla'pinwe (headband ornamented with little silver steels) or an 294
ornamental woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 302

10: Religion S-O (1968-1972) 1997
SG4 Anthropology SG4
Chile

a cotton cloth braided into the hair or wound around bunches of it wound around the ends of braids). Pendants were worn by women; men did women wear rings—all unified hairdos. Today, in general, women of all ages wear a long-sleeved waist and a lapan, and over them, an apron; a factory-woven cloth shawl is worn when away from home. (Pls. 6, 7; 8, 9; 9; 10, 11; 10, 12; 10, 13; 11, 14; 11, 15; 12, 16; 12, 17; 13, 18; 13, 19; 14, 20; 14, 21; 15, 22; 15, 23; 16, 24; 16, 25; 17, 26; 17, 27; 18, 28; 18, 29; 19, 30; 19,

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of stepmothers or stepfathers were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "It was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

[93] Then gave me some nice clothes. I was 13 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

[94] There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, but quite, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENT, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Amerindian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (Ilimo-ed). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [193] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chamy [194] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called hilhaiton. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanin (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

19: Stiger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

too, so many young persons today have no faith in the gillatun; in fact they pay no attention to anything related to our old ways." 796

The cacique who called the people together for the gillatun is the officiating officer at the ceremony. He is assisted by two men from his jurisdiction, lake or hills, referred to by informants as captain and sergeant. Other persons of importance are the machi and the four pinichiku—two boys in early adolescence and two prepubescent girls. All other persons present, except children, are expected to participate; children are nonparticipant observers. "Children know nothing about things yet; but they are made to observe everything so they will learn. But today, not even children want to learn the old ways; it is a pity!"

Since there is no longer a machi in Quilapulun now, an ordinary woman replaces her. It is she who beats the kultrung. Before the ceremonies begin, each of her hands is painted from knuckles to wrist with three pairs of lines, each pair consisting of a black and a white line. A similar pair of lines is painted across her nose, from cheek bone to cheek bone, and another pair across her forehead from temple to temple. On her head she wears a trarilonqko, a silver ornament. The two prepubescent girls (pinichiku) are decorated in the same manner; the two boys (pinichiku) each have only one black line from cheek bone to cheek bone across the nose. 796 502

The complete ceremonial takes two days. Families arrive at the plot reserved for it on the evening preceding the first day. Each family brings a 2-day supply of food, blankets on which to rest and sleep, and sacrificial family offerings of food. Traditional offerings were wheat, corn, cotuto (p. 366), tortilla, an eagle, and muday (p. 371); optional offerings were chickens, sheep, and calves. Today, offerings are usually the traditional obligatory ones, "or whatever the people want to offer." Chicha (pilkin) has replaced muday. An occasional family brings one or two of the optional offerings. The cacique provides the traditional tribal sacrifice, a white horse; or in the event no white horse is obtainable, a roan-colored one. Today a sheep or calf often replaces the horse. Only the blood of animals is sacrificed; their meat is either eaten, or is thrown into the fire, together with the bones, at the end of the ceremonial to be totally consumed. Dogs must be kept from getting any of either. 796

The evening of their arrival, persons sit around until midnight, resting and visiting. At midnight the men plant 3- to 4-foot-tall colihue stalks in a row approximately 20 yards long. This done, each woman places at the base of a stalk her family offerings of food and also a

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 122). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47). 302

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 148). Ovalle (1888, 12:161) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brouwer, 1892, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (rena) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:806–7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50, 52.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. colú; cf. Medina, 1882, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 15). 304 302

Bodily adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in peace time, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 439, 445), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pehuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Headmen formerly wore large silver earrings. 301

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of llancas (llaska), tupu pins, bracelets, and ear pendants. The llancas were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the llancas. The tupu (from *Quechua*) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
●304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1906, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan
762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap." 846

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all. [854]

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back." [304]

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward [142]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 846
babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata,
bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo.
She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She
boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the
decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated
in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh
decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be
used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One piercing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have their pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful."

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small [301]
earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows
older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs.

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304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

●304 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [184] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 60.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap dəyũn [flat-nosed]; * the Argentines call them chatos."

* All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it." 846

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years. 852 304 [553]

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver around." [413]

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832 implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To
304 keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and mudai (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as pelin and awir kuden or awir meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as perentun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in the pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

954 To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of
[824] leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [173] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

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Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [992] [262] [782]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [559] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [731] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [648] [167]

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3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche. 423 621 [622]

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands. 648 423 [622]

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents 311 423 [622]

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did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Tolién and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lulufmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lulufmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	28	c. 4 ha.
Lonzon	180	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	c. 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Tolién, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

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gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Tolténo, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private hacendados. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATION	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	255	34	c. 3.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	c. 3.8 ha.
Mariqueo	184	19	c. 3.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	15	c. 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and piñon nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	c. 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, II.	130	17	c. 3.5 ha.
Caripan	885	39	c. 22.8 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	113	c. 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucol	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the har- 241
vests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural 311
lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *alturo*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but [133]
too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huecho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and 241
chacareria (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little 311
woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded 000

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A good part of the
311 land now in the cowlines of Alonqueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*roble*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more
[439] enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of char-
[314] coal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[333] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or other-
[423] wise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
[134] gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[242] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority
[433] of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonquen's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonquen, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of radicación much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 106, another resident 46, and two others 90 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucania is that land becomes

Map II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[396] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
241 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
241 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

231 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

241 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[222] *ría,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [996]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [939]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [923]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

1 [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [242]

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land.* Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

311 ● 423 622

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

423 [648] [563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

162 [592] [591] [423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

241 [133]

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1 i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[162] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[148] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital
[183] (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Mapuche

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huican has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[423] [592] [231] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See CAT. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and [133] soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

162
592
423
422
427
231
698

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(6)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
36	46	(19)	82	181	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

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The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

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Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

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[161]
[648]
[796]
[794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picanche
Argentinien Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picanche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 136).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marino de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 138).

On *Picanche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picanche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Marino de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including those latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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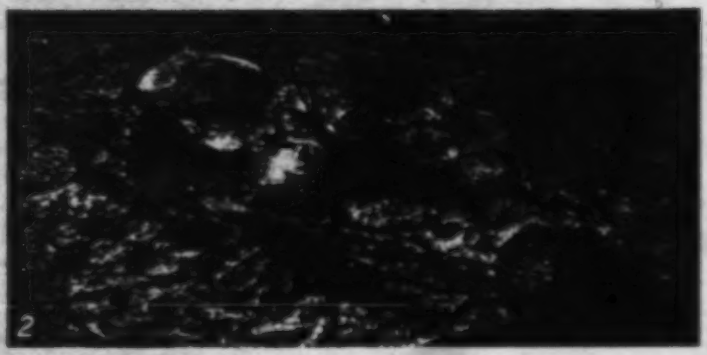

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1. Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2. Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quinquina). 3. Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known.

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water.

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat.

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha.

I observed a 55-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven kilko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

496 (*mawke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
34 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[364] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

496 Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
42 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[491] applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is
[621] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[312] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrange-
[496] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[420] generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
[344] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region
[490] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples
[535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

496 *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
34 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[198] tions in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of
[413]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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34 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
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[198] tions in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of
[643]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[313
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Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepúe). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepúe). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Coñaripe).

[p. 172 (F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the
354 ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several
372 yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a
415 raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quilaquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[p. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fiire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *2*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[533 my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but
782] burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[578] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [242]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
622 matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chroniclers (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 125; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46–47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 36–40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835–36, p. 386) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1925, p. 408). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:274–83.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (domo, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (wentru, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Ofa (canto 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Picunche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[317] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav,
445 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[624] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

386 bright and lets them fade less easily. Darker shades of any color are produced by boiling the yarn a long time; the longer the yarn is boiled in the dye, the deeper the color will be."

Another Alepúe woman, using native plants, made the dye first and then boiled the yarn in it. At the time she was dyeing yarn for a poncho, using chips of olivillo bark and pieces of roots of maiza. She removed the bark and roots from the kettle and dropped the skeins into the boiling decoction. In about 10 minutes she squeezed the liquid out of a handful of yarn to examine the color. "It is too light," she remarked, and let it boil several more minutes.

386 Silver-gray and black are obtained from earth. An Alepúe woman,
317 who was dyeing with earth at the time, gave directions for finding earth to dye silver-gray. "Look for a spot of deep purplish color on the surface of the earth, along the shores of the Pacific. When you find it, dig down about so deep [3 feet], and take out the earth you find there; it will dye a silver-gray color—Chileans call the color plomo." A Cañeripe woman was dyeing black with earth that she had brought "from a place near here where a spring from the Cordillera empties into the Limacahue River. I know of no other place where it can be found," she noted.

386 Commercial dyes were used by informants to color red, green, purple, wine color, and also black. "The Chilean stores at which we trade for clothing, sugar, etc., will accept lana and chaqueto from us in exchange for things we want, if they are in bright colors; articles in darker colors are difficult to sell, the storekeepers say. Since we have no plants that dye bright colors, we buy anilli, a dye imported from Germany, and aniline dyes at the stores. The yarn dyed with anilli retains its color; in fact the color dies with the cloth; aniline dyes fade out in time. Anilli dyes are very expensive—I paid 10 pesos [30 cents in U. S. money] for less than this [a teaspoonful] last year [1946], and I had to buy three such portions to dye a kaqueto. None can be gotten any longer; they say the war is preventing trade with Germany."

Native dyes are set in two traditional ways: either putrid human urine is added to the kettle of boiling dye from which the dyed skeins have been removed, and when this mixture is boiling the skeins are returned to it and again boiled; or, as in the case of dark colors such as are favored for ponchos, earth of a specific quality and urine are mixed and added to the dye and the skeins boiled in it. The woman who dyed yarn for a poncho in olivillo bark and maiza roots made a solution of the second kind. With her hand she mixed well urine and earth that she and her two-age daughter had dug at the Pacific that

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

252 edge of the fireplace where it was constantly rotated to insure even cooking and to keep the skin from scorching. When the top surface of a stone cooled off, it was turned to bring another hot side up. Rhea meat thus prepared was given to a child as one of its first solid foods. "It was nourishing food, too, for old persons." Other fowl were plucked, visceral contents removed, and either cooked with wild vegetables or roasted on hot stones near the fire.

Armadillo is prepared today as it was formerly. Its visceral cavity is emptied, filled with hot stones, and the animal placed with back down on a good supply of hot coals within an ellipse made of stones. A fire is built within the ellipse well ahead of time, to supply the hot coals needed.

Today, to a large extent, mutton, lamb, beef, and pork have replaced the meats of wild animals. Horse meat is an occasional dish. Meat is usually roasted or stewed; occasionally it is fried in grease. Sometimes the fresh underside of an animal is wrapped around vegetables and roasted on stones near the fireplace. Rabbit meat is held in boiling water for a short time and then fried in grease with onions. When a large number of persons must be fed, as at a wake, a pig or cow is barbecued in its hide.

Fish are prepared today as they were formerly, by emptying the visceral cavity and then either cooking them in a small quantity of water seasoned with salt and chili or baking them on hot stones at the edge of the fireplace. Fish are also fried in grease.

Formerly, fish not immediately consumed had entrails removed and were dried. Pupus (none is longer than 5 inches) were dried in the sun; cangre and pulcilla were collected on thin cellulite stalks, which were pinned through the eyes, and hung over the fireplace. Pirca were staked, and also hung over the fireplace to dry. There was no intention of smoking the fish; nor were they salted.

Macha (shellfish) were boiled in water until valves sprung apart. The meat was removed, cut into pieces, and mixed with finely cut onions and garlic (ajo).

263 Chief traditional seasonings for foods were salt, chili, and garlic; more recently cilantro and onions have been added to these. Sugar, too, is a recent addition. "In fact, we did not use sugar until we began to drink yerba mate," said a 70-year-old man. "It was brought up here from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires." Salt was formerly collected early in spring before the first rainfall, for "once it rained upon it, it lost some of its savor." Several men together went in search of it. Kolupan, who had searched for it, said "Look for it in low places; there it will be found in crystal form." "We get our salt from a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area." 263 317

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite. 262

Eggs of chickens and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell. 252

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then cooked in them. One end of the shell is pushed off, the yolk and white stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about as big [25 feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away feeding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies come close to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea. 252 825 [222]

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarülonko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarülonko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly 32 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[33] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[34] and the others purchase what they want

[33] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[34] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarriñe and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares. 463

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. 534 Commonest of all is the *pifullka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bitonal Pan pipe fashioned from laurel wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifullkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo.

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as *ñillatuns* and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancao, husband of Cautinche's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *llollkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by taking in the breath. A *llollkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleared like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Renaco, but in no one of those places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy. [28 32]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kûde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refûę) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 323, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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formants not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy! My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the World War. Those cántaros [pointing at galvanized pails and enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of oxen, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections. The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 461, 462) were 3 to 5½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is cut lengthwise, flattened, and carved into the desired shape. Formerly an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier on long journeys. Cow udders and paunches were used for storing salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, *4, 5, 6*). They were thoroughly cleaned and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this cheda," said a woman, as she took one off a peg in her ruka. "He used horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Cheda are usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlelike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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415 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put
172 them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

Both metate and muller (kudi and fúmkudi) were of stone. The
412 metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches deep.

415 The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of colihüe bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

reised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny 286
wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours 386
principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out.

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. 281
Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. 281
It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer 413
than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying.

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. 281
On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already.

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of 323
this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating.

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 415 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans, and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huegen*) and rye (*magu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286 386 [437]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (in Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kütru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 415 323

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chroniclers (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 125; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46–47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 36–40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835–36, p. 386) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1925, p. 408). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:274–83.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (domo, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (wentru, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Oña (canto 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Picunche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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415

Plate 154.—Araucanian pottery. *Left: Mapuche* coiling technique in pottery making. *Right:* Types of modern *Mapuche* pottery. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, figs. 16, 20.)

[P. 734 B]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Pottery: 1, Various types in use in Aleguín area. 2-4, Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.

[352]
[p. 188(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

285 frustum. If given reasonable care, a lepú will give 10 years of service. The lepú I saw were 2 to 4 inches deep, 14 to 15 inches in diameter at the bottom, 20 to 23 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 5 inches along slanting sides.

POTTERY MAKING

323 [462] Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional ollas (pot-like containers) and cántaros (jug-like containers, pl. 45, *1*) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 12 had made useful miniatures of ollas and cántaros, and also whorls for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alepúe woman found black clay "for these cántaros, near the Pacific; none around here [on the hills] is any good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one piece of land in which there is much of it; most of the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women were using finely ground pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than shaping an olla." A mixture of clay and pumice is saturated with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an olla uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this roll she forms the bottom of the olla—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From there on, the olla is built up with one continuous coil—the end of one roll and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building process proceeds, shaping is done. Also the woman, at certain stages, pats the molding with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—positively no rough spots must be left for food to adhere to. When completely molded the outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the back of a machu shell (armadillo shell) in Alepúe area; and with the tip of a cow's horn in Pangupulli area. "But the inside, I again rub with my finger tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The olla must be dried gradually; if dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—"it depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a wihal and hung at some distance

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

above the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After 323
two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cántaro is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cántaro is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire.

The two cántaros shown on the bench in plate 45, *1*, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cántaros in Alepúe area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Pangipulli and Alepúe areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as trailú; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as wishún. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) trailú as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it 325
appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Pangipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chilenos. It is said that these Chilenos traded them in when Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of these Chilenos robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepúe man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver trimmings of his horse's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepúe area today a Chileno makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This stickpin was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother uses." A 12-year-old school-girl wore earrings made by him, "like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me."

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer 105
and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepúe, Pangipulli, Coñaripe, and Boroa in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile.

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

10: Hilger E-5 (194[illegible]-1952) 1957
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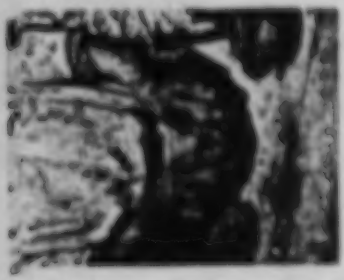
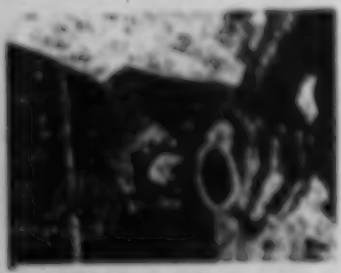
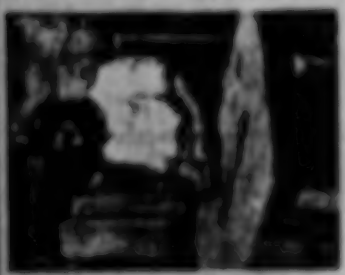
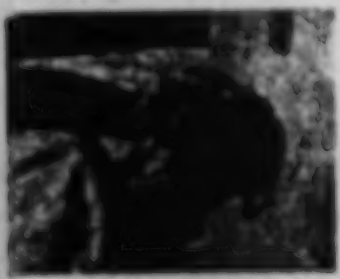
Argentina









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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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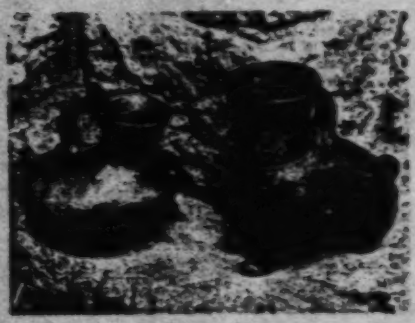

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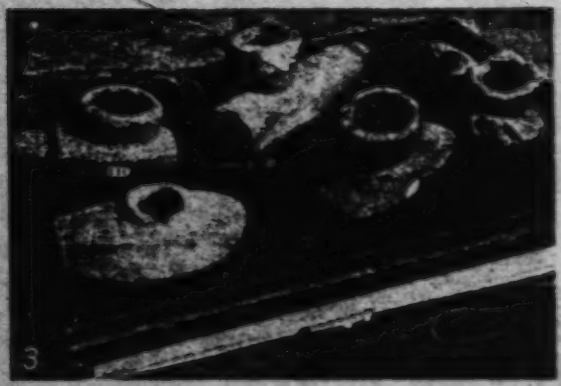

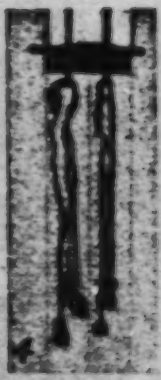

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kocsler.)

[p.364(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

286 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that
386 I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting coarse material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihüe stalks or colihüe rind (pl. 74, 4); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliüwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the gillatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (mallo), a rare kind, was more coveted; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a kilko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The least desirable clay for pottery was chapad (mud). Kolupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, 1). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

Decoration, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Huapi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of maqui or michai; guanaco color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

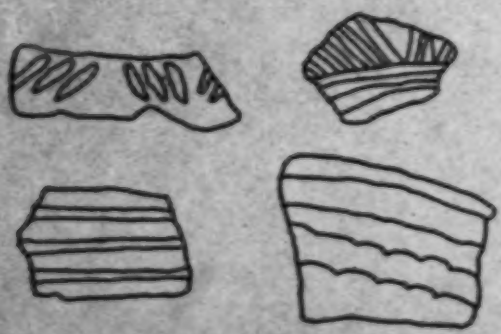

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FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Colhin Cá.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Colhin Cá in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family. 105

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

●324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chroniclers (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Marifo de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 125; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46–47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 36–40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835–36, p. 386) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1925, p. 408). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:274–83.)

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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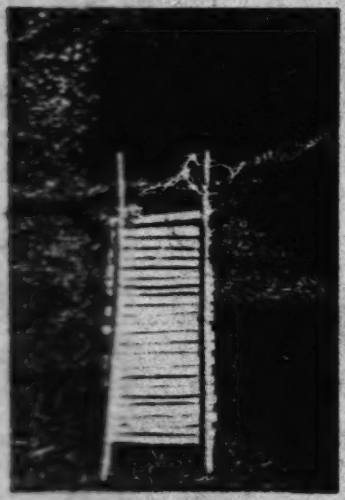

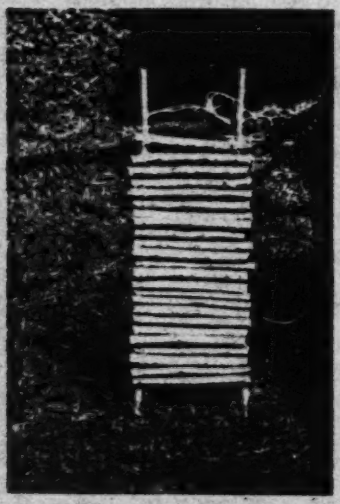

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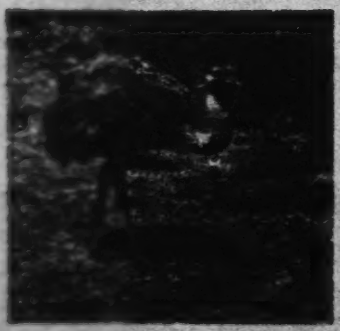

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1 and 2. Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kolupan. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (küllko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trunpad). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Kessler, San Martín de los Andes.)

[p. 364 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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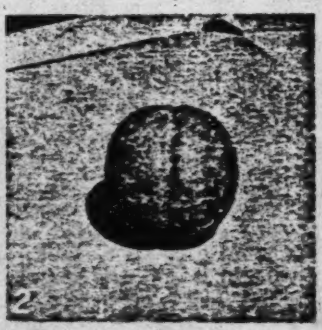

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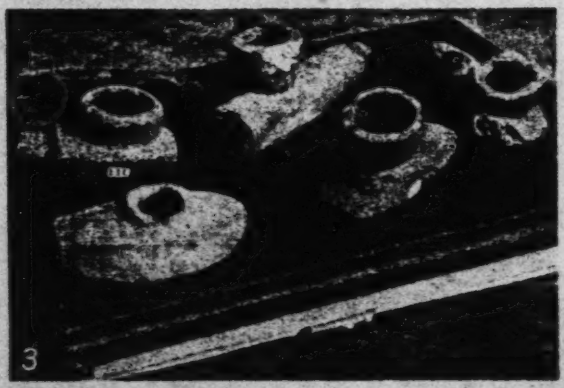

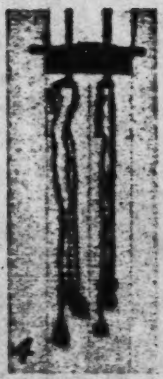

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

above the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After 323
two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cántaro is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cántaro is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire.

The two cántaros shown on the bench in plate 45, *1*, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cántaros in Alepúe area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Panguipulli and Alepúe areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as trailki; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as wishiin. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) trailki as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it 325
appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chileans. It is said that these Chileans traded them in when Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of these Chileans robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepúe man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver trimmings of his horse's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepúe area today a Chilean makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This stickpin was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother uses." A 12-year-old schoolgirl wore earrings made by him, "like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me."

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer 105
and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepúe, Panguipulli, Calaripe, and Boroa in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile.

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Araucanians 564

000 carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having
A taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest.
●326 Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the
T A precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

574 On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of
273 horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him
[352 and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter
534] playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [373] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents. 496 [341] [613] [621]

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community. 496 [612] [591] [574] [554] [621]

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery. 496 [613] [621] [341]

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints [342] [341] [574] [373] [342] [335]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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496 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
496 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

496 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

496 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, 273
they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with painfully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their 342
traditional type of dwellings, which they call *ruka*. House building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.[9] The *ruka*s are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 25 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.[10] Per- [362]
sonally, I saw no *ruka*s that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Carilef affirmed that in "better"

[9] Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Mondaca, 1930, pp. 169-83; and Joseph, 1931a, pp. 12-25.
[10] For further details see Hanson, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 356 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other [231] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[18] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[19] Structures [343] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a [476] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[18] Cf. Housse, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[19] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and Housse, 1939, pp. 157–59.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE II

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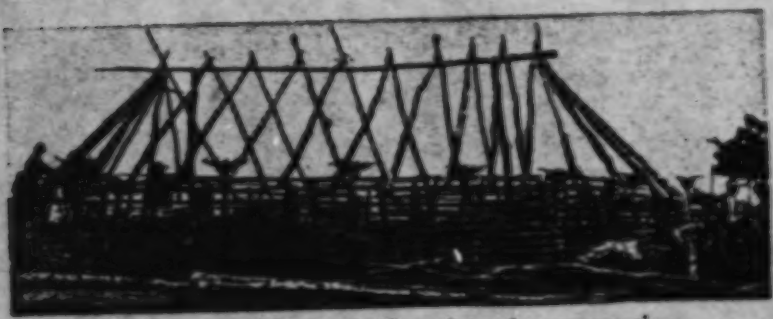

FIG. 1. The framework of a *ruka* under construction.

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(Rudy Wurch photograph)

FIG. 2. A baby tied in its cradleboard.

[end plate 2]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VII

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FIG. 1. The home of the *machi* at Cautinche. Her nonprofessional status is indicated by the absence of a *rewe*. Only the poles in the middle ground reveal her calling.

FIG. 2. The home of a Carrurile *machi*. The *rewe*, surrounded by twigs of sacred trees, is set at an angle before the *ruka*.

[end plate 7]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [01] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

174 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización en la Araucanía*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] [342] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilization. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-182.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish 301
conquest and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the [117
Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, 117]
bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither decks his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means 302
of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties [304
painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the 342
Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided [527]
into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 20 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell- [513]
mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

Weaving.—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *cipoche* (*Fremaldia lanifloch*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twist the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ¼ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 ●

Dwellings.—Very often huts (ruka, tabú) (pl. 153, *bottom*) were located on eminences; thus friendly or unfriendly visitors could be spied some distance off, and an eye could be kept on the livestock. More commonly, dwellings were substantially built of timber or cane framework, oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and with thatch roof reaching nearly or quite to the ground level (fig. 72). Dimensions varied, from 16 to 20 feet (5 to 6 m.) long by 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) wide, to 66 feet (20 m.) long by 33 feet (10 m.) wide, occasionally even larger. A cacique's dwelling observed by Smith (1855, p. 295) was estimated by him as circa 140 feet (43 m.) long by 30 feet (9 m.) wide, with the ridge pole about 15 feet (4.5 m.) above ground. Mariño de Lovera's figures (1865, p. 124), 400 to 800 feet (122 to 244 m.) square, for dwellings in Cauten, appear too high, even though he explicitly states that he measured them several times.

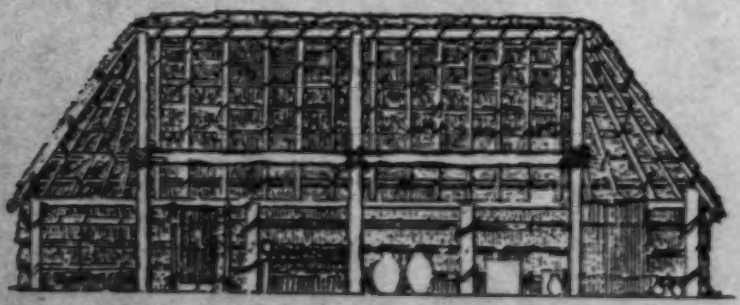

FIGURE 72.—Schematic cross section of the interior of a *Mapuche* dwelling, or ruka. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 9.)

Around Imperial, Pedro de Valdivia (1861, p. 55; in Gay, 1846–52, 1:142) in 1551 found well-built dwellings of large planks, many of these plank houses being very big, with from 2 to 4 and 8 entrances. Plank houses, with grass roofs, were also in use in the late 18th century among the *Huilliche* of the Chilotan archipelago (González de Agüeros, 1791, pp. 111–12). Very large shelters, with from 4 to 6 entrances, were also reported in 1558 in the Coronados Gulf region, by Goicueta (1852, p. 93). In a single house there sometimes lived, according to Sore (1921, 38:46), as many as 80 or 90 persons, though 30 to 40 was the more common number.

Most huts, however, at least in *Mapuche* territory, had only one or two entrances. Doors and windows were lacking. An opening or openings in the center of the roof served as smoke hole.

A small conical thatched hut was also used. In addition, warriors on the march would put up a temporary shelter against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and covering these with four large leaves of pajke (*Gunnera scabra*).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1909, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 22–39; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–48, 229–51.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the kepam and the ekull (ükella). Chamall, makuñ, and kepam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and ekull, of *Quechua*.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his makuñ, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kepam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ekull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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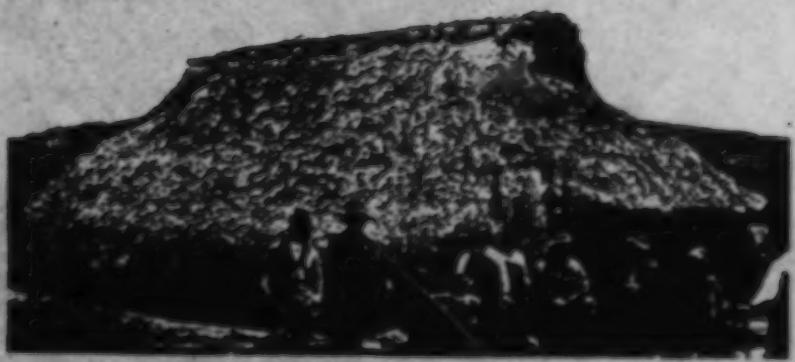

PLATE 112.—Araucanian graves, trees, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Bees, or mantel's ladder. *Bottom:* Mapuche dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence. 000 177

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138). 312 342

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho. 441

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. 291

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139). 172 764

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Puelunche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Fietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Puelunche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Puelunche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Puelunche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory. 131 181

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including those latter "*Puelunche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901) 113

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—
241 and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:68), and "cogen sus trigos y cebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

441 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

292 Rosales (1877–78, 1:196) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "cuhoe" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

222 421 Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

171 In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other unreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 758.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

264 On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, [512] the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school [871] early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground [352] on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

342 The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs [177] to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Cañaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepde man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Cañaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Llaura." 342 595

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

10: Hilger E[illegible] (1946-1952) 1957
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●342 together with voqui, or, in some instances, are nailed to horizontal boards. Hinges are of rawhide. Rarely are there latches or knobs. A door is kept closed by being bolted. Children, during their first days at school, are baffled by knobs on doors.

Ruka have no chimneys. "Who would want to sit in a ruka with an opening at the top to let the rain in?" asked a Coñaripe man, and then went on to say: "The ruka is built to have smoke exits (ulkollin) at one or both gable ends of the roof, or to have escapes in one or two walls. If the ruka is situated in the path of a prevailing wind, such as we have in some of the valleys in the Cordillera, there is only one opening for the smoke; if located where winds shift frequently, there are two. Ulkollin are usually built to protrude beyond the walls or to be slightly higher than the roof. If built in this manner, there is always a good draft." (See pls. 52, *1*, and 53.)

An Alepúe man, when asked why the ruka had no chimney, replied: "For the very simple reason that in this area it rains on the average two days out of every three; no holes can be tolerated in the roof. We take care of ventilation and smoke by arranging for one smoke hole at a gable end of the roof, that is an ulkollin, and for another by leaving an open space at the eaves of one of the walls and a thinness in the same wall just below the open space. The smoke will then find its way out either through the smoke hole or the wall, depending upon the draft, the draft depending largely on the direction of the wind. When building the ruka, notice must be taken of prevailing winds, for the thinness in the wall must be on the side opposite prevailing winds, and the eave on this side must project sufficiently to keep swishing rains from coming in through the thin part of the wall." During an interview, one day, his wife closed the ruka door in order to change the direction of the smoke. She waited a moment, and when she saw the smoke going out through the thin wall she remarked: "There now, that will make it more comfortable to visit."

342 The framework of the traditional thatch ruka requires saplings
824 with a crotch at an equal height on each. Saplings of hardwood are best, such as petra, roble chilean, canelo, olivillo, laurel canelo, and ulmo. Tenro must not be used, "for worms live in it." The rafters are of ulmo, and so are the beams. "Ulmo, you know, grows very straight." The entire framework is kept taut and in position by cuhihue poles tied to it at intervals in a horizontal position.

342 A man wishing to erect a thatch ruka usually collects the building materials before the men he has invited to assist him arrive. These are men he helped in the erection of their rukas, usually neighbors and relatives. If these men are close friends of his, their families are

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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, [624]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the collihue poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the collihue poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, collihue poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [462]
the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [Informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful son, If I had a nice mare, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Cañaripe man explained the building of the split-log [171]
roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chilenos," he stated. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belong- [428]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 359
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth. An open

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Plate 1. A. A tolda (Chacra). B. The Collector (subject) homestead. C. One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for dancing and for storage.

F 220 W

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A rukas in Alepin area: 1. Front view showing entrance. (Note yoke for oxen leaning against the wall.) 2. Smoke hole at gable end of front wall. 3. Smoke hole at gable end of rear wall. (Note layers of grass sod in thatching walls, in all three pictures.)

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F. 220(B)

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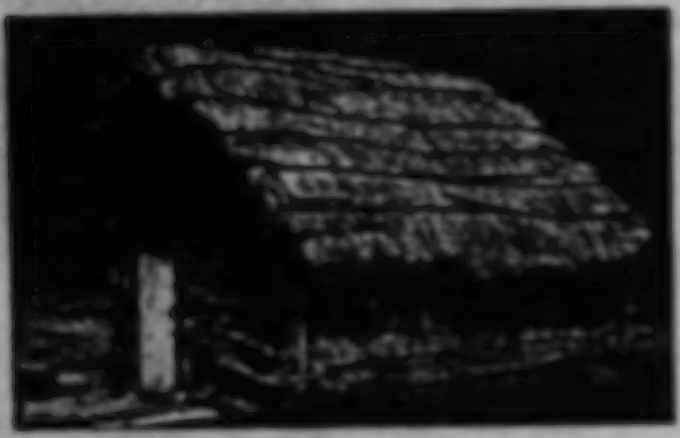

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A dwelling, children, and view of Trawunel [illegible]. A [illegible] dwelling of [illegible] and [illegible] roof. Smoke is vented or gets out [illegible] through opening in roof [illegible] with hooks. [illegible] a [illegible] for [illegible]. Children [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] and [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

10: Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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[illegible]

18: Hüger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
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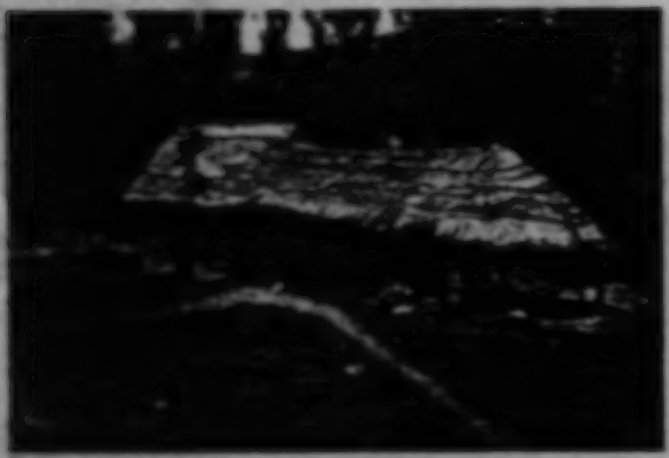

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Below: 1. A [illegible] dwelling made of a stone foundation, adobe brick walls, and thatched roof, with no chimney. A. The earthen and low door [illegible] of the dwelling shown in figure 1. Right, Mangueri Mach[illegible], Chile [illegible].

[p 268(F)]

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[415]

Right: 1 and 2, A Araucanian dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children

[p.268(6)]

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Mallco: 1. The cacique of Mallco, his wife and four of his children, and Father Ludovico Pernisek, the late Salesian missionary to the Araucanians. 2. The home of the cacique. 3. A view from the cacique's home showing some of the cultivated and pastureland leased by him from the Argentine Government for the people under his jurisdiction.

[p.268(H)]

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272 [574] children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trokle ruka [house of poles], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trokle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with muday was served, a celebration known as the kawiftun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

i [i.e. perhaps mate. -Analyst]

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ground, so located that the rear of the toldo was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the toldo to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the toldo with paint made of white earth (malle) or red earth (kelli harro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kuhpan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 44

Hides used as toldo coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kuse quilli) (pl. 74, *f*), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 3 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic rock, porous and light. Brush was not used in softening hides. 342 281

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0342 volcanic rock, pumice and light. Brain was not used in softening hides.

Hides were sewed together with strands of horse sinew or very narrow strips of the thin skin found on the flesh side of horsehide. "I have seen my mother take the sinew that lies along the full length of the spine of the horse including the tail, pound it to softness, and then pull the fibers apart. She used these as thread." A young man, upon the advice of his mother, had recently used strips of the inner lining of horsehide to sew together parts of a bridle; his mother had used similar strips to sew together hides for table coverings some years ago.

Dwellings today are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses (pls. 63-67). An occasional one has an added lean-to which consists of one wall on the side of prevailing winds, and a roof. Occasionally, too, a sun shelter is seen, made of poles overlaid with a roof (pl. 65, *1*). It is not unusual for a family to have a shed for sleeping or storage purposes.

The framework of the gable-roofed dwelling is of poles or tree trunks. The roof may be thatched with grass or straw, or made of overlapping logs, overlaid lumber, shingles, or tin. Grasses used are totora, coirón (unidentified), and junco; straw is that of wheat. If logs are used, they are sawed in half lengthwise, hollowed out, and laid side by side across the roof with the hollowed-out side up. A second layer of smaller logs, but in inverted position, is placed over these so that the sides of each will rest in the hollows of the first layer. The second layer forms the watershed; the first provides drainage. Boards used as roofing are nailed lengthwise across the roof, each one overlapping the upper part of the one below it. Shingles and tin are arranged in the same manner. The floor of the dwelling is usually the ground; in rare cases, planks.

The exterior walls are often slats of wood with bark, such as can be obtained at sawmills; sometimes they are boards. They are nailed to the framework in either horizontal or vertical position. Spaces between slats are filled in with adobe or covered with discarded pieces of tin of various sizes and shapes. If boards and slats cannot be obtained, the leafy ends of cattails stalks are used instead. Adobe is plastered between and over them. Usually only the room in which the fireplace is located has windows. The door is generally at the gable end of the house. The interior walls are unfinished; the roof forms the ceiling.

352 House furnishings, in general, are a table with one or two suitable benches; low benches around an open fireplace or stove; and shelves attached to walls as separate boards or in a box, used for storing dishes, food, and other things. Sleeping is done on sheep pelts laid on

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being leveled. [574] [273] [528] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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496 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
496 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacareria* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

496 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

496 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in ceremonial content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *dillaethungpung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungpung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chowal* and *chiripa*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kripon* (a wooden homespun wrap-around), the *ckal* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intracultural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the arrecarias grow, from which the pihones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Chocoque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Chocoque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our freedle being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all frail dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much shorter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Chocoque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while there fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Araucanians 564

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622
ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Checoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Checoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142
mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Fiemches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 608
came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are
356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other
[231] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or cows are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[14] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new ruka until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On some of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[15] Structures
[195] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional rukas are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a
[178] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new ruka is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[14] Cf. Hanke, 1939, pp. 135 ff.

[15] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1935, pp. 192-96, and Hanke, 1939, pp. 137-39.

PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two [illegible] dancers at Colgua. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Colgua. The women prepare food while the children play games.

[end plate 13]

PLATE XV

FIG. 1. The family of Segundo Palma at Carmelita, in front of a storehouse, by the order in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Palma's brother.

FIG. 2. Fishing gear at Carmelita. Plants and spearpoints are complete shafts. Female Celto stands left of canoe, with his two spears wide open.

[end plate 15]

10: Hilger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Building materials (Ruka): a. Bamboo used in flooring; b. rods; c. Vine (Chonch) used in building frames and rods; d. Dried d. Adobe clay. (Note the manner of building chimneys in the place. All photography is done with [illegible])

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[1962]

[p. 220 (c)]

PLATE XVI

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Fig. 1. Two men from Ramon. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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Fig. 2. Children at Carrasco. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Middle Araucans. Domingo Cerbal, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Aleguic schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a loaded from the blades of a chapda; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

5G4 Araucanians 5G4

Chile

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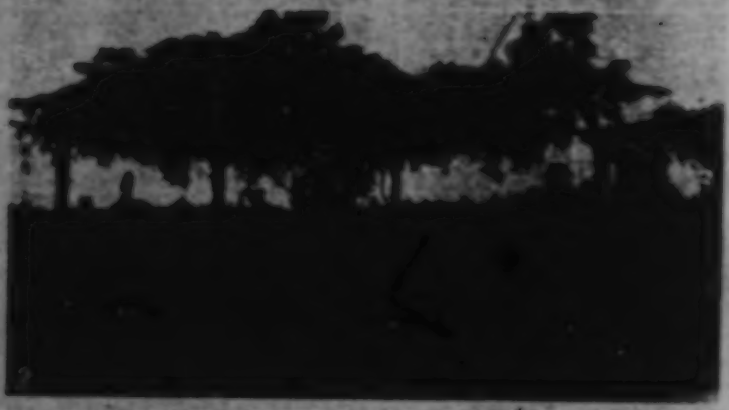

The ullatun, religious ceremonial (Cañeripe): 1, Sun shelters erected by participants at the place of the ceremonial. 2, Detail of one of the shelters. 3, The spot on which the sacrificial animals were burned.

[p. 156(N)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

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Alapin schoolchildren: 1. Boys on their way home from school. (Note hard-cover book, now being used as mortarboard). 2. Girls on their way home from school. (The clearing in the middle background is now a wheatfield). 3. Lunch time at school. (Note garden hoes of boys.)

[p.28(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

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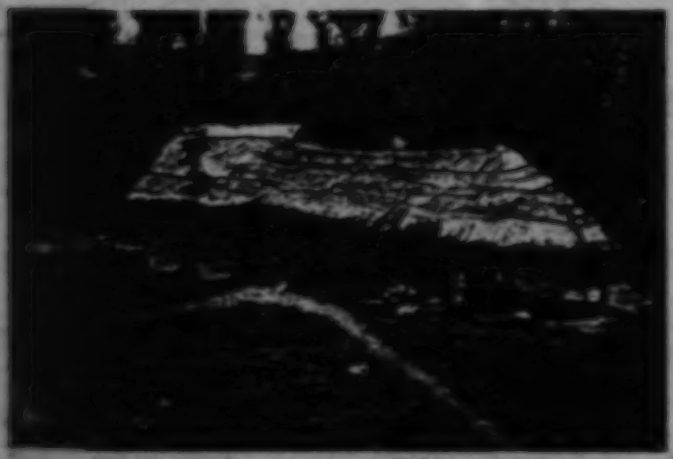

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Halftone: 1, A 2-room dwelling made of a stone foundation, adobe brick walls, reed thatched roof, with sun shelter. 2, The mother and her three children, owners of the dwelling shown in figure 1. Right, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant.

[p. 268(F)]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, 273
they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with painfully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their 342
traditional type of dwellings, which they call *ruka*. House building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.[10] The *ruka*s are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 25 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.[11] Per- [352]
sonally, I saw no *ruka*s that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Carilaf affirmed that in "better"

[10] Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 169–83; and Joseph, 1931a, pp. 10–29.

[11] For further details see Hunter, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the commoners the same confusion prevails.

The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the bowls are taken from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

Weaving.—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *quadu* (*bromelia lindlaudii*), which to-day are only utilized for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Honey, oil, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from *Andean* salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from moli seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 261).

A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was spoil, putrefied lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

Eating.—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barbosa, 1667, p. 260), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sit sitting on the ground.

The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

Settlements.—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or house cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

9:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

362 The interior of the longer huts was commonly divided into compartments or chambers opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and semi-permanent huts.

362 478 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Simeon, 1877-78, 1:149; Latcham, 1908, p. 237; Guevara [illegible], 1911, pp. 149-40; Menéndez, 1913, pp. 23-29; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 178-79.)

● 352 Home furnishings.—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or in heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on home furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1933, pp. 39-48, 229-31.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 [177] Garments.—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the lequem and the ckull (ikella). Chamall, makuñ, and lequem are apparently words of Araucanian origin; chiripa and ckull, of Quechua.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his makuñ, a Poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's lequem was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ckull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same Araucanian or Spanish word to denote different garments.

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Cotiaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "aii." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tss." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 A 60-year-old Cotiaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lul-
854 laby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Informants and interpreters: 1, A Collaripe family. (Note outdoor fireplace.) 2, Sister Gerona, an interpreter, and an Alepue informant. 3, Francisca Frauendorfl, an interpreter (left); and Margaret Mondloch, field assistant (right). Young woman in center winnowing wheat. (Collaripe.)

[p 92(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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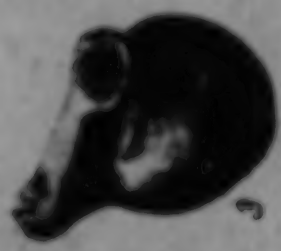

[352]

Figure 1. Tibetan type in our in Aleja area. 1-4. Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.

[p. 188(D)]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

NO 373 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or the cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

356 Almost without exception rukas seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Coñaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 412 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom made of coqueto tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning bottles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Coñaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two rukas occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 513 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but adequate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bad weaver," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alapide man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [151]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of vequi from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alapide woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining collinke sections of equal length with vequi. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or hoof-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoe, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoe in use in Collaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on tie beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored furthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoe, and sacks, are traditional baskets (kilko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wihal), dried gourds, paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 291

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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362 volcanic rock, pumice and light. Brain was not used in softening hides.

Hides were sewed together with strands of horse sinew or very narrow strips of the thin skin found on the flesh side of horsehide. "I have seen my mother take the sinew that lies along the full length of the spine of the horse including the tail, pound it to softness, and then pull the fibers apart. She used these as thread." A young man, upon the advice of his mother, had recently used strips of the inner lining of horsehide to sew together parts of a bridle; his mother had used similar strips to sew together hides for table coverings some years ago.

Dwellings today are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses (pls. 63-67). An occasional one has an added lean-to which consists of one wall on the side of prevailing winds, and a roof. Occasionally, too, a sun shelter is seen, made of poles overlaid with a roof (pl. 65, *1*). It is not unusual for a family to have a shed for sleeping or storage purposes.

The framework of the gable-roofed dwelling is of poles or tree trunks. The roof may be thatched with grass or straw, or made of overlapping logs, overlaid lumber, shingles, or tin. Grasses used are totora, cebolin (unidentified), and junco; straw is that of wheat. If logs are used, they are sawed in half lengthwise, hollowed out, and laid side by side across the roof with the hollowed-out side up. A second layer of similar logs, but in inverted position, is placed over these so that the sides of each will rest in the hollows of the first layer. The second layer forms the watershed; the first provides drainage. Boards used as roofing are nailed lengthwise across the roof, each one overlapping the upper part of the one below it. Shingles and tin are arranged in the same manner. The floor of the dwelling is usually the ground; in rare cases, planks.

The exterior walls are often slats of wood with bark, such as can be obtained at sawmills; sometimes they are boards. They are nailed to the framework in either horizontal or vertical position. Spaces between slats are filled in with adobe or covered with discarded pieces of tin of various sizes and shapes. If boards and slats cannot be obtained, the leafy ends of cattlelie stalks are used instead. Adobe is plastered between and over them. Usually only the room in which the fireplace is located has windows. The door is generally at the gable end of the house. The interior walls are unfinished; the roof forms the ceiling.

352 House furnishings, in general, are a table with one or two suitable benches; low benches around an open fireplace or stove; and shelves attached to walls as separate boards or in a box, used for storing dishes, food, and other things. Sleeping is done on sheep pelts laid on

19: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory- 352
made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun.

Traditionally, silos and cisterns and containers made of hide were 415
used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was 251
storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy.

Things seen stored in sheds included leaves of braided horsehide, lower facing of horsehide, leaves, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and leaves used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of cuilloi stalks that rested on leaves of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for 291
clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant.

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (wainil). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (ʃumell). Kuhapen demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trariwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or ʃumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 5G4

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622
ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Cheoeque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Cheoeque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142
mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Picunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 000
came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

ground, so located that the rear of the toldo was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the toldo to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the toldo with paint made of white earth (mallo) or red earth (kelü barro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kolupan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldos. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 461

Hides used as toldo coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kura ŋafikü) (pl. 74, 6), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides. 342 281

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching fiandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the fiandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day. 342 [824]

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication. [462]

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche [illegible]d these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split le[illegible]e and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these spl[illegible], hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the sp[illegible] hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position [illegible] that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out." [177]

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death. [428]

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth as well. 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[354]

Baking bread (Trumpal): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

[p. 316 (D)]

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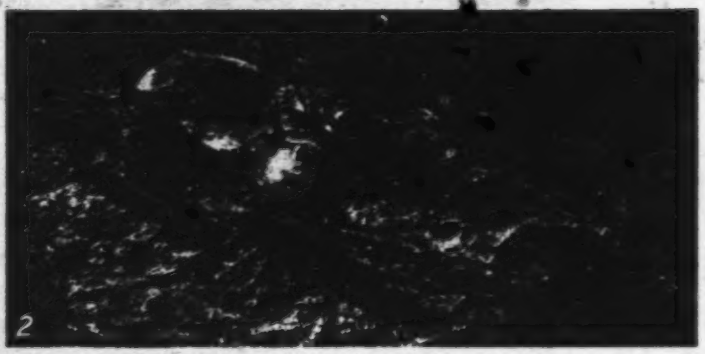

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1, Carrying home a poil of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quilaquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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cups for use at the ŋillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichaña was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the kūlko (pl. 74, *4*), and the kolkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and kūlko, as sieves also; the kolkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the kūlko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepol, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 235

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, *1*; 65, *1*; 66, *2*.) 262 354

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, *1*). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, *2*) that I saw (they were said to be 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fiire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *2*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[533 my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but
782] burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are
● 356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other
[238] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[15] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[16] Structures
[343] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a
[476] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[15] Cf. Hosse, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[16] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 157–59.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[829] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *nyocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[239] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very
286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

800 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning
373 wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

● 356 Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Coñaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom
412 made of esparto tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning kettles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Coñaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two ruka occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but ade-
513 quate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a sister to help him out. At Carrarrihe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home. 513 604

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters. 604

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex. 603

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household. 602 357 597

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation. 602 593

[10] In a patrilineal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 714.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alapite boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the house of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted.

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own rules. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers.

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was amazed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash.

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not ransomed, were assigned to work without pay.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

354 372 [252] [415]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

361 621

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

721 361 621

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 621 721 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A [534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was [202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 574 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, [576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu- [492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very 493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously 491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

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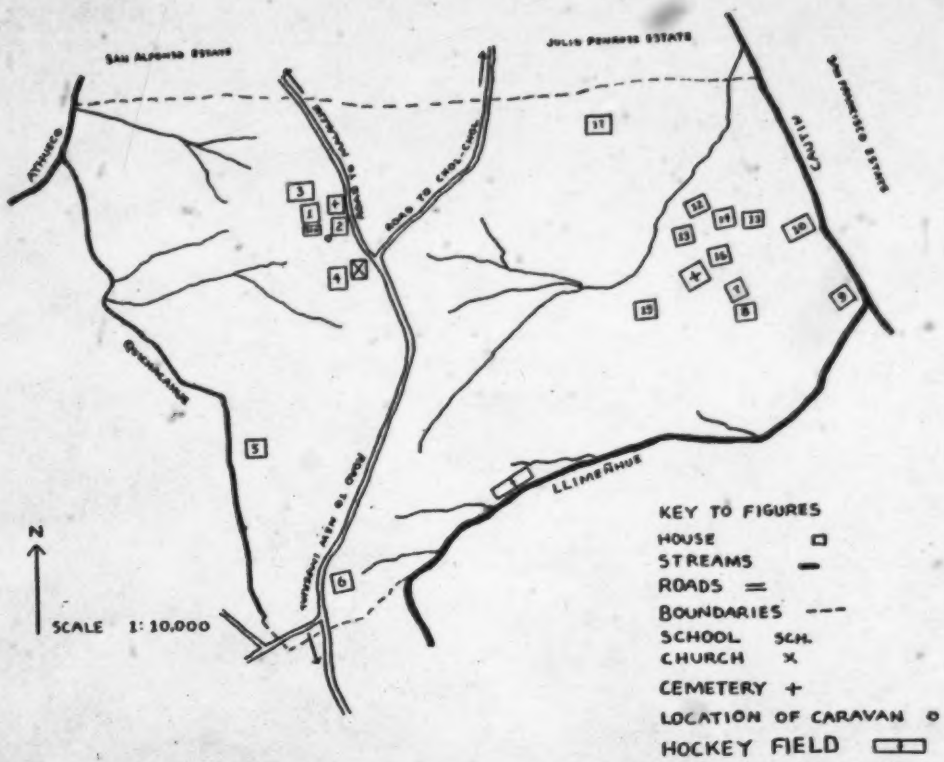

FIG. 4. Cautinche settlement pattern. Based on an original field sketch made by Raúl González. The key also applies to Figures 8 and 9.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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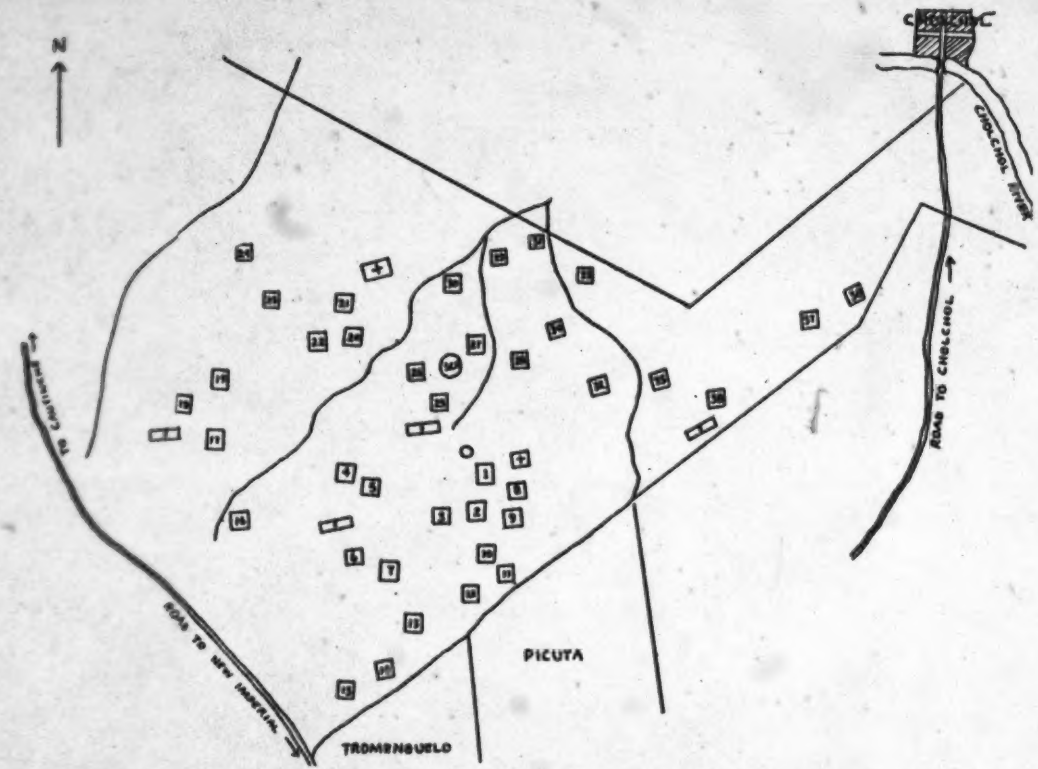

FIG. 8. Carrarriñe settlement pattern. Based on a diagram by Raúl González. Only the houses studied in the text are shown. The key to figures is the same as in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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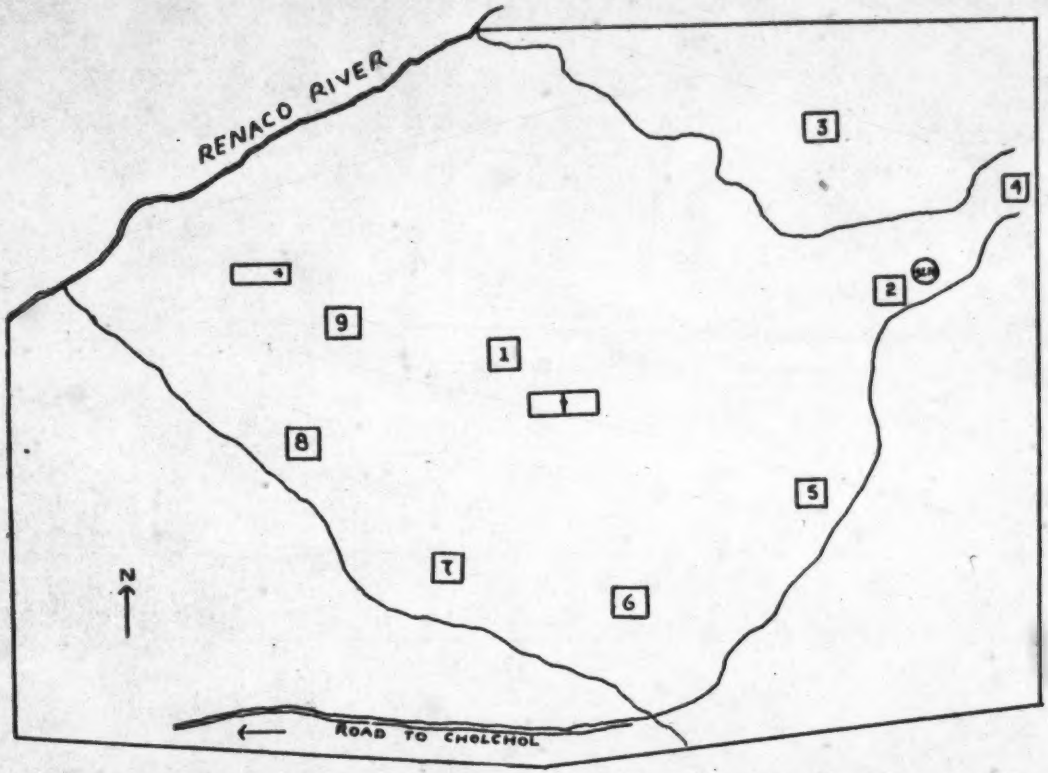

FIG. 9. Renaco settlement pattern. From a diagram by Raúl González. The hockey field near house No. 1 is distinct from the *fiillatun* ground near No. 9. See Figure 4 for key to symbols.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[317] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav,
415 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidifcation on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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417

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482

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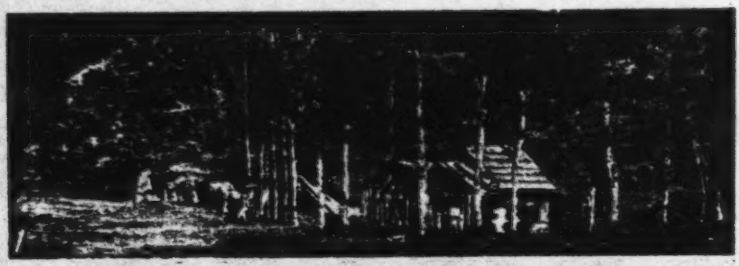
Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quilaquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[p. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



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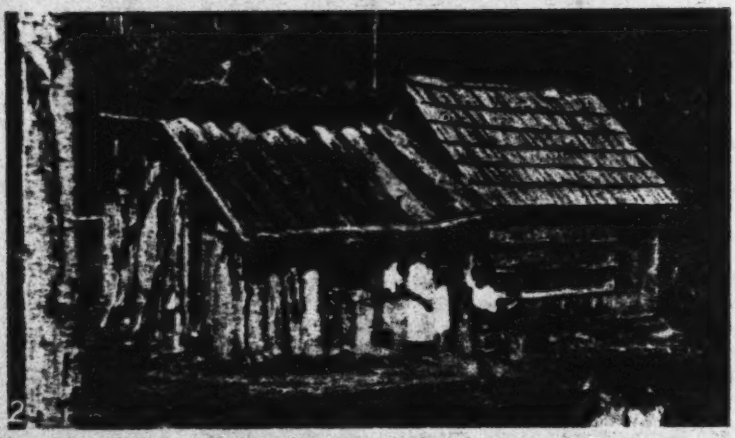

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[854]
[415]

Pilpil: 1 and 2, A 2-room dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children.

[p.268(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

641 648 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 423 484 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common. When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [439]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 361
C 361
A C 133
C A [491] [496] [361]
A 648 175

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:259–307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

175 433 222 [231] It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

24 17 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory [361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled [433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de- [262] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[462] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
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A 311 423 822 did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

A 311 Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

C 311 This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

A 361 114 621 162 423 C 162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	c. 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	c. 3 ha.

Pelehue

C 311 This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	193	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huenchucui	109	88	c. 1.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
433 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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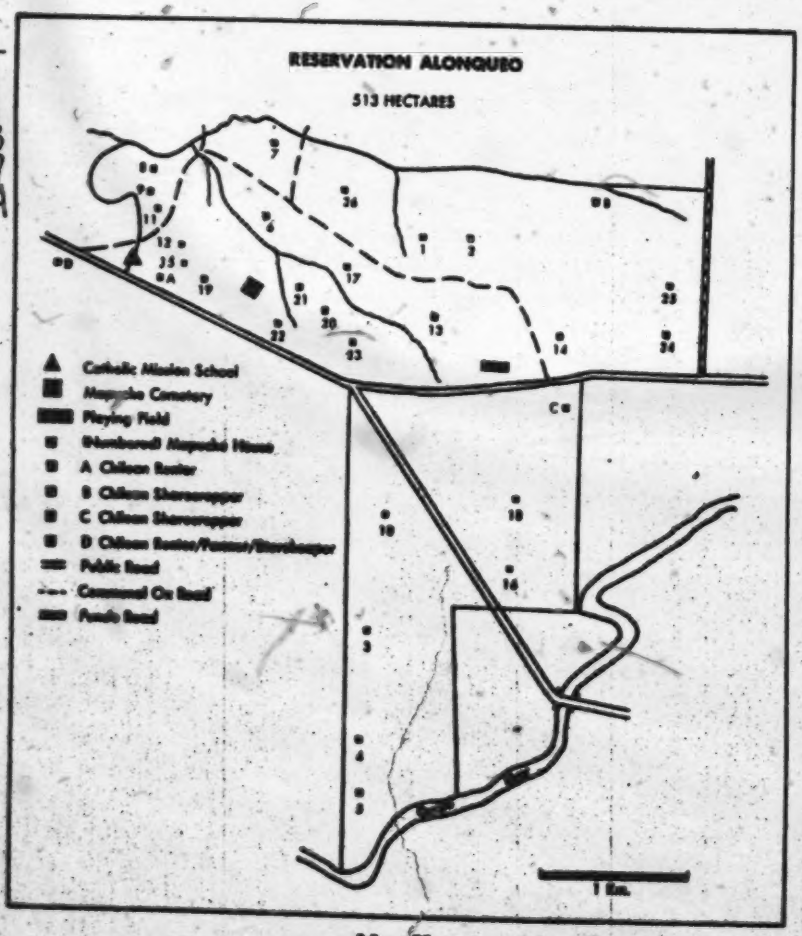

MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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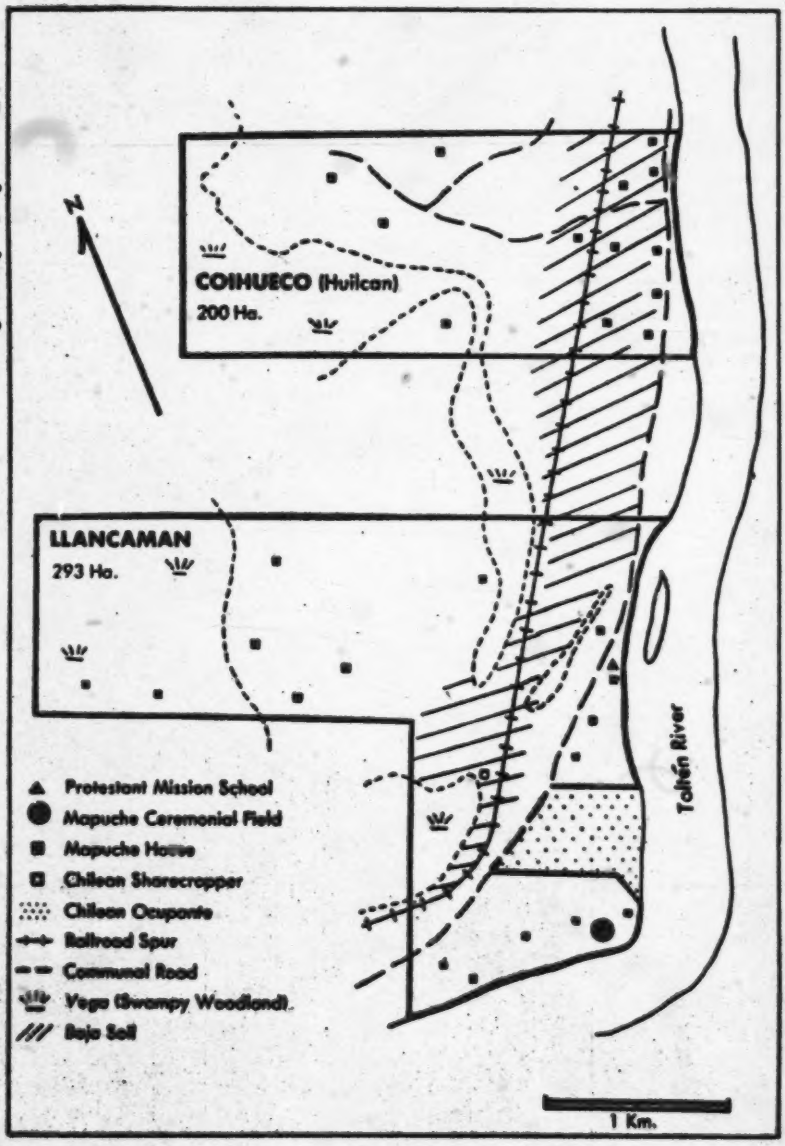

MAP III

[p. 36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

423 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural af-
177 fairs.

[648] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great[illegible]l of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

[14]
[162
+36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[4] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

4 [i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II). Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [LAP]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[735] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[5] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[5] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
[See Cap. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

SOUTHERN CENTRAL CHILE
Cautín Province

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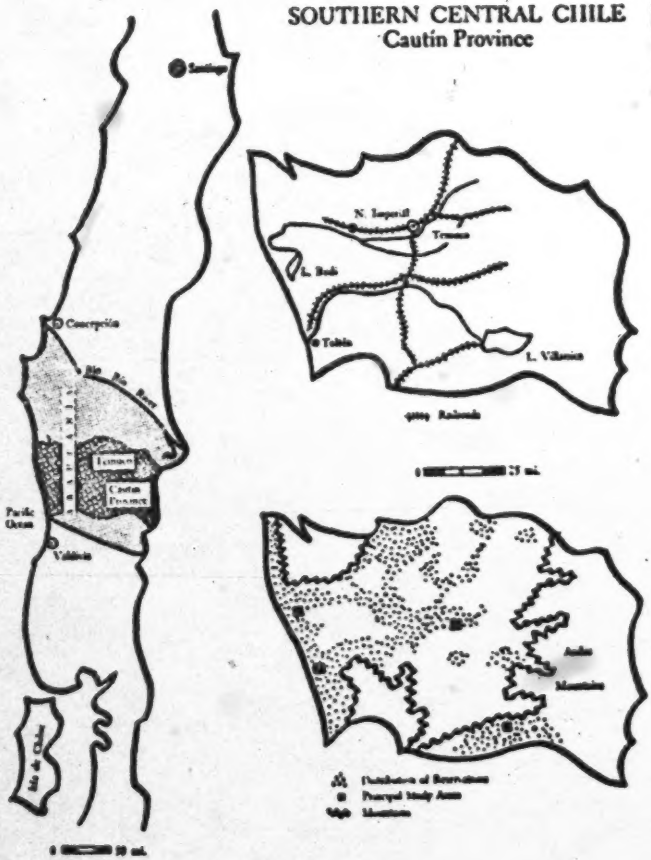

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recevered for the time.

T A 787 825 T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Cheoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

A 361 T A 133 137

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T •A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, ● 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. A 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,
415 and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs
[531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

● 372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huegeu*) and rye (*magu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chroniclers (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 125; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46–47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 36–40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835–36, p. 386) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1925, p. 408). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:274–83.)

●372 **Fire making and illumination.**—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (domo, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (wentru, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Oña (canto 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Picunche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (küde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refüŋ) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him poñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, *in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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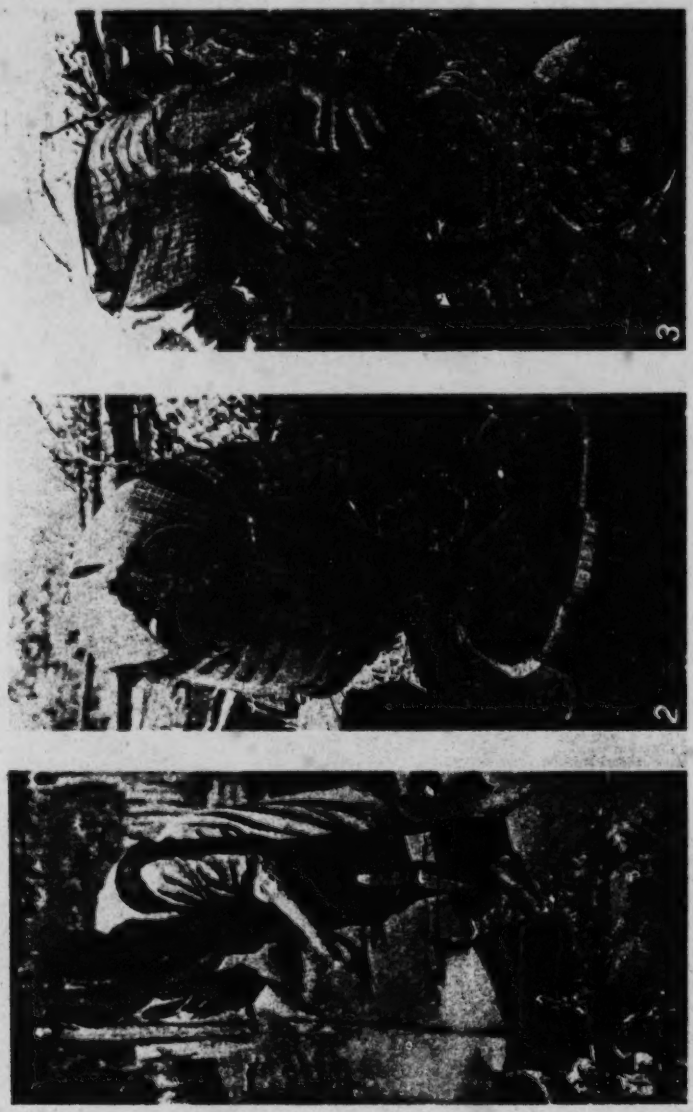

Making mote (continued): 1, Testing kernels. 2, Cooling cooked kernels. 3, Pouring cooled kernels into a basket.

37

[p. 188 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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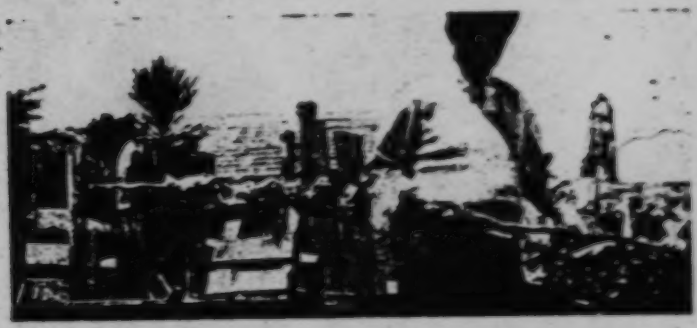

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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shsped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fiire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *a*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[533 my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but
782] burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 ***Arumko*** **and** ***shompalwe*** **are considered human forms with** animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The ***shompalwe*** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere. [372] [763]

775 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a [858] [553]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

000 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning
373 wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

356 Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Coñaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom
412 made of esparto tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whiskbrooms, used in cleaning kettles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Coñaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two ruka occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but ade-
513 quate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 [278 ●386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

raised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny 286
wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours 386
principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out.

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. 281
Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. 281
It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer 413
than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying.

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. 281
On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already.

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypu (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of 323
this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, ochreous, and white, the red and black predominating.

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by wetting the stick. They fashion their ware by welding with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286 386 [437]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (*in* Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kütru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 445 323

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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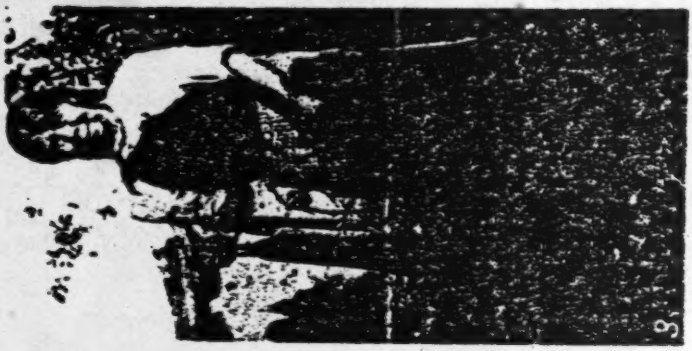

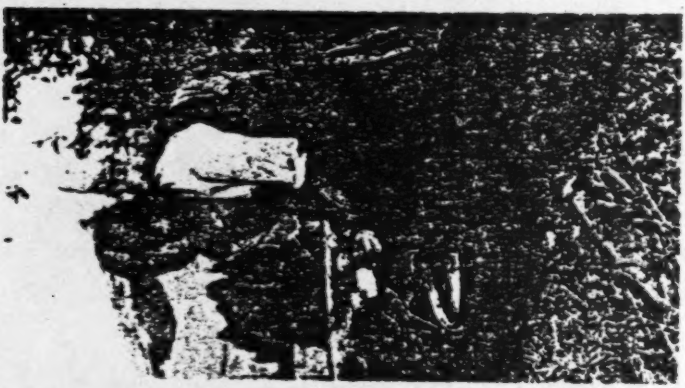

Dyeing (Alepue): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wilal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

286
386

[516
415]

[482]

[p. 220 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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283 is kept in upright position by holding its lower end between two toes. Children were seen winding yarn on balls in this manner.

The informant then demonstrated twirling yarn used in weaving a kəpam, for which only a single strand is twirled. She unwound several feet of yarn, then rolled the upper end of the spindle between her hands, caught the end of the yarn, held it, suspended the spindle in midair, and let it twirl there. She kept an eye on the yarn and when she thought it sufficiently twirled, she stopped it by letting the lower end of the spindle touch the ground. She examined the yarn closely now, and found it sufficiently twirled. After a strand was twirled, she rolled it onto another spindle, and secured it in the groove with a slipknot.

386 Yarn, not wool, is dyed by being boiled in a decoction made, as formerly, of native plants or of earth (pl. 58, *1*); in recent years commercial dyes bought in Chilean stores have also been used. Either the yarn and the dye-producing substance are boiled together, or the dye is first made and the yarn then boiled in it. Women do the dyeing. (Pl. 58, *2*, *3*.) Yarn to be dyed is formed into skeins, a single arm's stretch in length, the number of strands in a skein depending on the amount of yarn needed for the article to be woven and also on the size of the kettle in which they are to be dyed. (The informant thought that there are never more than 100 strands in a skein.) Near her lay five skeins, each of 70 to 100 double-twirled strands.

Dyeing was formerly done only in pottery-made ollas; several informants still dyed black in ollas, "for black dyed in a kettle fades the next day. A woman who does not have an olla usually weaves her kəpam from the wool of black sheep. A kəpam must be black; no woman would wear one of any other color." Iron kettles used in cooking are the ones used in dyeing. Table 6 lists native plants from which colors were extracted by informants.

An Alepúe woman spent a forenoon in the woods chopping bark off ulmo. "Since I want to dye yarn a dark, dark brown, I had to search for old trees. Out here in the open space, I found only young trees; their bark gives a light-brown color. But deep in the woods I found the old trees I needed." She then proceeded with the dyeing. She broke the bark into chips, put a layer of them on the bottom of the kettle, two skeins of dry yarn on the top of the chips, another layer of bark, two more skeins on top of these, and then another layer of bark. The amount of bark used is of no account; the length of boiling is significant. She filled the kettle with cold water and suspended it from the fire raft so low that it rested directly on the fire. As it boiled, she occasionally pulled several strands forward with a stick to examine

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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the color. When the color satisfied her she flipped the chips off with her bare hand, lifted the yarn out with the stick, and hung the skeins on a wire hook suspended from the fire raft in such a position that they drained into the decoction in the kettle below. Later she wrung the skeins by hand into the kettle beneath. She had two more skeins to dye. These she put into the kettle, added more chips and enough water to fill the kettle. While waiting for these to dye, she told how

[824]

TABLE 6.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Chile)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Orange-yellow	Bark of michai (mɔchai, *Berberis darwinii* or *B. vulgaris*)	Shrub found in dry land on hills and in open spaces. "It makes pretty stripes in lamas and designs in choapinos."
Red-brown	Dry gray moss (not identified)	Found on fence rails.
Brown	Bark of ulmo (ŋulŋu, *Eucryphia cordifolia*)	"Use bark of old trees for dark brown; of young trees for light brown."
Gray-brown	Twigs of temu (*Temu divaricatum*) added to nalca (ŋalka, *Gunnera scabra*)	Temu grows in moist ravines.
Lead-gray	Any of the following: (a) Twigs and leaves of petra (pütra, *Myrceugenia planipes*) (b) Bark of olivillo (tüke, *Aextoxicon punctatum*) (c) Roots of nalca (d) Twigs of chakaiwa (*Berberis darwinii*) (e) Twigs of fuscia (chilliko, *Fuchsia macrostemma*)	A favorite color for ponchos. Grows in deep swamps.
Purple-gray	Bark of nalca and olivillo	Favorite color for ponchos.
Red	Relbun (rülfan kachu, *Galium chilense*) only when mixed with commercial red dye	"It takes less commercial red dye if relbun is used with it. Relbun grows on the edges of brooks."
Black	Roots of chakaiwa	

to dye for other colors. "If I were dyeing yellow, I would chop the roots of michai into small pieces and boil the yarn with them, just as I am doing now. If I wanted to brighten the yellow color, I would add the leaves of canelo; canelo leaves would also prevent the color from fading out. When I want to dye red or green, I use commercial dyes. When I want to dye yarn in commercial red, I boil the yarn in canelo leaves first and then in the dissolved red dye. For commercial green, I boil the yarn with leaves of laurel común first, and then in the dissolved green dye. Doing it this way brings the colors out

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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386 bright and lets them fade less easily. Darker shades of any color are produced by boiling the yarn a long time; the longer the yarn is boiled in the dye, the deeper the color will be."

Another Alepúe woman, using native plants, made the dye first and then boiled the yarn in it. At the time she was dyeing yarn for a poncho, using chips of olivillo bark and pieces of roots of nalca. She removed the bark and roots from the kettle and dropped the skeins into the boiling decoction. In about 10 minutes she squeezed the liquid out of a handful of yarn to examine the color. "It is too light," she remarked, and let it boil several more minutes.

386 317 Silver-gray and black are obtained from earth. An Alepúe woman, who was dyeing with earth at the time, gave directions for finding earth to dye silver-gray. "Look for a spot of deep purplish color on the surface of the earth, along the shores of the Pacific. When you find it, dig down about so deep [3 feet], and take out the earth you find there; it will dye a silver-gray color—Chileans call the color plomo." A Coñaripe woman was dyeing black with earth that she had brought "from a place near here where a spring from the Cordillera empties into the Llancahue River. I know of no other place where it can be found," she noted.

386 Commercial dyes were used by informants to color red, green, purple, wine color, and also black. "The Chilean stores at which we trade for clothing, sugar, etc., will accept lama and choapino from us in exchange for things we want, if they are in bright colors; articles in darker colors are difficult to sell, the storekeepers say. Since we have no plants that dye bright colors, we buy anüll, a dye imported from Germany, and aniline dyes at the stores. The yarn dyed with anüll retains its color; in fact the color dies with the cloth; aniline dyes fade out in time. Anüll dyes are very expensive—I paid 10 pesos [30 cents in U. S. money] for less than this [a teaspoonful] last year [1946], and I had to buy three such portions to dye a kəpam. None can be gotten any longer; they say the war is preventing trade with Germany."

Native dyes are set in two traditional ways: either putrid human urine is added to the kettle of boiling dye from which the dyed skeins have been removed, and when this mixture is boiling the skeins are returned to it and again boiled; or, as in the case of dark colors such as are favored for ponchos, earth of a specific quality and urine are mixed and added to the dye and the skeins boiled in it. The woman who dyed yarn for a poncho in olivillo bark and nalca roots made a solution of the second kind. With her hand she mixed well urine and earth that she and her teen-age daughter had dug at the Pacific that

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717). 386 [868]

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *2*; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kəpam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (traruloŋko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs. 286

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size." 286 294 804

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kəlo)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often 286

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

283 than 100 years, whom I visited, spun fine yarn. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of raulí which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, *3*.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (manzana silvestre) or chiñchiñ, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, choapino (saddle blankets), matra (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and makun (rugs). Matra and choapino are placed under saddles; they and makun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2*, *3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1*, *4*; 80); for ponchos, the wearer for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, *5*).

286 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced
531 eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her yarn accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on
386 shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as mallo was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as lüu." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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other dye. To bleach yarn white, the length of strands needed, "like for a diamond-shaped design in a choapino," are measured off and each wound around a leaf or small stick and stored away in mallo. An 80-year-old woman had seen her mother-in-law bury yarn in a few handfuls of mallo that she had put into a corner of a hewn-out tree trunk. She had prepared two sticks of wood, "as thick as my finger," one about so long that she had called wentru (man), and the other so long, that she called domo (woman) (4 and 2½ inches, respectively). Around each stick she wound one layer of yarn, very tight and very close together. When the yarn was removed from the mallo, it was pure white. "It always remained white. My mother-in-law wanted it for a cross design in some weaving she was about to do."

TABLE 10.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Argentina)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Red (kelü)	Relvún (*Relbunium hypocarpium*)	
	Yerba vinagrillo (*Oxalis acetosella*)	
	Heart of roble (*Nothofagus obliqua*)	
Rose color (kallfu mora)	Roots of pimpinela (*Acaena ovalifolia*)	
Coffee color to dark brown (muske kelu)	Bark of roble	
	Bark of nogal (*Lomatia obliqua*)	
	Boldo (*Peumus boldus*)	
Gray (kafü)	Nogal	"Nalca produces a delicate shade of gray."
	Robu (unidentified)	
	Roots of nalca (*Gunnera scabra*)	
Yellow (chof)	Bark and roots of michai (*Berberis darwinii*)	
	Romerillo (*Lomatia ferruginea*)	
	Poquil (unidentified)	
Chestnut color, like that of guanaco wool (Fuan kal)	Bark of roble	
Black	Bark of nogal	"If boiled a very, very long time."

Sheep's wool is dyed after it has been made into yarn. It is boiled in water containing the substance in which the dye is found. Darker shades can be obtained by using more of the dye substance or by longer boiling with less of the substance, boiling being timed to the shade of the color desired. Informants had obtained dyes from barks and roots listed in table 10.

Formerly, no substances were known to dye blue, green, purple, or orange. In recent years, commercial aniline dyes have been used for these. Today, commercial dyes are used almost exclusively for all colors. A woman explained: "I always fear being arrested by the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

286 police for damaging trees if I take bark off of them or dig up roots that I would like to use in dyeing. Then, too, dyes bought in stores are
386 not too expensive, and there is considerably less work using them."

Today, as formerly, plant dyes are set by being boiled in human urine. Alum is used in setting commercial dyes, except purple; but it will not set plant dyes. Purple is set with a sulfate.

BASKETRY

285 Baskets were made by both men and women. Those used for carrying or for sifting coarse material and for threshing wheat with the feet were made of split colihüe stalks or colihüe rind (pl. 74, *4*); those used for finer sifting were made of the vine of weliüwel (unidentified). Winnowing trays were made of vine also; only men made these. Baskets were woven; winnowing trays were coiled.

POTTERY

323 Making pottery was the work of women. "Formerly, every adult woman knew how; today, few desire to learn the art." Today cántaros, ollas, pipes, cups, plates, and pifalka are made for use at the ñillatun, and only an occasional woman makes some pieces for kitchen use (pl. 73).

Pottery was made of clay mixed with sand and the sap of maqui as adhesives. It was either modeled from a single lump or made of coils.

The most commonly used clay was yellowish-red, known as raq; it was found in many places. White clay (mallo), a rare kind, was more coveted; it was found only in certain spots near creeks. Most pottery found in excavations today was made of white clay. A woman prepared white clay for pottery making by working it into powder with her hands and then pushing it through a kiliko (sieve) until it was nearly as fine as dust, when she mixed it well with the juice of crushed leaves of maqui, "a very sticky juice, indeed." The least desirable clay for pottery was chapad (mud). Kolupan told of green earth that was also used formerly; it was fetched from "a far away place where we went to get it."

There were no standard sizes or shapes of pottery; nor were models followed, except certain animal patterns which seem institutional (cf. pl. 76, *1*). In general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. A glaze could be produced by smearing the surface with maqui juice before the pottery cooled after being fired. Sometimes clay was mixed with sand containing mica for "mica made the pottery look pretty." Polishing was done with a smooth stone before firing.

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Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Huapi believed them to be Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mush thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of maqui or michai; gamboge color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we get it from the south; it is not found here." 323 [384]

323
172

FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Colhúe Có.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Colhúe Có in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family. 105

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ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *2*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepóe area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rüna (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (fatrowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

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436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. [427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families [464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, 2).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihüe stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tani. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pañi or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or püdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Eye measurements (approximate) are used in selecting a tree from which oxcart wheels are to be made. "Any man who knows how to make a wheel knows that the tree minus the bark must make wheels large enough to keep the oxcart from hitting high spots in oxcart trails." An informant indicated by eye, on a table, the length and width of a bird trap. Two Alepúe men prepared bundles of cochayuyo for the market. Cochayuyo is an edible alga collected in shallow water on the shores of the Pacific. The length of each bundle (approximately 18 inches) was measured by eye; the thickness included what a man could hold between both hands when tips of thumbs and fingers met. 804 [401]

Chilean linear measurements now in use, "because we have to deal with Chileans," are the pulgada, measured by distance from tip of thumb to first knuckle (approximately an inch); the vara (approximately 34 inches); the meter (39.37 inches); and the darea (approximately 42 by 47 feet).

The diameter of logs sold to lumber camps is measured in pulgadas and paid for on this basis. Fences are erected and paid for on the basis of vara. "To make certain that I shall always know where I can find the length of a vara, I measured one off on the singletree of my oxcart." Something I noticed other men had also done. I saw one man lay a stick on the singletree of his oxcart where he had marked off a vara, mark the stick and use it in measuring a fence. Vara were also marked off on ax handles.

The meter serves as a basis for linear and surface measurements in many instances when dealing with Chileans. Orders for woven throws and chospino and blankets to be sold in Chilean markets are given in meters. "But I do not always have a meter measure handy; I know that my wima is nearly a meter and I use it. Men usually know how many of their duke make a meter, and they then measure off in so many duke. My husband knows a meter is four of his füchi duke." A Chilean present at an interview remarked, "I know that from the earth to my belt, when I stand erect, measures a meter; but five of my complete hand stretches is also a meter." "Yes, five füchi duke," agreed an Araucanian. A darea, according to informants, is a measure used only at harvest time. "It is used in connection with a field of grain; it covers as much land as a man, who works conscientiously all day, can cut with a sickle. We never spoke of darea until the Spanish came here."

Quantity measures were pinches of various amounts and both single and joined handfuls. These were generally used in measuring herbs. Another measure was a cuplike implement made by cutting off the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living. 241 [177] [462]

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations. [242]

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche. 241 407 [492] [184]

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care. 241 492

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two. 241 461

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be 241 [407]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[407] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
[962] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[242] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[962] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
492

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
241 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[248] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[407] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[407] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano,* and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The 723
army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at
the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), 411 •
slings (*huitruhue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of [278]
the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses.

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever 725
archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front.

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were 712
generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted.

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners 727
taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruloncon* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

•411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorgus," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Ofia, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

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knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick sealskin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. [567]
The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture, Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—
241 and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

● 411 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking
292 in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also
222 Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather
421 piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*"
171 between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 758.

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themselves outmanned and outmaneuvered, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20] 725

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous ex-groom in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of encirclement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability. 725 701

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spanish. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more [411] 725

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 158, 85, 181, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could not see the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that more polished peninsular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being unfit for the task. Discrimination against creoles was a common source of dissension in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many peninsulars in his train. The disorder with which he handled our encounters to his peninsular friends enraged the Indian creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chilenos knew the identity of their fathers, and then insultingly inquired, "*En qué se conoce aquel entre hijos de puta?*" (Marmolejo, p. 80). Núñez (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born in war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chroniclers ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between criollo and peninsular to be unduly issue.

21 Marmolejo simply states that among those who planned Valdivia's downfall was a young native named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 30). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term *yanacona* invariably means a friendly and allied Indian from the north. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become an equestrian in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1878) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 Olivares, pp. 33-34; Núñez, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Latcham, "La superioridad guerrera de los Araucanos, sus armas y métodos militares" (Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 15, no. 19, 1915, pp. 122-193). While this study is valuable for purely military affairs, it does not attempt to 114

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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. 622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing 628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re- 726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cherketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each formation. Lances were cylindric stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar- [411] [822] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of horsed pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce horsed hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cherketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks 648 on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack 726 on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. 622 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers 648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (panı or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or püdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

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224 411 one end of each of three thongs; the other ends were securely tied together. In the 2-balled one only one thong was used; a ball was attached to each end of it. When throwing the boleodora one ball is held in the hand; this ball is somewhat smaller than the others and is slightly oval-shaped. Balls were approximately 1½ inches in diameter (pl. 76, *2*). Thongs were 4-ply braids of leg sinews of rhea or sinew strands of guanaco, approximately 32 inches in length. More often today they are two 4-inch-wide strands of horse hide twisted about each other.

The 3-balled lariat was used in hunting large quadrupeds, such as the guanaco, and in capturing wild horses; the 2-balled ones, in hunting large bipeds, such as the rhea. Today, the 2-balled boleodora is seldom used; the 3-balled one is hurled to twist around the front legs of a horse to prevent it from straying away while the rider is engaged in work or conversation. Boys today use the boleodora to catch rabbits. Accompanied by dogs they chase rabbits for hours and catch an occasional one.

The bola perdido was a lariat with a ball at one end and a substantial solid knot at the other end. The ball, usually 2 pounds in weight, was studded and ended in a sharp point which protruded from its covering of rhea skin. Studs, too, often protruded; sometimes a ball had as many as eight studs. When the bola perdido was being used, the knot end was clutched tight with the hand, the lariat and ball swung in circles above the person, aimed at the head of the animal, and finally released. If the animal was only stunned, it was immediately killed with a spear. A spear was a stout colihüe stalk tipped with a flint arrow. Pumas, pudús, and wild boars were hunted with the bola perdido; pumas were also trapped.

224 One type of trap used in hunting pumas was a circular enclosure of logs, built high enough so that a puma could not jump over it. From the entrance to the enclosure was a covered gangway the size of a puma, at which a trap door hung suspended in an upright position. A live lamb or sheep was placed in the enclosure, and when the puma entered to take the bait, the pressure of its feet released the door, which dropped and closed the entrance. Once the puma was trapped, the hunter reached over the enclosure with a long pole at the end of which was a noose made with a lasso, caught the puma's head in the noose, and strangled it. Kolupan had trapped and killed puma in this manner, using a lasso approximately three-fourths inch in diameter made of five braided strands of horsehide. Today, he uses the lasso in lassoing horses and cattle. If a hunter came upon a puma in a tree, he stabbed it with a spear. The wounded puma then moved slowly

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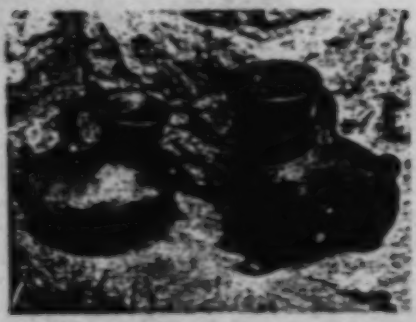

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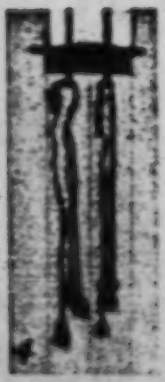

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a bolaedera. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two bolaederas. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kuessler.)

[p.364 (D)]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SE4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimé arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Eagel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- A 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo. A T

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, A 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lochu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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 T A 648

the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

A 574 264 415 262 A [291 41] [861]

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

A 622 554

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Cheoeque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some of the products

286 [531]

were of uniform color; others were in varicolored stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, and animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

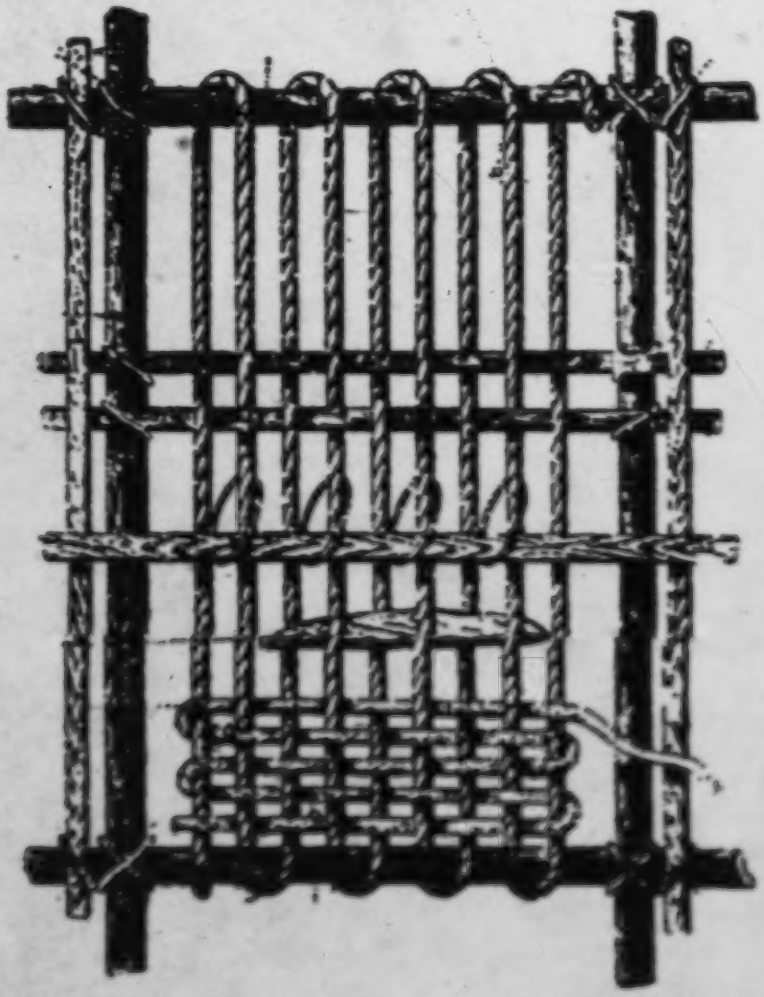

FIGURE 77.—*Mapuche loom.* (After Claude Joseph, 1928 a, p. 996.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Joseph, 1928 a; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:262–71; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 218–30; Looser, 1927, pp. 5–9; for illustrations, Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928.)

[412] Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (küde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refüe) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for further details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Mombach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquilef is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Alepúe boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

[P. 76(A)]
[412]
857

10: Hilger E-5 (194[illegible]1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as cántaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichana) are approximately *16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop* 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rashwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (rali) serve primarily as unbreakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the ngillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawumakawe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking beans, for jerking meats, crushing araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (tranchalwe or katankura) and pestles (kuli) (pl. 43, *1, 2, 3*) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"it probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *2*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepúe area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (*olla*), a pottery piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the *cántaro* (*cántaro*), a pitcher-like type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More *cántaros* than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (*le-*

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

373 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

358 Almost without exception rukas seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepin boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Cotaripe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 912 Sweeping, both *inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom* made of coquito tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of *ququi*. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whisk-brooms, used in cleaning bottles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the brooms. A Cotaripe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the children, cleaned the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two rukas occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This monstrous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 513 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but adequate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepin area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sleep

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

415 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put 172 them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

Both metate and muller (kudi and fúmkudi) were of stone. The 412 metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in graves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 5½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2½ inches in diameter and 1¼ inches deep.

415 The lupe is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of coihüe bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut most things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

raised or lowered as desired. Both these cross-bars are provided with rows of tiny wooden pins over which the warp is stretched. The shuttle is long and needle-shaped, and is used alternately with either hand. The weft is beaten down with the same shuttle, or sometimes by a rude wooden comb. When the cloth to be woven is all one colour, the wool is dyed before the weaving begins. When stripes or designs of other colours are to be introduced the web is stretched on the frame, and the parts not to be dyed are bound round very tightly, the binding being sometimes greased. These parts are after carefully given the colour required. The colours principally used are black, blue, vermilion, yellow, and green. The dyes are for the most part vegetable, but some mineral colours and earths are known. The dyes are extremely fast, and retain their bright tints till the garment is worn out. 286 326

Skins.—Formerly the whole dress of the Araucano was composed of skins. Now they are seldom used for this purpose, but serve as rugs, beds, saddle pads, etc. They have two ways of preserving and preparing skins, one retaining the hair, and the other converting them into a kind of leather. In the first case, the fresh skin is stretched out on the ground, and pegged down with small wooden pegs, the inner side uppermost. When it is thoroughly dry, it is worked up with the hands and softened. The instrument employed for this purpose is peculiar. It is formed of a forked stick of some hard wood, one leg of which is left longer than the other. The inner surface of the fork is shaved away to form a sharp edge which is also notched. At the joint of the fork a piece of flint, iron, or other hard substance with a rough edge, is fixed as firmly as possible. The instrument is hung to a post by its longer limb, and the skin drawn to and fro in the notch of the fork. This is continued until it is completely softened. In the case of straps and thongs, they are afterwards rubbed with grease to keep them supple and to prevent them from fraying. 281 281 413

To remove the hair from the skin, it is first soaked in wood ashes and water. On being taken out it is scraped with sharp stones, shells or knives, on the inner surface, until the roots are loosened, when the air is plucked out. The skin is then dried and treated in the manner described already. 281

The principal skins used are those of the puma, guanaco, wild cat, coypo (a kind of beaver), fox, deer, otter, and dog; also sheepskins, and the hides of horses and cattle.

Pottery.—The Araucanos have acquired considerable skill in the fabrication of this article. The Indian territory is rich in different coloured clays, those most used being red, black, slaty blue, cinnamon, and white, the red and black predominating. 323

The pottery is generally made by the women of the family, who use no other tool than a spoon-shaped stick to smooth the surface, which they do by rubbing the stick. They fashion their ware by walking with their fingers. The base is formed in a single piece, and the vessel built up by strips of clay being added and worked in. The clay is of sufficient consistency to retain any form given to it. Each layer as it is laid on is smoothed over with the spoon.

The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pots,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the woman refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her stories was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years.

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of bone around."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[20] *mate*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[21] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[22] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[23] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[24] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[20] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[21] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[22] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[23] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 300–4.

[24] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[821] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[83] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[354] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

475 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

284 [229] 283 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the quoko (*Drymis Lanceolata*), which to-day are only utilized for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very 286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ¼ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 415 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, jars, and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, chequers, triangles, lozenges, burning brands, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilized way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucanos is abundant, nutritious and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonization of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to resort to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*patei pencumenal* pengi). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huapo*) and rye (*tuqo*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *tiewa coré*, flesh cooked with broken wheat or maize; *pulli coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *mots* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of algæ.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sun-
62 down. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate solution.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes
264 among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[317] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav,
445 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286 386 [437]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (in Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, coypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 184, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 184, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the k'ówu metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, Ill. p. 254) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 194, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric 323 323 415 323

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coerulea*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 89). Lighted bundles of *Chaqueo* were used as torches (*kilde*). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (*malwa*), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (*ueña*) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (*yapaq*) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 238, 2: 107), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking spees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter *tuke* (mother) while she called him *peteñ* ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Cuna, in Mombeuh, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Cilliñ Huaiquilief is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [35] 575 581

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatical capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 BG4 Araucanians BG4

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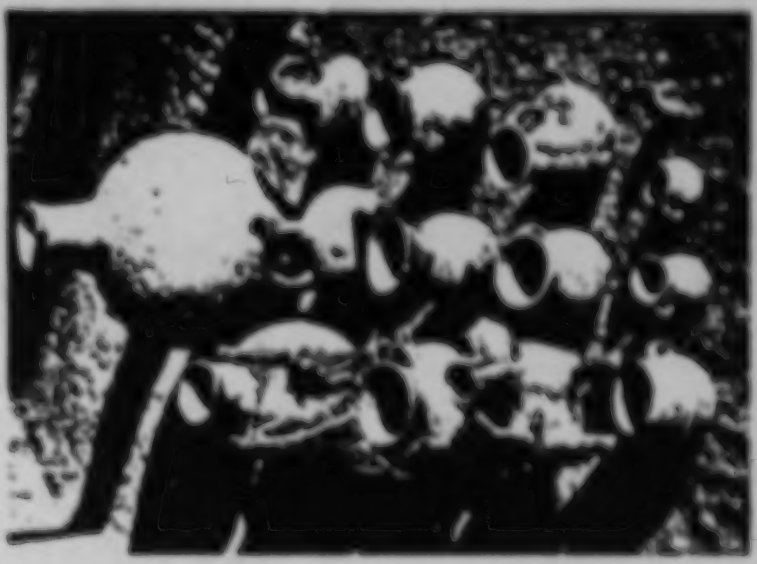

Plate 134—Araucanian pottery. (a) Magnificent collection of pottery vessels. (Figure 1) Figure of modern Araucanian pottery. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 24, 25)

[p. 734 B]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Small children (Alacaluf): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note detailed wall of rocks in background.) 2, Three boys, the boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p. 12(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

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[p. 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Photographs courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile. 1, Cross section of fruit; 2, Fruit; 3, Fruit; 4, Cross section of fruit; 5, Fruit; 6, Fruit; 7, Wooden mortar (Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile); 8, Wooden mortar (Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile) and its working children.

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[F. 1064]

10: Hüger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957
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Chile

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Cooking utensils: 1, Araucan girl stirring chili and salt with pestle and mortar; 2, [illegible] in Allapin, and 3, other types of pestle and mortar; 4-6, [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] and clays, generally used for coloring with chili and grease. (Figures 3-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 166(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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[352]

Pottery 1, Tiahuanaco type (a cup in Aymara style) 2-4, Cuzco; Blue Pottery of Rhodes Period, Santiago de Chile.

[p. 188 (D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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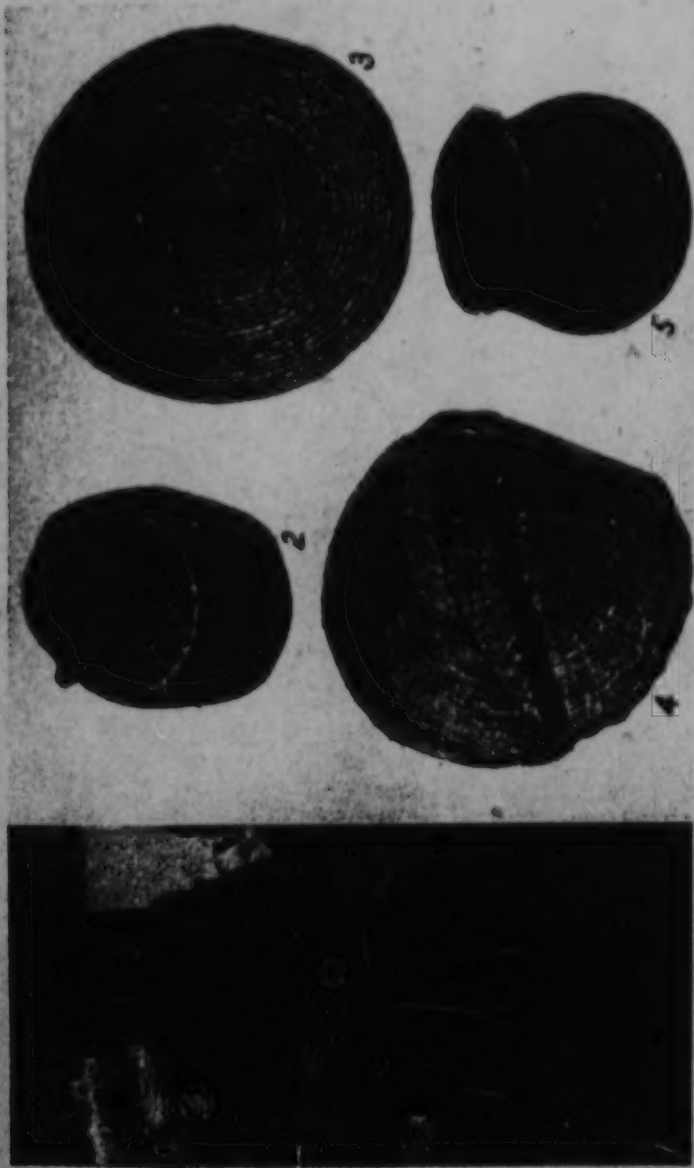

Basketry: 1, Coharipe woman weaving a küllen, used for carrying and storage. 2, A tightly woven basket, probably used for storage. (Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.) 3, Winnowing tray (Alepin). 4, A carrying and storage basket (Coharipe). 5, A basket (chaiwe) used as a filter, strainer, and drainer (Coharipe).

[482]

[p. 188 (E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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Making sauce (continued): 1, Sifting ashes. 2, Pouring sifted ashes into boiling water. 3, Pouring winnowed wheat into boiling water and ashes.

[p. 188(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Making mate (continued): 1. Tying bunch, 2. Cutting coiled bunch, 3. Putting coiled bunch into a basket.

[p. 188 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Foods such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are slung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen astride the crossbars, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers. 251

Implements, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mauls, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and mullers; earthenware ones, such as clutaros and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucanian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every ruka; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; dishpans of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teakettles. 252 415

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichara) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (wütrü). Wooden ladles (rachwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (ral'i) serve primarily as nonbreakable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by feet, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking mudai at the gillatun. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 460) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 2½ inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (trawaunakanwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking araucaria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (transchadwe or katankura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 43, 1, 2, 3) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone, 252 412

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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252 412 sandstone, or stone grooved by water action; an occasional mortar in use today was plowed up—"It probably belonged to people who lived here before we came." The general shape of mortars varies, but the bowls of all are approximately 3 inches in depth. The one shown in plate 43, *c*, was made of lingue and had four nails driven into the bottom of its bowl to facilitate grinding mixtures. Pestles were smooth, elongated stones. "I picked up the one we use on the shores of the Pacific while walking there one day."

In Alepín area, metates and mullers are shaped out of rock taken from ledges on the Pacific shore and are also given the required surface finish "by a family, the only one in all this area, who makes and sells them; this family has stone of the required texture on land near its ruka. It takes skill to make a metate and muller; each requires a different kind of roughness." Metates are trapezoidal in shape. A muller is an elongated stone, long enough to extend beyond the metate so the ends may be grasped when the muller is being used. The muller must have a rough, flat lower side and a slightly convex upper side. All edges of metate and muller are rounded. Metates generally approximate 15 to 20 inches in length, 11 to 13 inches in width, and 2 inches in thickness.

One of my informants prepared to grind wheat in a metate (pl. 44, *3*) by placing a dressed sheep pelt, reserved for this purpose, on the ground outside of her ruka, and on it the metate with widest end toward her. This end she raised by putting a small piece of wood under it. "It all depends on the worker, how high she wants it raised; I like mine raised this high," she commented. The narrow end rested on the pelt. She knelt down, took a handful of wheat from a winnowing tray nearby (she had just winnowed the grain to remove the last remnants of chaff), dropped the kernels on the metate, grasped the ends of the muller, put her weight on the muller and worked it up and down over the kernels, occasionally pushing the grain toward the middle of the metate. When a portion of the wheat was ground to the desired fineness, she allowed it to fall off the sides onto the pelt. The muller was never lifted from the metate. "Why should it be? I am grinding the wheat under it!" Toasted wheat was ground in the same manner.

252 415 The olla (challa), a potlike piece of pottery, is used in cooking; the cántaro (mellicowe), a pitcherlike type (pl. 45), not sufficiently fired for cooking purposes, is used for holding water and other liquids. More cántaros than ollas were in use in households at the time of the present study. Ollas have been largely replaced by iron kettles, but several women were using ollas for storing food. Iron kettles (in-

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

furnaces not infrequently called them ollas) varied in depth from 6 to 14 inches; all were of equal diameter. The dependency on iron kettles for cooking was expressed by an Alepúe woman who borrowed one from a neighbor: "I have no olla; I broke ours. What a tragedy! My husband says every storekeeper in San José de Mariquina and Valdivia tells him there is none to be had any more because of the World War. These cloisters [pointing at galvanized pails and enameled dishes] cannot stand the heat of the fireplace. I shall have to make an olla of clay, it seems." No pottery plates or cups were being made, but women had heard old people say that they were made in former times. Any cups and spoons made today are of horn of cow, as formerly. The horn is either boiled in water or buried in hot ashes until soft, usually for several hours. If cups are desired, the tip of the horn is cut off and the remainder cut into desired sections. The narrower end of each section is then plugged with a piece of wood. Such cups exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 461, 462) were 3 to 3½ inches deep. If a spoon is desired, the horn is cut lengthwise, flattened, and curved into the desired shape. Formerly an unusually large horn in its natural state was used as a water carrier on long journeys. Cow udders and pouches were used for storing salt, chili, and grease (pl. 43, 4, 5, 6). They were thoroughly cleaned and distended by hand while drying. The opening was fastened to a band of wood, and a strip of rawhide formed the handle.

Flour of a fine texture was sifted through a cheda, a sieve made by stretching taut a piece of perforated rawhide over a circular band of wood. A lacing passed through holes poked in the rim of the hide and the middle of the band kept both in position. "My husband made this cheda," said a woman, as she took out of a peg in her ruka. "He used horsehide for both sieve and thongs. The band is of avellano, a wood that bends more easily than any other wood does. Avellano wood becomes pliable if held over a fire for a short time. My husband used a hot iron for poking the holes into the sieve and the band. Chedas are usually the size of this one" (11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep).

Coarse flour is sifted through a loosely woven small basket, called chaiwe (pl. 46, 5). Chaiwe are used also for straining ashes off mote (wheat cooked in ashes) and for filtering chicha made of fruits and corn. In fact, its use in general is that of sieve, strainer, drainer, or filterer. Usually, when being used it is hung on a peg in a tilted position. A rawhide strap, attached to the rim in handlike fashion, keeps the chaiwe from slipping on the peg. Attaching the strap at points only a little apart keeps the chaiwe tilted. A chaiwe can also be dipped up and down in water to rid its contents of soluble sub-

10: Hidgee E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
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252 915 ... Occasionally a chalwe, like a basketa, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (billos) (pl. 6, 4) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (lepú) (pls. 6a, 1; 46, 3), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 262 Cooper writes regarding ... food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Among plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, chiefly of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 708).

In all the areas I visited, ... Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and seed fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of ... tahue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush or chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the chaka'billo nalca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

The root and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Pangipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yupo and dried powdered flowers of circuelillu. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of likwü, and of lenfilli (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

222 263 Tuanillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and origano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Coñaripe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomillo or orégano; I add tomillo, sometimes." 251 252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called listo. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepúe ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it fachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was met at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crosslike frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook these for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning sense was swishing a chaiwe containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them freed of every bit of fleece," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned mutton encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a kettle of boiling [415]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the hearth and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, 3). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cofaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

19: Milger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Formerly, according to a Pangipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a bottle-shaped vessel of leather (trubal, fig. 3). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of ovellano wood by lassos of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground.

In the early days, muday, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, muday is drunk only at the ngillatun, machitun, and lonchotun. Women prepare both the muday and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon,

FIG. 3.—Trubal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenuan of Pangipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal.

16: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Arsenicalkali SG4

Chile

[p. 220 (G)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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[854]
[415]

Plpil: 1 and 2, A 2-room dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children.

[p.268(G)]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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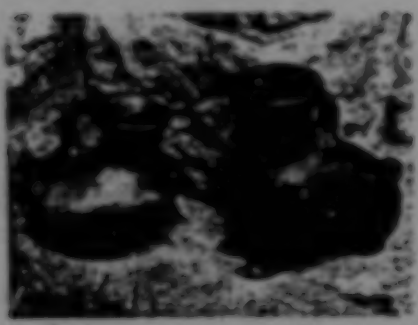
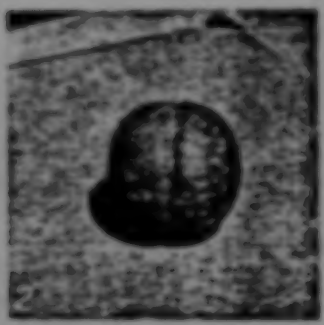
[415]
[72]





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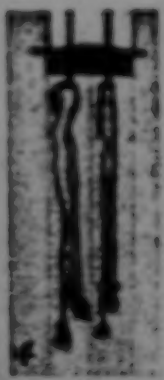

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked. 252

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 5) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilhuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Trumen and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumine, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Curriñe Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Moliquina and Lake Carmen. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use. [222 262]

Wild apples (manzana silvestre) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored. [222]

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichafas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays. 415

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín in San Martín de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening. [415 172]

In 1950 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

416 deposited under a large horizontally laid stone slab overgrown with shrubs near Mamuil Malál. Kolupan thought that women had put
172 them there in the days when the Araucanians were being chased off their lands, hoping to reclaim them sometime. "To make a good cántaro is a great deal of work," he noted; "these women probably thought of that when they hid them. Anyway, no one could have carried much pottery when fleeing."

412 Both metate and muller (leuli and felmelwali) were of stone. The metate was somewhat U-shaped; the muller was slightly convex, and had both ends extending sufficiently beyond the metate to enable the woman to grasp them. "Obviously our people ground wheat or some sort of grain years ago," said an 80-year-old woman, "for frequently we find metates and mullers in groves and also on the surface of the land. If we find them on the surface, we usually find ollas and cántaros there also. Maybe these were the places from which our people were driven by other people."

Mortar and pestle, too, were of stone. They were used primarily for mixing condiments, especially chili and salt. One mortar seen was 4½ inches high and approximately 3½ inches at greatest width. The hole used for mixing is 2½ inches in diameter and 1½ inches deep.

415 The hope is a 4-cornered piece of pottery made expressly for toasting grain. Bowls were made from pottery or were carved out of wood. Thick soups and thin stews were eaten from them. "No spoons were needed when we ate from bowls, for we drank the food directly from the bowl." Plates were made of pottery or of cuilihue bark. When eating off plates, spoons were used. Foods that could be eaten with fingers, such as roasts, were served in one large dish carved from a tree trunk. "I still have one large dish that we used when I was a child, and that my father made; it is about so large [18 by 36 inches]."

[321] Spoons used in eating were made by boiling horn of cattle until it appeared white, when it was soft enough to be easily cut into any shape desired. Large spoons used in stirring food in ollas and in serving it were carved from wood of quebracho. "Many Araucanians are again making spoons of quebracho; those metal spoons we buy in the stores break at the junction of the handle and scoop." Knives, in the early days, were made of quebracho also, "but they were too dull to cut meat things."

Cups were made of pottery and of the head end section of horn of cattle. The smaller opening of the horn was plugged with wood. A horn cup used in Quilaquina (collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, specimen No. 100) is approximately 6 inches in height and 3½ inches in diameter at the opening. An 88-year-old woman had made pottery

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

cups for use at the ŋillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The ɟichafa was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malko (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəpi, the külko (pl. 74, 4), and the kolkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and külko, as sieves also; the kolkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the külko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepol, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 285

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, 1; 72, 1). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, 1; 65, 1; 66, 2.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, 1). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, 2) that I saw (they were said to be 354

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, ollas and cántaros and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251

Things seen stored in sheds included lassos of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, looms, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of colihüe stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 291

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (makuñ). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (ʃumell). Kolupan demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trarüwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or ʃumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439

The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Ci 415 177

A 415 171

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [179]

The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

T-G [412] [184]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648 A 574 264 415 262 A [291 411] [861]

the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

A 622 554

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *cheikn* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, 152
according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on 828
horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, [417]
"That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are 152
proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indigenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the 157
women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some dis- 834
tance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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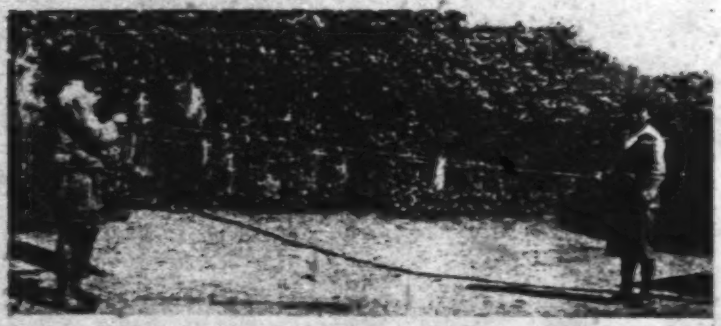

[417]

Tops (Alepue): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3, Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[417]

Harvesting: 1, Children cutting grain with sickle (Coñaripe). 2, Loading grain onto an oxcart (Coñaripe). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which grain is threshed by tramping horses (Alepúe).

[p. 172 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957 -
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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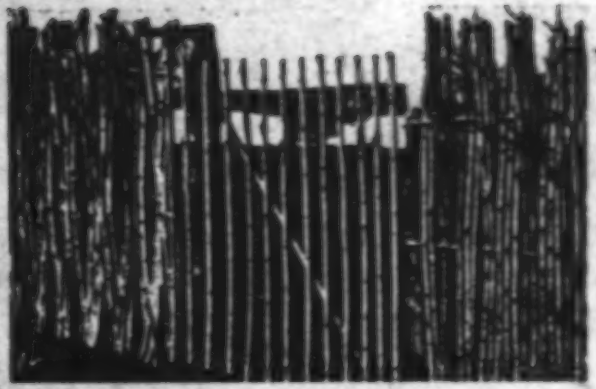

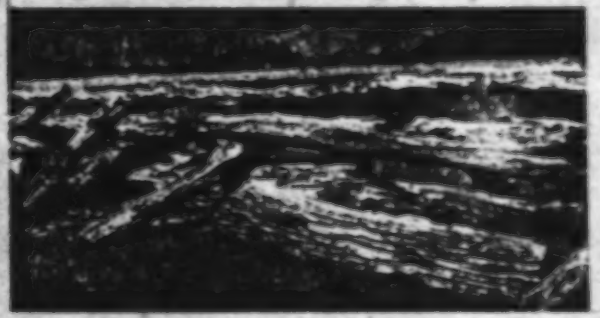

Fences: 1, Chicken yard (Boroa). 2, Garden (Coñaripe). 3, Sheep pasture (Coñaripe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

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[p.172(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

221 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
232 decoction of hiella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochaynyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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Housing: 1, A ruka (Alepúe). 2, The Coñaripe cacique's homestead. 3, One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for sleeping and for storage.

[p. 220(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quilaquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[p. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martin de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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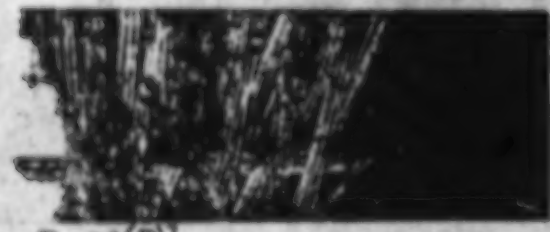

Fences, and the araucaria pine: 1, Chicken-yard fence (Alerpie). 2, Cattle pasture fence (Alerpie). 3, A young nut-bearing araucaria pine (Colcurque). 4, A fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Panguipulli).

[p. 172(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately A [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1927

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Tolten the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1930 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.
[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old asked only that the government should give them adequate legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

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present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
592 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal
● [421] nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
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[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good
orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421 ●
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

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POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

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The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

161 [114]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llaúcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:691; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 308–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Aldea, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

421 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Perú and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (McBride, 1936, pp. 309, 364).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. thùiln; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 258, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (llaskas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 184) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc, but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" [439] trade with, e.g., the *Puelche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

462 To the man fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Pehuenche

262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether
241 they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas,
441 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snow-
292 shoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also
222 Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather
421 piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*"
171 between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
[178] community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
622 seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
178 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
421 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

231 bees nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 177] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sana, a disease that causes them to lose their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

231 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded
422 with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

close together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alepúe children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 5.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
15-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Remolino, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Curan, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Panduro."
12-year-old boy	One sheep, one boar, one hen, one goose.
12-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
12-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Olmirante."
11-year-old boy	One ewe, one hen, and an old ox called Sambo.
5-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one ewe.
5-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 5-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write those words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOODS

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemel or guemal, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the bandurria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [462] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the mar-
[198] riage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

[Reservation Alongueo]

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
[1] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x	162
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		592
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			423
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			422
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			231
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x	427
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0			648
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(0)	7	48	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?			
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	58	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34			

[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

[1] A [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32) -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unformed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llancaman.

[133]

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

Household			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/Rented			ANIMALS Shared/Rented			
162 Adults	592 Minors	423 Absent males	422 Totals	427 Hectares	23 Sheep	64 Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	6C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	8	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(2)	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	5C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(2)	3	3	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(3)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(2)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
36	36	(14)	82	181	234	95	27	80	11	17		71		

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x	162
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			592
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C			423
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x	422
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x	427
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x	231
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x	648
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x	
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x	
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x	
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x	
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x	
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x	
Totals															
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100			

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T A 133 137 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the A ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

231 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although ●422 there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into A good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid T giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. 342 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423●
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[177] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *loñko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cantinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

166 the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean
444 landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

●423 All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one
134 of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily
242 wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

241 Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last
[442] few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

509 minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely
621 looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

621
423

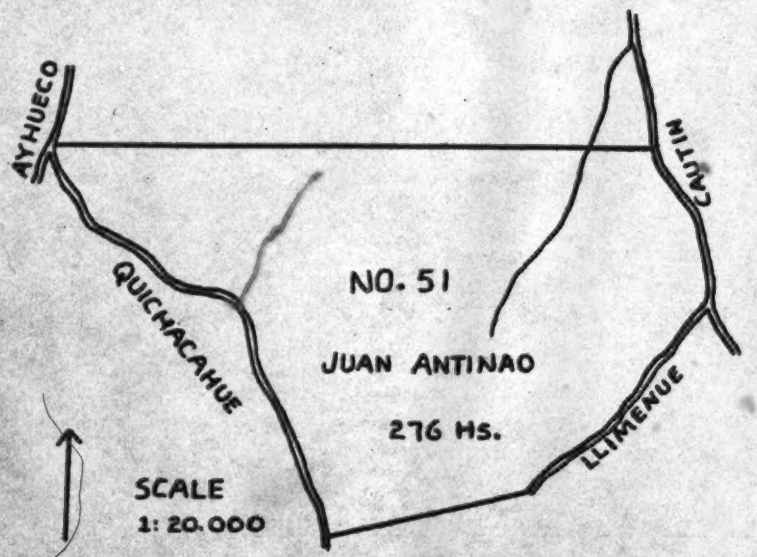

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

175 Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche
621 had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

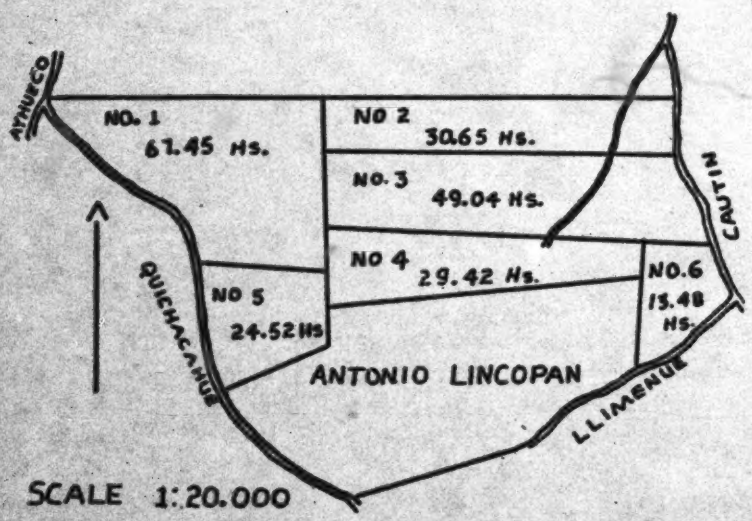

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [736]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. [736]
The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in [609]
which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

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000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for
627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the
621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak." 651

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related. 423

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law." [217]

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

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market for sale. Such land is called kiñe mapu. Anyone wishing to do so today, as formerly, will clear a portion of the common land, cultivate it or graze his animals upon it, and thereby claim it, as already stated. A non-Araucanian Alepúe herbalist had heard children say, "My father cleared that piece and that piece and that piece [pointing at cleared areas on mountain sides], and that is why we own all that land." Clearing was, and is, done by burning (pl. 1, *1*).

No one appropriates exclusive rights, however, to lands on which the araucaria grows—a pine, the nuts of which are a traditional staple food (cf. p. 205). The same holds true for banks of rivers from which fishing is done, for the shores of the Pacific where seafoods are gathered, and for coves on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and docked.

A Coñaripe man explained the acquisition of communal lands by individuals thus: "Much land in Coñaripe area, which includes also the land in the area known as Lliuco, has not been assigned; it is all still owned in common. We still have about 5,000 hectares [12,000 acres, approximately] of such land up in the mountains. The Chileans call land owned in common, comuna; the Mapuche call it kiñe mapu. Fathers of families do not know how much of it should belong to each of them. Anybody from this area has the right to clear a piece of land on which clearing has not already been begun. By that I mean my neighbor, for instance, would not begin to clear or claim land near a place where I had begun a clearing, nor would I clear a piece of land near his. This is done so that people can eventually add land to that which is near their homes. Once the land is cleared and cultivated everyone knows to whom it belongs, and its ownership is marked off on the cacique's chart. Everybody always cultivates the same land, but not every piece of that land each year; he lets one piece after another lie fallow for a year. Before I married, I lived on the other side of the river with my brother, and I cleared a piece of land there, and I own that land now. The father of the woman I married had given her a piece of his land—land that he had been cultivating. When we married, we built our ruka on that land, for my land could only be reached by crossing the river. My wife owns her land by right of radicación [an expression used by Chileans, meaning rights associated with birthplace, habitat, or ancestral rights of ownership] and I own mine across the river by the same right and in addition to that by the right of clearing it [the former a Chilean right, the latter, an Araucanian one]. Radicación was recently applied to Araucanians; it gives a woman the right to own land. It was introduced when I was about as old as he [5 years old, approximately, in 1901]. Formerly, only sons

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Coñaripe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitiled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Calafquén and cultivated land in this way." 423

In Coñaripe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepúe area, most men do have a deed. A 39-year-old Alepúe man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a ruka on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonoción in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the puelche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Families were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding 241 423 73

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Chile

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschütz, 1948, pp. 321-326.)

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.)

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pelts of the

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Argentina

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, [illegible]0-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

423 621 622 556 565

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

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One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the ñillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges
648 and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

1423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave
484 orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] [24] From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a [123] change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. [182] Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche. 423 621 [622]

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands. 648 423 [622]

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents 311 423 [622]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 311 423 822

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

A 311

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

C 311

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

A 361 114 621 162 423 E 162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	c. 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	c. 3 ha.

Pelehue

C 311

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Tolten, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	295	54	c. 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	c. 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	c. 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	c. 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	c. 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	c. 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	c. 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	c. 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements. 241

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes. 311 [133]

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacareria* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants. 241 311

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

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Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

102
361
491
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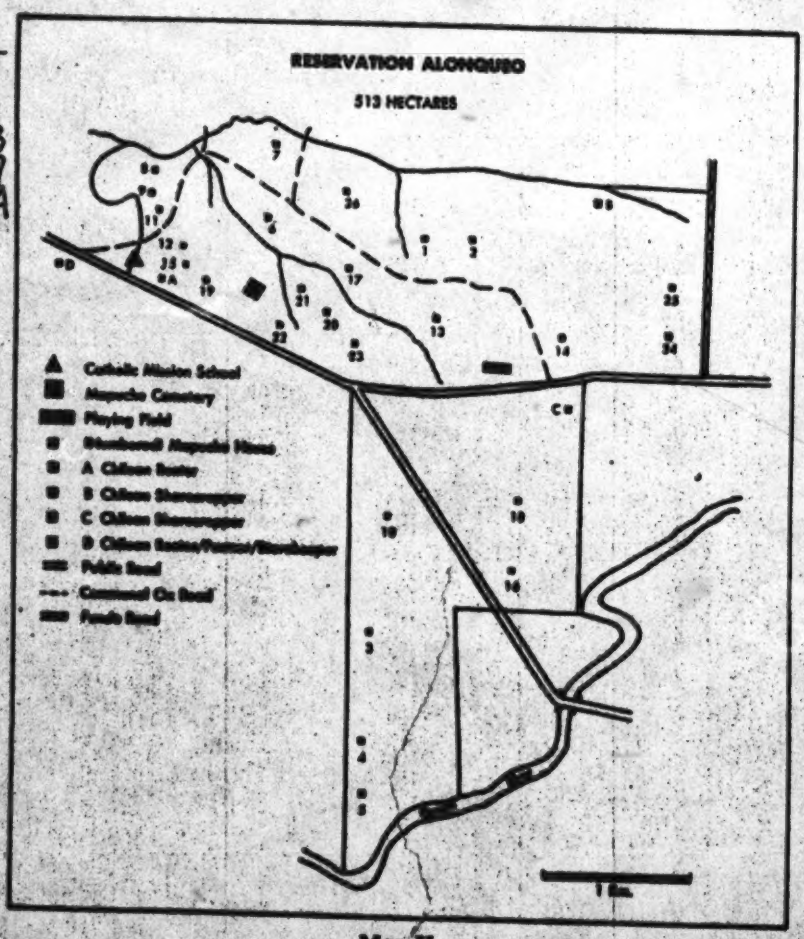
997
764



MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [61]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [542]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

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Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

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[563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

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[592]
[591]
[423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

241
[133]

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural [177]
Chileans in some sectors of the country.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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423 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural af-
177 fairs.

[648] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

[14] 162 36

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true [591] for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated [182] above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the [594] elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

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452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [67] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [48] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 427 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

427 Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [692] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are [48] by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 433 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [186] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [692] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. 427 648 423

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land. [156]

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*. 427 648 [554] [692]

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land. [691]

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing 427 [556]

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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562 423 179 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 179 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, [556] [591] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de- [423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent military relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613
After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423
her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621
more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation. [622]

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother). [609]

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him. [44A]

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [683] [681] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 473

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175 colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect
648 the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the
423 other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent.
[66] Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

175 The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling
648 and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers
166 of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less acces-
[167] sible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations at its own *discretion*! [622] [627]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reversion to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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185 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
692 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [131] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [621]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [621]

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175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[701] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[164] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
622 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
423

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 622 648 423 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 622 [613] In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 622 592 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were established on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely [177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least 178 622 [823] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the [648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [901] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 642

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596 rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
413 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [66] [518] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
[581] riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
423 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
[622] on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is 584
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 896
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal rela- [584] tives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.) [583]

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage. [537] [423]

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Kotas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings — and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land. [522]

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families, [522] [584]

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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of radicación. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, [432] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [589] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her [613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [591] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 582 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar- 594 [198] riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay- [613] ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [667] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with [423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
413 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

[1] Cautín in 1917 and Cautín in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:69, 73).

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[223] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by [591] household (as numbered on *Map II* and *Diagram I*), the number of [221] adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from 133 reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is
[See CAT. 116, pp. 33 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

[Reservation Alongueo]

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
[1] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	1	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x	162
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		592
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			423
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			422
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			231
6)	1	0	(5)	1	10	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x	927
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0			648
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9)	3	1	(2)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	30	6	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	2	0	(3)	2	10	15	3	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(3)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(2)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(3)	7	30	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	2	0	(1)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	2	2	(2)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	3	2	(3)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	2	0	(3)	2	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7			
23)	1	1	(3)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	2	3	(3)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	2	3	(3)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(3)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	55	(65)	135	513	485	100	15	115	14	27	86	34			

[a] M = with Mapuches.
[b] C = with Chilenos.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. 11L, P. 32)--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and [133] soil types are similar to those of Llancaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

162	592	423	422	427	231	642	HOUSEHOLDS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults		Minors		Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3		4		1	7	15	10	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3		7		1	10	7	6	4	2	1C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1		4		1	5	10	10	6	1	3M	0	0	0	0	x	x
0		1		1	3	17	30	6	3	3M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1		1		1	2	10	25	11	2	3M	0	0	0	0	x	
3		4		1	7	6	16	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2		1		1	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	7	7		?
2		1		1	4	10	25	4	1	3M	0	0	0	0	x	
3		3		1	6	11	30	3	2	3C	1M	1C	0	0	x	
2		0		1	2	14	30	13	2	3M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
2		1		1	3	3	0	0	1	1M	0	0	0	10C	x	x
2		0		1	3	2	20	20	2	2C	0	2	0	0		x
1		1		1	3	3	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	11C		x
1		0		1	2	3	0	0	1	3C	0	0	0	8C		x
2		2		1	5	11	8	0	1	3C	0	0	0	3M		x
1		1		1	3	3	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	1M		x
Absent					0	13	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent					0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3C	0	0		x
Absent					0	3	0	0	0	1M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
Totals																
38		36		(14)	82	181	254	88	27	80	11	17		71		

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
1	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x	162
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			592
1	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C			423
1	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x	422
1	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x	427
3	1	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x	231
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x	648
1	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x	
1	1	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x	
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x	
1	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x	
1	0	(4)	1	3	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x	
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x	
Totals															
27	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100			

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridepriceprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridepriceprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423. [648]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In es-
621 sence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
613 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
613 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
602 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
583 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is
571 attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

2: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
621

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
692 satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublinea-
578 ges—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for discension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and dramatic personae of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

of supply for bringing up implements and importing produce, supposing the first difficulties overcome. A railroad or tramway might I am sure be constructed at little cost to run down the whole valley of the river, or steam launches of good power, fitted to burn wood, would furnish an effectual means of communication. The present Government steamer Choelechel both draws too much water and is of too small power to render material assistance in the way of opening up the river. The Capitano Major Ramirez pointed out these defects to his Government previous to her being brought to the Rio Negro, but his opinion was overruled.

Foyel and a cacique named Linares, who claims territorial rights over the island, had a scheme for enlisting Choelechel and other advantageous spots, importing for the purpose Valdivian settlers used to the labour from the other side of the Cordillera, and obtaining their supplies and implements from Carmen.

The present further limit of settlement in the valley is the advanced military post called the Chacabuco Chico, situated about seven leagues above the mouth Gualeguaichu, and about twenty-five leagues from Carmen. It has not, I believe, been in existence many years, and was two years ago the scene of an *émeute* amongst the garrison, which was graphically described to me at our wattlehut in Las Manzanas by Rosario Pinto, who had evidently assisted, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator at the scene. The troops, who were mostly foreigners, according to his account, suddenly rose, shot or stabbed the officer in command, and then their lieutenant, who was killed whilst endeavouring to escape by swimming the river. The mutineers then sacked the place, getting of course intoxicated on the contents of the grog-shops, and remained in possession for a day or two, when a party headed by a man named Boulbain, a Government agent for treating with the Indians, rode in and took the ringleaders, who were, I believe, summarily shot. I tell the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipanz and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random. 423 648 551 553

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Centinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 551 people were living on the original tract. 423 160

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8] 423 425

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to 106

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences around legal boundaries in order to encroach on Indian land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pailiao	181	33	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huechoual	109	88	c. 1.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision rests with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female radicados (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a radicado only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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241 In the Lumaila region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[153] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drain-
age is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the
rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[38] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant
amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, con-
sequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[342] would do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places,
if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Lumaila region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The
area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty
years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche
families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calaiquén.
Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which
are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting
operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[34] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supple-
ment to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

343 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing
machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of
the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-
threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 farm. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[124] the coldest months. In 1955, one of the most severe winters in many
years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to
exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
435 for division. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[131] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[122] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[124] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences
and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[134] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed
the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-
[i.e. Reservation N. Nahuelpan — Analyst]

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate division. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for division, and legal machinery went into action the same year. 423 423 578 691

When division was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy. 476 [241] [182] [822]

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions. 121 476 182

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:501). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country. 476 [574] [177]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent 621
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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613 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be
621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in
425 which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a
share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
627 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
578 is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by
monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in
Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of
witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the
other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business
sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights
not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that
matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of
ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the
kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most
always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal
for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the
reservation, except for disputes between members of different
sublineages.

613 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consid-
182 eration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of
Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter
economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such
disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a
consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially
noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which
makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and
which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher genera-
tions. Contention among members of the localized lineage is
confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a
practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and
approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it
is essential for the living membership to converge on a common
ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive
tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social
action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers dis-
[491] tant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

•426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Mombeck, 1930, pp. 19–38 and 138–68.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. 863
A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupilwe. When speaking Span- 864
ish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is [726] ●
never lent or borrowed. In Alepue area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Pangipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it.

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, *1*.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of collihue because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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231 llamas nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price. [126]

Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to 233 Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [562 177] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, chuapinos and lanas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lanas and chuapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sara, a disease that causes them to lose their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (taqi), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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437 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lama, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no chospino to sell.

Chospino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a chospino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for chospino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the chospino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Panguipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more chospino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

464 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Oxen-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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usually money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepin man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching ñandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the ñandú with a bolaedora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepin children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for his own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as benches when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially pernicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage — when even the reserves in town are low — but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency — for seeds — contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological deficiencies of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at prohibitively high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some boys, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martín de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stony and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 699
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427
cacique. Manuel Pichiñán, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 15,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 223
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of palm used by hands in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chiapulihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and baggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the hose was considered handsome, but in truth it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the ancart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all ancart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, c).

Snowshoes, known as chiqua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ejuta (trace), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chiqua were made by tying together the ends of a cubbin stick to form an oval-shaped hoop and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chiqua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampo. The trunk of the tree known as coali was preferred in making wampo. A spindle-shaped one in Mount Hulmel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tapi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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scantry of characters on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but characters such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, co-drawn harvesters (*cosechadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are owned by individual Mapuche farmers by funds owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region surrounding Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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the island and the complete absence of constant plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	MAPUCHES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pulmar	ulm	18	c. 3.4 ha.
Llaullao	pan	48	c. 2.3 ha.
Huenchucad	ang	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolten, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be omitted of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female radicados (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work their separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a radicado only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land in passing. As far as the individual

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various residents makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancamun: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancamun. Of a total of 235 hectares, approximately 180 are

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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original residents at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonquen, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-60 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcun: Pelehue Region

Huilcun is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean parcela owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcun is approximately of the same quality, being divided among vega (swamp), baja (lowland), and alto (high and relatively dry land). Huilcun has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or vega, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Tolten, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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with him. If a minguco is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitations to minguco work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large minguco which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than is formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, inconsiderate and inconsiderate whims would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that minguco labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working minguco, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Minguco are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if minguco includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food to consumes during the festivity. If only

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4% 34 [54] (market) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

4% 22 [39] [21] [43] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining pasmpland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

[63] [56] [38] Most threshing is done by machine today and seingpoo arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally owned from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are reserved to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the new heavily mechanized Temuco region [64] machines were rare and large seingpoo were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples [91] dancing to the ebullient tune of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

4% 34 [54] [56] [43] Seingpoo are still frequent today, although they need no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of

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only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Muche* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *muche* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. 427 48 422

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land. [154]

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*. 427 48 [554] [692]

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land. [691]

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing 427 [556]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 429 C48 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong [186] [621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a 492 further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [372] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well. 427 [589] 648 427

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy. [333] [314]

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonquen: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all 311 427

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 54 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vegas* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

[Reservation Alonguco]

CHART I

[1] A.	[2] Adults	[3] Minors	[4] Absent males	[5] Total	[6] Hectares	[7] Horses	[8] Cattle	[9] Sheep	[10] Hectares Shared/ Rented: Hectares	[11] Hectares Shared/ Rented: Cattle	[12] Hectares Shared/ Rented: Sheep	[13] Animals Shared/ Rented: Hectares	[14] Animals Shared/ Rented: Cattle	[15] Animals Shared/ Rented: Sheep	[16] Journal	[17] Journal
1	3	4	16	7	7	30	7	0	0	5M*	0	6M	0	x	x
2	11	7	16	18	110	35	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3	0	3	16	3	15	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4	0	0	16	4	14	10	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5	0	1	16	3	14	10	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6	0	0	16	0	10	100	3	3	0	0	0	8cM	0	x	x
7	3	0	16	3	15	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8	0	0	16	0	5	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	3	1	16	4	7	10	4	0	0	5M	0	0	0	x	
10	4	0	16	4	10	35	8	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11	0	0	16	0	7	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12	0	0	16	0	10	15	3	1	10C*	0	0	0	0		x
13	3	0	16	3	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14	3	4	16	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15	3	0	16	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16	3	4	16	7	30	10	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17	3	0	16	3	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18	0	0	16	0	10	10	0	0	10M	0	0	0	0	x	
19	1	4	16	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20	0	0	16	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21	0	0	16	7	15	6	0	0	8C	0	4	0	4		x
22	0	0	16	0	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7		
23	1	1	16	0	0	10	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24	0	3	16	3	0	0	0	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x
25	0	3	16	3	0	0	0	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x
26	7	4	16	11	45	15	0	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				0	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				10	0	0	0	0	0	10C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	No	53	(45)	320	573	685	100	15	115	14	27	66	34		

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

that there is still much unforested land on Llaneumen which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilliche lies just to the north of Llaneumen. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and land types are similar to those of Llaneumen.

[Reservation Llaneumen]

CHART 2

	NONRELATIVES			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Owned/ Rented			ANIMALS Owned/ Rented				
162																
572																
425																
422																
429																
33																
241																
	3	4	18	7	15	80	10	4	NC	NM	0	0	0	x	x
	3	7	12	10	7	0	4	x	NC	NM	0	0	NM	x	
	1	4	18	3	10	10	0	x	NC	0	0	0	0	x	x
	0	1	23	3	17	50	0	x	NC	0	0	0	NM	x	x
	1	1	22	3	14	85	11	x	NC	0	0	0	0	x	
	3	4	18	7	6	10	8	x	NM	0	0	0	0	x	
	0	1	18	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	7	7		7
	3	1	18	4	10	30	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	x	
	3	2	18	6	11	30	9	x	NC	NM	0	0	0	x	
	0	0	18	0	4	30	12	x	NC	0	NC	0	0	x	x
	0	1	18	3	9	0	0	1	NC	0	0	0	0	x	x
	0	0	18	0	7	10	10	x	NC	0	0	0	0		x
	0	1	23	3	8	0	0	1	NC	0	0	0	NC		x
	1	0	23	0	0	0	0	1	NC	0	0	0	NC		x
	3	0	18	3	11	0	0	1	NC	0	0	0	NM		x
	0	4	18	0	0	0	0	1	NC	0	0	0	NM		x
	Alone			0	13	0	0	0	NM	0	0	0	0	x	
	Alone			0	3	0	0	0	0	0	NC	0	0		x
	Alone			0	7	0	0	0	NM	0	NC	0	0	x	x
	Totals														
	19	18	(14)	36	161	256	18	17	36	11	17		11		

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Mapuche

[Reservation Holland]

CHART 3

Adults	Minors	Adult males	Females	Minors	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares owned	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
	HOUSEHOLDS		TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented		ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
0	0	10	0	0	0	1	0	5M	0	0	0	27C		x
1	0	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	10C		
0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	5C	0	11C		x
0	0	10	0	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	10	1	1	0	0	1	0	5M	0	0	18C	x	x
0	1	10	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	4C	0	0		x
0	1	10	1	1	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
0	0	10	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0		x
0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	18C		x
0	1	10	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0		x
0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals														
17	11	110	48	72	0	1	1	40	1	9	0	100		

162
592
423
422
427
13
648

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *medierro* or half-share system, and *minga*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *mishu*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *medierro* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

476 Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, while the
427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
648 that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for
602 certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
[613] projects. Mingaco is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *Nillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

423 Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary
[428] rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on
[648] occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

946 compadre's friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to
946 her own house, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
949 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified,
and the birth takes place in the room itself. The mother takes up a kneeling
posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended
by her friends, and a *machi* (*ajpiwen*) assists at the birth. The men sitting
outside the hut and smoking with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the
sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe
are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some
friend of the father offers himself as *gulfaiñe* (*ñwe*), and requests that the babe, if
it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among
other pay-outs he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on
the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin,
and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the
towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take
on names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a
surname.

946 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
953 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

● 428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest
brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed
among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first
married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to
the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present
day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has
already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals,
birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged
to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find
numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by
some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolo*, red tiger; *Nahuelquel*,
leaping tiger; *Loncu*, human; *Marilonco*, ten humans; *Lonconhue*, human's head;
Vila, snake; *Quilavila*, three snakes; *Colavila*, red snake, etc., etc. These names
have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children
other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose
names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

9:Cooper E.-1 (no date) 1946 [Gt Araucanians 5G4

424 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the Araucanians of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (Mellafe, 1959, pp. 299, 304).

428 Inheritance.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo [Carpenedo (1878, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1891, p. 132). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 Exchange.—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Falkner, 1862, s.v. chihin; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 288, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llamas (llaskas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1891, p. 106) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kulin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc., but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Pehuche* for salt, bamboo, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Marino de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings thereon.

476 Labor.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

412 To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

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warmth as well.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1960)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Pulmo	181	32	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huenchucul	109	88	c. 1.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of radicación (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Tolén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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times to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 9 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for mingaco, although vecita mano is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as mingaco entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, [556] [591] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de- [423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname* of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

* The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [408] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages
[735] accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[782] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[769] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[828] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a landholding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. 592 178 428 583 613

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. 428

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. 154 166 578 464

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
761 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as
[837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more
[594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[7] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[7] [i.e.–Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather -- Analyst]

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, 585 428 [177] important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of [171] the dead man's brothers.

Kurgewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, 583 and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and 581 discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan domo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [169]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [839]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak — they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 438 586 618 [64] [167]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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While the Mapuche enter into half-dozen agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. Mingaco is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *nitatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, so far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances mingaco are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this segments mingaco or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study. 423 648

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect. 169 171 464

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often 169 423 428 [602]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. Their situation exists because the residential kingroup
• 428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place *ewiqpés* outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these *ewiqpés* are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñilletun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the
[169] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendents of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of *ewiqpés*. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

198 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reoriented or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613 *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
[611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[59] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

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The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based multifocal group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day competitive enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

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The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which reflect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

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It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a concomitant of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

[613]

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[178] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
[592] were to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
622 chief of a reservation took a more active role in dividing the
178 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military purposes). While the chief is still the
repository of such powers, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, there are extended family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father formed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called the lineage arbitrators.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
•[428] infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this de facto condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the additional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in serving independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
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[900] community are not dealt with more humanely. A witch is a terrible
[902] person whom no one undertakes to have without the backing of
[904] the entire community.

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practiced for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible, although one may expect certain antipathies to result in the practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder by witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalid* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult, or impossible to discover; and still's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

[913] The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be satisfied with punishing the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

[914] Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of siblingage—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an extended family group. The greatest danger to siblingage solidarity results from food shortage, which affects not so much subsistence (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INFANCY

853 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collío in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- ●431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Housse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L'aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself. 553 431

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night. 854

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 862 863 [278 386]

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ñillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation. 241 476 622 [431] [621]

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work. 241 476 [621] [178] [464]

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans 476 622 613 [621]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The [527]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
602 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
583 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
571 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

12: Faron 3-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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While the marriage fast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutn* (derived from *mafun*: brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presotation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or cassificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthunun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual pesentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her aceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recogniton of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizingits wife-receiving status. 585 583 431 602 571

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the grom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the grom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installedin her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, whichdeserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen. 585 431 602 571

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

796 782 [535] [535]

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

796 574 796 574 431 [564] [608]

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

796 [782]

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- A 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo. A T

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintubual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintubual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873.
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Chocoque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Chocoque, and of Lázares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Chocoque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the con-
A 755 tinued illness of Graviel and the others. Towards evening of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then
A 173 retired.

We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Melin, who was an intelligent youth, argue that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked
A 431 an armed man.

We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylcm, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylcm with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzanero, he and Quintahual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party en route previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their 562
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[17] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606]
father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [432]
that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607
regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592
who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *mudome*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[18]

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Mouchet (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[18] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

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Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the [452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In- [439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service 491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather 443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and 487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor [430] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell [433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but [185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in [433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero- [511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate [511] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which [493] represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to [430] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds [432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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Mapuche

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town [433] are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 648
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [622] to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622] by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacarería*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

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Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

241 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[265] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[962] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields. 241 [439]

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious. 73 244 [262] [243]

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions. 243 407 [427] [648] [427]

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may 243 407 433 [777] [427]

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243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[407] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of
244 wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
[460] plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
492

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Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
●433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
433 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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797
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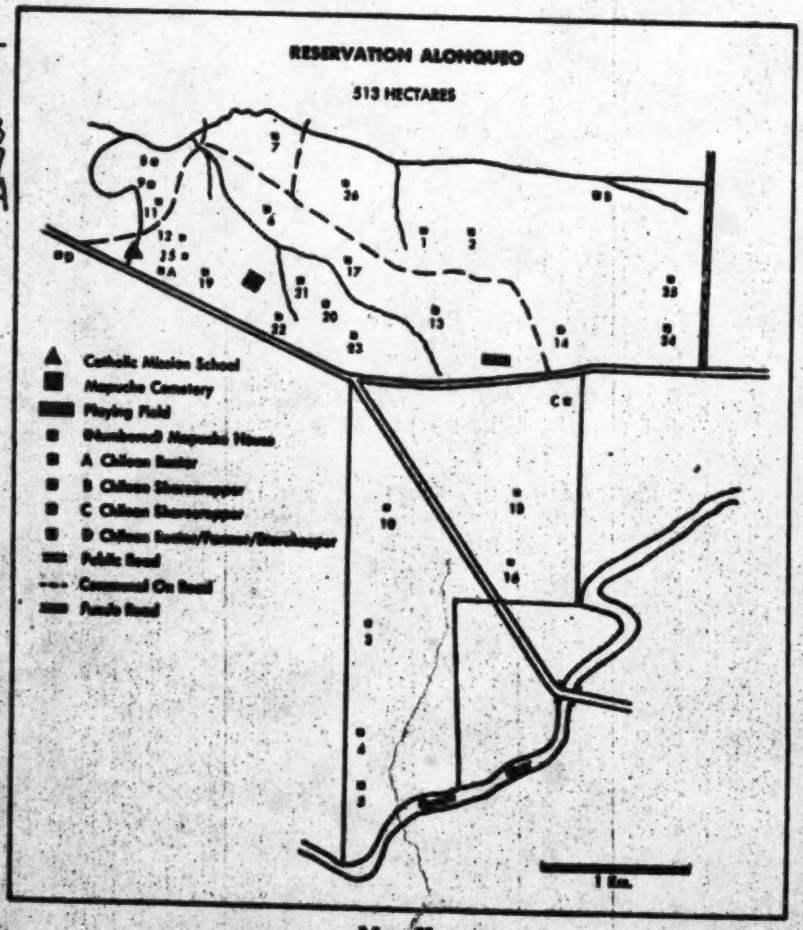

MAP II

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[222] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[344] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-
[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
491 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The
443 remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves
[433] are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[511] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which
[493] represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[431] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, [433]
when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 457
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 458
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* [672]
feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622]
by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 457
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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453 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [67] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Pri- [48] vate ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 427 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

429 Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [95] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are [48] by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 431 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [164] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetu- [62] ate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [675] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals used to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo division so that

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of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1958, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonquen, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *mediero*s. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonquen, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toledo, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (465 sheep and 100 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonquen. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 255 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares. 427 [311] [248] 433 427

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *mediero*s who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population. 311

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis. 233 427 433 [311]

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op- [248]

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233 427 433 648 erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 311 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being 311 cut down.

427 Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents [648] and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

433 There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not [231] suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects [241] of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

427 On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to 433 animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are 283 so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

197 We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche 12 economy and technology vis-á-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. [177 127]

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. [177] [191] [197]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

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Interpretative Summary

105

The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and 177
political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception 182
of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been 177
a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift 241
433

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177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
180 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
105 dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
105 herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
170 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
• 433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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177 The elementary-family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
594 cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
613 tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
[433] reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
[582] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
177 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
[769] hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
179 social function of *ñillatun* and *ɑwn* to the extent that these
178 assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
796 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
769 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[794] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[4] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

613 562 589 [434] [437] [434]

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

591 114

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

591 [361] [613] [166] [182]

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

[175]

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

591 613 [923] [609] [166]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

4 [i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

476
622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
464

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Araucanians have never had any currency. Chilean currency is used today; in fact it has become a necessity. It is needed to buy from Chileans necessities not produced by the family, such as men's and boys' clothing—including hats and shoes, if there is sufficient money; calico for women's and girls' waists or entire dresses, if the native dress (kapam) is no longer worn by them; cloth for aprons; tools; dishes and cooking kettles; commercial dyes; sugar; occasionally wheat or flour. "Even the poor must sell some of their produce to buy these." If a large amount of chicha is needed, as at fiestas, baptisms, ruka building, and harvesting—where it is considered an essential—it, too, is bought from Chileans. 436

Money is obtained by supplying Chilean needs. Cattle and sheep, and, on occasions, hogs, oxen, and horses, are sold to non-Araucanian livestock dealers, mostly Chilean, who can be expected to come through the area at any time. In Alepúe area (1946) I was offered a good riding horse at the prevailing price, approximately 450 pesos ($15.00 in U. S. currency). Occasionally a family sells chickens; more often, if there is an opportunity, eggs. Eggs are used only as a subsidiary in cooking by Araucanians; chicken meat is the base for several dishes. 439

In Alepúe area a man delivered fish and other seafoods taken from the Pacific along a trade route he had established for himself, or he peddled them from house to house among Chileans in San José de Mariquina or Valdivia, or at fundos in the area. A few men dealt with Araucanian fish dealers on a commission basis; these dealers live in town and resell the fish to merchants in Valdivia. Fish sold are corbina, sierra, and robalo. Two edible algae taken from the Pacific are also marketable, namely luche and cochayuyo. A 35-year-old man and his 51-year-old sister pointed to a day's work, a 6-foot-high pile of standard-sized bundles of cochayuyo. Each bundle was 18 inches long and could be encircled by two hands. They intended to sell these in Valdivia the following day. Shellfish, called loko, mañihue, and macha, and in July and August a special delicacy called arisos, have commercial value if they can be marketed within a day after they are collected.

The leaves of the fiocha were sold to Chileans by Alepúe men for rope manufacture, and nuts of the araucaria by Coñaripe men, to be eaten. After a good harvest, many sell wheat. Some families sell dried peas and beans.

Woven articles are sold to Chilean stores or to non-Araucanians who order them; chief among the articles are ponchos, choapinos (saddle covers), lamas (throws), and blankets. Early one morning a 21-year-old man asked me to buy a lama—he was en route on horse-

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however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439?

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439 491

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertos (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertos were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

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436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. [427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families [464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihüe stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tani. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled; and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 333–35.) Indigo was obtained by barter. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used.

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (*in* Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 176–77; cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 328; Millán, 1934, 1:220–22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1029–1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, ccypu, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then fleshed with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Latcham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:96), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease.

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 154, *left*); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillsides, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 154, *right*): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the kütru metawe (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer duck), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Marcgrav, 1648, ill. p. 284) and occurring archeologically (Medina, 1882, figs. 184, 204–07) has a globular belly, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and archeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and and northeast of the *Araucanian* region. Except for some geometric

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431 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Mombach, Ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Perú and probably of the Pueblos of far northern Chile (McBride, 1936, pp. 300, 302).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

•437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. thûiln; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 258, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (llaykas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 184) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc, but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" [439] trade with, e.g., the *Puelche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

462 To the man fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

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Chile

in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (*wampo*; Spanish, *canoa*) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (*balsa*), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in canoes. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[450] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[478] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[111] (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which
[493] represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 10 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[439] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the 584
groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of 613
the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal ex- 583
change of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to 114
gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious 583
informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that 829
Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local [115]
Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result 583
that the economic value of the most important moveable items [437]
of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is 583
the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both 423
parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

•438 Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers dis-
[491] tant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699-706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343-44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29-32 and 138-68.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by 133
many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very 621
high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and [439]
Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which 621
can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable 484
amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along [491]
a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva [497]
Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members 509
of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air 621
service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

421 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Perú and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (McBride, 1936, pp. 309, 364).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. thùiln; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 258, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (llankas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 184) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc, but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" [439] trade with, e.g., the *Puelche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

476 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

462 To the man fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Araucanians have never had any currency. Chilean currency is used today; in fact it has become a necessity. It is needed to buy from Chileans necessities not produced by the family, such as men's and boys' clothing—including hats and shoes, if there is sufficient money; calico for women's and girls' waists or entire dresses, if the native dress (kapam) is no longer worn by them; cloth for aprons; tools; dishes and cooking kettles; commercial dyes; sugar; occasionally wheat or flour. "Even the poor must sell some of their produce to buy these." If a large amount of chicha is needed, as at fiestas, baptisms, ruka building, and harvesting—where it is considered an essential—it, too, is bought from Chileans. 436

Money is obtained by supplying Chilean needs. Cattle and sheep, and, on occasions, hogs, oxen, and horses, are sold to non-Araucanian livestock dealers, mostly Chilean, who can be expected to come through the area at any time. In Alepúe area (1946) I was offered a good riding horse at the prevailing price, approximately 450 pesos ($15.00 in U. S. currency). Occasionally a family sells chickens; more often, if there is an opportunity, eggs. Eggs are used only as a subsidiary in cooking by Araucanians; chicken meat is the base for several dishes. 437

In Alepúe area a man delivered fish and other seafoods taken from the Pacific along a trade route he had established for himself, or he peddled them from house to house among Chileans in San José de Mariquina or Valdivia, or at fundos in the area. A few men dealt with Araucanian fish dealers on a commission basis; these dealers live in town and resell the fish to merchants in Valdivia. Fish sold are corbina, sierra, and robalo. Two edible algae taken from the Pacific are also marketable, namely luche and cochayuyo. A 35-year-old man and his 51-year-old sister pointed to a day's work, a 6-foot-high pile of standard-sized bundles of cochayuyo. Each bundle was 18 inches long and could be encircled by two hands. They intended to sell these in Valdivia the following day. Shellfish, called loko, mañihue, and macha, and in July and August a special delicacy called arisoe, have commercial value if they can be marketed within a day after they are collected.

The leaves of the fiocha were sold to Chileans by Alepúe men for rope manufacture, and nuts of the araucaria by Coñaripe men, to be eaten. After a good harvest, many sell wheat. Some families sell dried peas and beans.

Woven articles are sold to Chilean stores or to non-Araucanians who order them; chief among the articles are ponchos, choapinos (saddle covers), lamas (throws), and blankets. Early one morning a 21-year-old man asked me to buy a lama—he was en route on horse-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lama, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no choapino to sell.

Choapino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a choapino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for choapino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the choapino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Panguipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more choapino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

464 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

● 439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439 491

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertos (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertos were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [429]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by 241
Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near
Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for [939]
sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato 731
blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the res- 244
ervation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of [262]
great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche
living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have [243]
been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to com- 243
bine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every 407
Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is
rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when [427]
provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an [648]
Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for
harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by [427]
fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery 243
among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears 407
a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an 433
individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price [427]
seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[396] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
241 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

231 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[422] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

241 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[221] *ria,* and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, 314
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery
[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[450] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
491 443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

439 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[191] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which
[493] represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[439] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional communal aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

A Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named
● 439 Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who
609 had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infelix,' or unfortunate one.

T A After a while the council broke up, but Crimé arriving
648 with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening,
361 and informed us that the toldos had been several months in
224 this place, which was named Eagel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A By his account these Indians were great adepts with the
224 lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty
A head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

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drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an dhumbugged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintuhual, Orkeke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated cuts laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintuhual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north. Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lemketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parliamento—Apples and Piñones—Gravisl's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Cheoeque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

[p. 230]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

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648 farther north; also to consider Calfiura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Cheoeque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country,
A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.
567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt
A our colloquy.
● 439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of
137 Cheoeque's toldos, where animals were lassoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for
T a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been
A cheated by the Picunche thieves.
439 Towards evening Cheoeque sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that he would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

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At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chacoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians S64
Picunches

occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was subsequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs. How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers. Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this route, an enterprising German had some short time previously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period. 000

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting. T A, 439 A 231 T A 648

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen. A [194 537]

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división)* and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere. [591] [185] [594]

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Mapuche

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On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere. [591] [185] [594]

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
491 443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

439 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[191] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[430] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss. [433]

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 448
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [622]
to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622]
by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [107] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [448] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 427 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

427 Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [492] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are [49] by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 433 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [486] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [492] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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Mapuche

664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cumurpan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their two-fold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [304] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibirán Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, sí, todos los indígenas, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciones que exigieran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibirán su aporte. De esto, no duda nadie. Así debe ser y así será.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaría los permisos para la consecución de sus créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaría Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas grandemente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Epentilion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[649] This article and the political discussion it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available [illegible] pesos (roughly [illegible] dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [353] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the cows and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 58
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 557
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such persons will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the incentives or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their conditions. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom actually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities. [91]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

ground, so located that the rear of the tolde was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the tolde to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the tolde with paint made of white earth (caolin) or red earth (hill burro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wood. "I like to think of those days," Kalaquin remembered, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldes. We did not have to work as hard then as we do today. All that man had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 HW

Hides used as tolde coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (piedra pulida) (pl. 34, 6), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now painted over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "Give sun till when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 5 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of [illegible] and grayish and light. [illegible] 342 241

[illegible]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living. 241 [177] [462]

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations. [242]

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche. 241 407 [492] [184]

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care. 241 492

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two. 241 461

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be 241 [407]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[7] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinoa [quinoa?], madi [maxi?], pepper, and beans. . . ."[8]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [122]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[9] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [262]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [292]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 62
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[10]

[7] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[8] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [94]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[9] For further information on these topics, consult Lenhoss, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1909, II: 288–330; and Mansbach, 1930, pp. 70–120.

[10] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who had grown rich will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Fonck[illegible]).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed children, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chuchu* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remalkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarülokko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarülokko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[a] At 463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[b] and the others purchase what they want

[a] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1940a, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonticella, 1946. Guevara (1909, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[b] At Cautiñchu, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrerilla and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·trufi*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·trufi* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·trufi* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·trufi* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·trufi* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rukifimapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rukifimapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rukifimapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[10] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

• 462 462 572 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[10] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·trufis* are described in Joseph, 1950a, pp. 70–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 512
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 857
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

4 Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

261 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give a greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was widely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches bound together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are threshed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the bottom floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[543] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and threshing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller trees are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

234 The Araucanians keep considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and local mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanians. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, confining everything they did not understand, or that did not

S Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

421 and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the *Araucanians* of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (Mellafe, 1946, pp. 309, 364).

428 **Inheritance.**—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

437 **Exchange.**—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Pelosio, 1902, s.v. *ñidilu*; Havestedt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 208, 209.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llancas (*llaykas*) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 122) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (*ñulin*) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc. but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Pehuche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Martín de Loyola (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

438

446 **Labor.**—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

*462 To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The women's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and tanning leather.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

and her mother. Usually a midwife is present also, and on occasion some of the woman's relatives and women friends. Any woman who is a nearby neighbor can always be relied on to assist, if needed. A machi is not present but is called in if the mother or child takes sick.

Until very recently, midwifery was practiced exclusively by women; at the time of the present study several middle-aged men in Alepde area were doing so, one being assisted by his wife. "Both he and his wife were present last week when my sister's child was born. That man certainly knows how to deliver a baby!" A midwife is called datuchefe or domo kimfetukutranin; there is no word for a male obstetrician, an indication that midwifery for men is not an old custom.

To quote one of the men who assists at deliveries: "My part in helping is to examine the woman to make certain that the baby is in the right position, especially that the head is lying in the right position, for that is important. If it is, then all goes well and fast. When the first four of my children were born, I had a man deliver each—we call him a partero; we have no Mapuche name for such a man. I lost those four children; each died when about two months old. I watched that man deliver those children. Because these four died as infants, I delivered my wife myself of the next children. There were four more and they all lived." A Pangipulli woman was annoyed when asked if men assisted at deliveries: "What are you thinking about! It is always a woman who does so, a sensible woman, one who knows how!" Her husband interjected: "If a family is so poor that it cannot pay the midwife what she asks for a delivery, then the woman's husband will deliver his wife. Only then will any man help."

In some areas the midwife is paid for her services. In Alepde she asks for 50 pesos (one U. S. dollar); if the woman is a relative, she accepts no pay. In Collaripe area the midwife receives no pay; her compensation is the privilege of calling each child that she delivers "my child." "And later on when the child is old enough to comprehend, his mother will say to it, if the midwife happens to come around, 'This is your mother.' This pleases the midwife; it is done in grateful recognition."

It is a custom for all members of a family to stay around home when anyone in the family is sick; it is for this reason that a woman's children are present when she gives birth to a child—their mother is thought of as being sick. Teachers related instances when a relative or a neighbor of a family requested that children be allowed to leave school and go home because there was sickness in their family. The day following, the children would tell of the birth of a brother or a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (*wampo*; Spanish, *canoa*) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (*tapi*), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in canoes. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (45,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancuche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for toys, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as cows, horses, screwdrivers, plows, saucepans, hats, needles, bottles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

[illegible] also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
raiment (pl. 34, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; [illegible]
informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had de-
stroyed most of it. Substitutes for raiment are chapin, bulrushes, [illegible]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting
the thatch, others strip twigs off the cuillide poles; some begin to
erect the framework, others tie the cuillide poles to the framework,
and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is
done with sewed vegetal (pl. 34, *1*). Nearly all the men lend a hand
when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and
roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with
roots outward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and
is secured in position by means of vegetal applied with a twining
technique. Once the thatch is in place, cuillide poles are fastened
horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied
to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka
usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but be- [illegible]
fore the ruka is ready to be lived in, they are ready to serve as abundant meal.
"After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this
song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful son,
if I had a nice mare, I would enter into this house to greet the wife
of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at
the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to
intoxication.

A 55-year old Cuilenche man explained the building of the split-log
roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied [illegible]
these from the Chilenos," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise
and a good portion of the core removed. A pair of these split, hol-
lowed-out logs is laid across the roof having space between them to
allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second pair of the split
hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so
that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath
it. In this position the logs are a watertight, give ventilation, and
allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belong- [illegible]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it,
and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at
the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 357
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The
open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and
warmth. As well

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

235 [illegible] "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Alegale area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or slab, and is dipped with a flat, long-handled, wooden bailer (pl. 40, d), made in one piece to lessen the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well dipped, it is cleaned by being swished back and forth in running water. Dipping and cleaning is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often heard than stared while washing. The cloth is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the royal Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

SPINNING, WEAVING, KNITTING

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women gear on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good lather and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The women then prepare boiling water over it and when it is the bowls or river where she works it well with her hands in the swift running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." We sing is washed—"the oil in the wool cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

237 Formerly all women and girls, and many boys to years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and never do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long ends by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (Huahua) (pl. 39, c) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pahua) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Alegale woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." The spindle was 17 inches long and 1¼ inches in diameter; the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ⅝ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 18 and 20 inches in length, and ⅝ to 1¼ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ⅝ inch thick.

16: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

238 [illegible] Iroquois. If given reasonable care, a Bagé will give 10 years of service. The Bagé I saw were 6 to 7 inches deep, 12 to 13 inches in diameter at the bottom, 10 to 12 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 3 inches along slanting sides.

POTTERY MAKING

239 Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional clibu (pot-like containers) and clutaron (waffle containers, pl. 45, 1) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 12 had made useful miniatures of clibu and clutaron, and also whorls for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alapile woman found black clay "for three clutaron, near the Pacific; some around here [on the hills] is very good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one place of land in which there is much of it; once a the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women were using finely grained pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than shaping an clibu." A mixture of clay and pumice is saturated with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an clibu uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this roll she forms the bottom of the clibu—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From then on, the clibu is built up with rope coilmakers rolled—the end of one roll and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building progresses gradually, shaping is done. After the women, at certain stages, pats the modelling with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—qualitatively no rough spots must be felt by hand or eyes. When completely modelled be outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the hollow a mucha shell (mashell) in Alapile use, and with the tip of a cow horn in Pangipulli area. "For the inside, I again rub with my finger tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The clibu must be dried gradually. "If dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—it depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a rubel and hung at some distance

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been 264
cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself.
Many families equal in similar manner today; an occasional one eats
seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when 252
cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for
this was known.

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at 271
its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncon- 342
taminated. (Pls. 6a, 1; 7a, 1.) Homes were located only where there 347
was an uncontaminated source of water.

Beverages in the early days consisted of mushi and of refreshing 272
decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of palco and bark of maqui.
Mushi was made by fermenting quinoa and maize, cultivated small
grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older
women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fer-
mented. Mushi is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made
from cooked wheat.

Chicha (palco), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of 273
calafate (unidentified), garrilla, and mitimi, and of wild apples. A
70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way,
a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked,
placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately crushed by
hitting them with palos. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally
coihue. The crushed apples were poured into cuhihin containers in
which holes had been previously pulsed, and the containers hung over
the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two palos to
force the flow of juice, which was conducted in unperforated cuhihin
containers until it became chicha.

I observed a 90-year-old woman making chicha from berries of
garrilla and mitimi. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys
of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She
crushed handfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an un-
perforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends
of the hide to two palos a short distance apart. As soon as the juice
had fermented to suit her taste, she poured a finely woven hilla
(basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentina
law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is
made by Araucanians, who has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba mate, a non-Araucanian tea made 272
of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 274

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile S61

2

The Agrarian Setting

The Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from domestic garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily men's work. Some of the more important changes involving the alienation and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1881-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1890 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map 1 will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the cities of Temuco and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many farmed. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and dooryard cultivation were commonly with small, shifting populations aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oats, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and digdig. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche sustained small-scale cultivation, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In pre-reservation times horticulture was essentially women's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fo-

BiParon E-5 (1952-1954)951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sow and tended skinnibing and preparation for barter. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition in this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and no exception prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*arados de palo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast. If the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually disposed to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the furrows have not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodillo*) may be

II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

amount to a basket of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into carts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorer, smaller, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. Chacarería in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested -- most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are seen in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from canelo water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of canelo water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

.11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re- [596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is men's work, for the most part, and involves
• 462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to use very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at pernicious high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop receipts. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several lean months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

426
622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which the climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by forebears and the machi's familiars (pillan).

The machi must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (thongolwachin) who tells the machi the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the machi is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot fluids and passes her arms through fire. It is said that machi used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blow tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The machi enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (lawen), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and sprinkling water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machitun). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no essential effect. Mapuche agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (ewi) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's kinsmen might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in most cases that these women domi-

Id: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

756 [352] prosperity which exists in Mapuchland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that machi are active and powerful persons in the social community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their pillar for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of machi are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patriarchal society, the machi's attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the secular and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

[362] [364]

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of shamanicity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All machi are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a machi who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary machi are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretations of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patriarchal society whose moral force derives from the proper population of an agnatic core of ancestors.

[13] [25] [362] [114]

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1940), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

114 [178] 462 756

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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[838]
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> *In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women* (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

> *Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common* (1951:117).

[838]
[839]

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

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According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

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Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

I: Titiev E-3 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chawal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *rwedikko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *rwpaichacha*. Both the *rwedikko* and the *rwpaichacha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] 283 284 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms. [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in 28 32 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[a] At •463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[b] and the others purchase what they want

[a] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941a, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonseca, 1946. Guevara (1909, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[b] At Cautín, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrerile and

I: Tiller E-8 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanian SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares.

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. Commonest of all is the *pifulka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bisonal Pan pipe fashioned from hollow wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifulkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo.

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as dances and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancan, husband of Cantiache's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *dulkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by raking in the breath. A *dulkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleared like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Rimaico, but in no one of these places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy.

1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

18: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Chile

439 back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lana, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the premium, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no chaquiro to sell.

Chaquiro, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a chaquiro, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [30 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for chaquiro, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the chaquiro that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but these Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Pangipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more chaquiro. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

444 In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

426 Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Occa-

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

usually money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alapde man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching fandit (ostrich) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the fandit with a bolaudaro. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche emigrated to Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche."

Alapde children to whom I had given pens for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for his own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

10 Hidgen E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
BG4 Arauconians BG4
Argentina

either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of palm used by hosts in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a hand-woven rug brought 30 pesos; an ox, 1.000 pesos; a 2-yard-long hand-woven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to travelers, and by hunting feathers and wood by means of cows. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chiapaldihuen each fall to gather avocado nuts there; these sold for 30 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and baggage. (Cf. pp. 270-273 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the hose was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the cart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all carts wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *d*).

Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (trans), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a cowhide stalk to form an oval-shaped hoop and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampo. The trunk of the tree known as raulí was preferred in making wampo. A spindle-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tapi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

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and resettled. Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Government agencies such as the Caja de Colonización and the Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización, along with a number of private companies and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both through dubious legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms through hijuelaciones.

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Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos* where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization, than *fundos* being marginal land under cultivation in much the same way *parcelas* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with little regard for the conservation of timberland.

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The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parcelero* or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops such as lupine.

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The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcels* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

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II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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C 291 porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition, the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

C [311] *Parcelas* are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacareria*.[5] This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the parceleros are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they sometimes engage in cooperative labor (*mingaco*) with their neighbors during times of peak agricultural activity.

C [242] A C [476]

C 433 The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacareria*, and by cattle and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.[6]

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930–50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

C [243] [244]

[5] *Chacareria* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

C [127]

[6] Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria annual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

B:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, members of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*machis*, *machis*, or *kowches*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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Mapuche

[34] [31] [347] only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

[38] [42] [309] Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped farms have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside whenever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exclusive expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyor belt. [309]

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a vuelta mano basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work. [87%]

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished. [345]

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no vuelta mano, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Muke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *muke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con- [309] [46] [273] [362]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [78] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [166] [578] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [837]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 428 [586] [618] [464] [167]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

426
622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves,
427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
648 that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 *Mingaco* is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for
602 certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
[613] projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

423 Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary
[428] rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land
[648] was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapûche-Huilliche

chiuw, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control. 756 755 [465]

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampives*, who work with herbs; *nilwes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[14]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[15] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[16] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely 756 838 [143]

[14] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Mosbach, 1930, pp. 330–40.

[16] Cf. Hassler, 1939, p. 113.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. 243
For cutting a darea, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. [465
dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box 604]
used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans."

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being 243
tramped upon (kailfilkau) either by human beings, or by horses on 533
hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop."

In Alepúe area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal 243
way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its loads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha.

In Collaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
341 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

343 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[409] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[409] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[362] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun* mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar with the special language used in *ñillatun* sections, but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *machi* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

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A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance, but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ruwada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

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I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich payment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are wanting. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

342 homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

342 Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are
356 striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other
[231] animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

342 Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[13] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[14] Structures
[343] with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a
•[476] rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[13] Cf. House, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[14] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and House, 1939, pp. 157–59.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small 241
quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28).

There is no report of manioc or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Pitrunka* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 29–32) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 31–32; Latcham, 1936, pp. 202–03). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Guicneta, 1882, p. 98), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Río 242
Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 139), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138). Manuring was apparently not practiced.

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen 241
and lift the clods were: an ax- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Rascoffan, 1882, p. 192); a pole (used in pairs in Chiloé) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick.

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or minga 243
system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and 47K
plant maize, invited the members of his community or parcialidad, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibbles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's home for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Moesbach, 1938, pp. 139–43). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women trampling the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flutes, and drum. In more recent time threshing with use of horses came in.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

362 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

362 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the ringpass plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1928, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 142–46; Marquilef, 1911, pp. 29–30; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 178–78.)

House furnishings.—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They sat squat on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–48, 229–31.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the Mapuche-Huilliche men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the maitrú (poncho); of the women, the lequem and the chull (Huilli). Chamall, maitrú, and lequem are apparently words of Araucanian origin; chiripa and chull, of Quechua.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, were drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his maitrú, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's lequem was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her chull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the Mapuche-Huilliche are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same Araucanian or Spanish word to denote different garments.

9:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Arawaneans SG4

and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Mendiburu, [illegible]). There is no trace among the Arawaneans of the system of periodic allotment of grazing land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (Mellafe, 1956, pp. 208, 204).

Inheritance.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvalho i Grijalmbo (1878, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Hervatsch, 1883, 2:421; Molina, 1901, p. 132). (On inheritance of wives, see supra under Marriage and Family.)

Exchange.—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Fabula, 1902, a.v. tibiki; Hervatsch, 1883, pp. 416-17; Smith, 1888, pp. 288, 289.) Hervatsch states (1883, 2:700) that fawns (Indian) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for accidents, and Molina (1901, p. 134) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (kulin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc., but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the Mapuche-Huilliche among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the Pehuche for salt, hammers, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Martín de Loyola (1883, p. 134) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and fiesta, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings thereby.

Labor.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The woman's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and carrying burdens.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñowe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1888:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition, the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

Parcelas are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacarería*.[2] This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the parceleros are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they sometimes engage in cooperative labor (*mingaco*) with their neighbors during times of peak agricultural activity.

The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacarería*, and by cattle and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.[3]

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930–50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

[2] *Chacarería* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

[3] Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria annual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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476 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
476 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how-
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613]
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 24
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [177]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
241 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[407] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used
[407] to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano,* and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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427 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 427 648 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong [186] [621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

427 476 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [954] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses. 562 613 621 618 [496]

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage. [571] [593]

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [535] [564] [567]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [901] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change—the economy—and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
179 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

476 *Labor Organization*

622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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12: Faron · E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in preconversion and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or cacique (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

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Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

178 464 476 [622] [182]

Id: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
441 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 patrilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called cacipulle (Spanish) or lonko of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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476 While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves,
427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
648 that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 *Mingaco* is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for
602 certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
[613] projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

423 Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary
[428] rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land
[648] was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476.
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weat l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 000

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kollai (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean. 515 [481]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 721

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless trot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

25 Marmolejo, pp. 40-43, 47-49. These are but representative of many such descriptions.

26 Nájera, pp. 42, 110-116. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Nájera, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xaraquemada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xaraquemada to King, Jan. 29, 1611 and Jan. 28, 1612 (*idem*, pp. 247, 255-257); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1613 (*idem*, p. 267).

28 Nájera, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move about on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their *rocinantes*, keeping their good stock hidden for use after the next rebellion (*idem*, p. 128).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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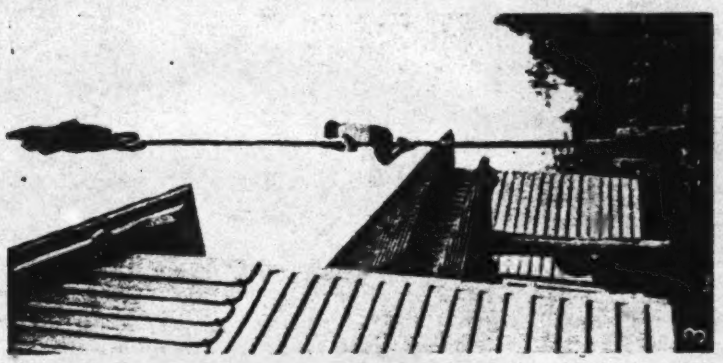

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Alepite schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a kunkul from the blades of a chupón; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1, 2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ¼ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 481 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water 482 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Coñaripe area, two. 483 492

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 492

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 38, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a bow front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a choapino, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a choapino today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 38); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, 2). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw 754

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. [427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families [464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihüe stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tani. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIX, 1909, Plate XXXV.

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NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

[end plate 2]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tupûl) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 482 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. 492 The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 10, 1917, [284] p. 349, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together [824] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Alepée schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[p. 28(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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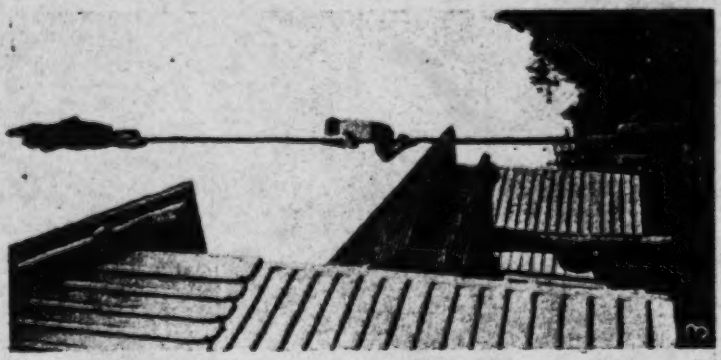

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Alepúe schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a kuykui from the blades of a chupón; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[136] Each family took along several pelts of the
222 llama—the llama was an animal that lived around in the Mapuche country then; it was like a sheep, he said, but its pelt was not as heavy as a sheep's. They pulled off the ears of the grass by hand, collected [482] them on the pelts, folded the pelts, and each man carried peltfuls of them home, slung across his shoulder. They collected heads of the wheat in the same way in those days, and we sometimes collect it in the same manner today."

243 A 19-year-old girl in Cofiaripe collected wheat by this method while I was there. Her family's 1946 stored wheat supply had been depleted, and the grain in the fields was not ready to be harvested—only scattered ears had ripened. The girl walked through the wheat field (pl. 47, *1*), grasped a few ripened ears here and a few there with each hand (little finger toward the earth), broke the ears off the stalk, and when a hand could hold no more, dropped them into a basket which she was carrying on her arm. When the basket was nearly full, she straddled the handle and packed the ears down with both feet, and when it could hold no more, she walked home. There she poured a portion of the ears into a wooden dish, placed the dish on the ground close to a tree trunk, stepped on the grain, supporting herself by clutching the ends of two branches on the trunk of a tree, and threshed the grain with her feet (pl. 47, *2*). Threshing grain in this manner is called fiuwiñyen. The movements of her feet, used alternately for probably three movements, were quick and somewhat rhythmic. With each movement she brought the ears of grain into the middle of the dish by means of her toes and the side of the foot. "When my mother fiuwiñyen, she sings a song; I don't know the words, but I can hum the melody." And she did. After some time she emptied the wooden dish into a winnowing tray, shook the tray, and then by brushing the surface with her hand sorted out ears that were not completely threshed. Such ears she threw back into the wooden dish to be threshed. The kernels she poured into a basket (pl. 47, *3*). She then threshed the remainder of the ears. The threshing of the entire harvest was completed in three installments. Next she walked into an open space to winnow the kernels—a place evidently used for that purpose, for chaff and dry pea shells were lying about. She had barely begun to winnow when small pigs came to eat the refuse. Noticing the direction of the wind, she sat on a log with her back toward it, poured kernels onto the winnowing tray, and then with intriguing skill she shook the kernels simultaneously up and down, forward and back, and from side to side, focusing her eyes on the farther edge of the tray where the kernels began to collect as they separated from the chaff. When a goodly number had collected there,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Basketry: 1, Cofaripe woman weaving a kilko, used for carrying and storage. 2, A tightly woven basket, probably used for storage. (Courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.) 3, Winnowing tray (Alepúe). 4, A carrying and storage basket (Cofaripe). 5, A basket (chaiwe) used as a filter, strainer, and drainer (Cofaripe).

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[p. 188 (E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making mote (continued): 1. On the way to the spring to wash ashes off kernels. 2. Washing ashes off kernels. 3. Mote now ready to eat.

[482]

[p. 188(I)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1*, *2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is [482] best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or 481 to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water 482 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Cofaripe area, two. 483 492

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 492

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 38, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a bow front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a choapino, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a choapino today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 38); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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492 too poor to have one so ornamented. "A poor man might have only a spur with a piece of metal, like a nail of today," said an old man. "Every man had only one spur in those days. Why should he have two? I remember those days."

482 492 Today, heavy loads, such as flour or pelts, are often transported on horseback, or if too bulky, are hauled by oxen, usually on carts. If the load is transported by horse, either the man rides with the load or puts it on the back of the horse and leads the animal by a halter. Often a load is carried on a montura de cargo (saddle for a load) which rests on the padded back of a pack horse. If the rider shares the horse, the load is divided into equal portions and put into bags woven for this purpose or into two wilal tied so they can be slung across the horse's back behind the rider. Sometimes the load is transported in a sack placed back of the rider. Often a rider, in addition to the load on his horse, carries a basket or wilal on his arm.

Fish to be taken to a Chilean market are packed tightly in a large oblong wilal or a large mesh bag, not unlike a net, between layers of leaves and long grass and are placed on a pack horse with an equal load on each side. The grass and leaves keep the heat of the sun from penetrating.

A heavy or clumsy load is hauled on a 2-wheeled cart by a pair of oxen. (Cf. pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) The loads I saw hauled in this manner were stones, wheat, sacks of sugar, a quarter of beef, and cases of soft drinks to be sold at a fiesta. A few families own no oxen and must therefore borrow a pair for hauling. "If a man cannot afford to own a horse, he most certainly cannot own an ox—an ox costs about ten times the price of a horse, and one needs two oxen to work one."

Oxen are paired when hitched to the yoke for the first time and remain so during their life. Each is also given a name on this occasion, usually by the one who is doing the hitching. Should a new owner not like a name that has been given the animal, he must change it before the ox has become accustomed to being called by it. Names of pairs of oxen in Alepúe area were Bonito (pretty one) and Clavel (spotted, red and white, like a carnation); Pinto and Pinado (both were spotted and looked as if they had been painted); Figura (ill-shaped one) and Paisano (fellow countryman); Anduviste (running one) and Padeciendo (suffering one); Precioso (valuable one) and Lucero (morning star); Clavel and Bandera (flag). Araucanians call an ox manshun (from the Spanish manso) meaning quiet, meek, and lamblike—qualities, the informant said, exemplified by an ox.

500 Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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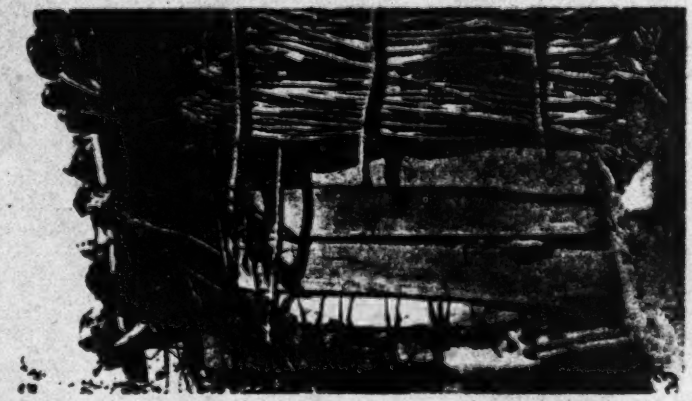

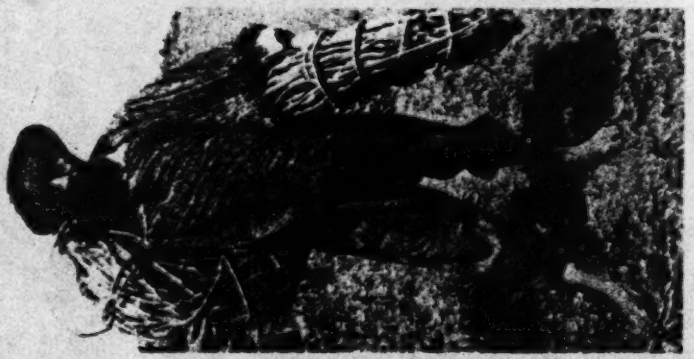

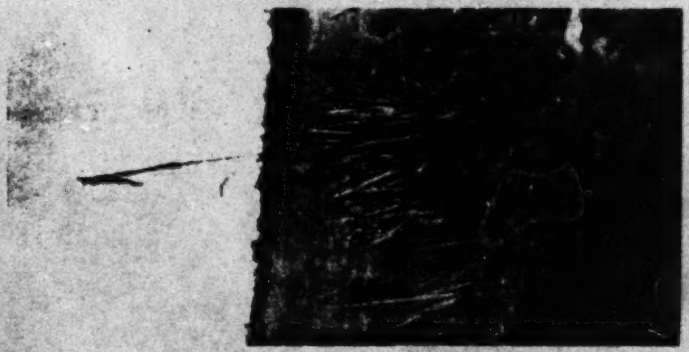

Building materials (Alepue): 1, Ratonera used in thatching a ruka. 2, Vine (voque) used in building fences and ruka. 3, Detail of a chicken coop. (Note the manner of keeping ratonera in place. All attaching is done with vines.)

[482]

[p. 220 (C)]

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Dyeing (Alepúe): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wihal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

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[p. 220 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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286 fringes. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a woman's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 531 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no significance. Kəpam and shawls have no designs. Belts and headbands often have varicolored stripes running lengthwise, or stripes of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the edges. Lama are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes of a bright color in the woof, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant fibers: the chaiwe, made of voqui and used as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the llepü, a flat, round platter form made of colihüe; and the külko, a large basket, made of copihue. He also gives the lonjo and the yole as basketry containers—the lonjo, of very fine weave, made of colihüe; the yole, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wilal (a carrying bag), the külko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieve, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray).

285 482 Wilal (pls. 12, *2*; 58, *1*) are netted from cord made of fiocha, a grass found in damp places. (See p. 101 for cord making.) Both adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones, convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in transporting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being hung on fire racks or on pegs on ruka walls. In shape a wilal is either spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three strands of fiocha through which a cord of fiocha is passed, or in loops of fiocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wilal may have two short handles for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head. Handles and straps are braided fiocha.

For the making of a wilal, a 13-year-old boy had gathered fiocha and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had so little sunshine and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me 8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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would have taken longer than that." The wilal was oblong in shape, 13 inches deep, and 10 inches wide. Its meshes were ½ by ¾ inch. It had an adjustable 53-inch-long braided carrying strap. A 24-inch draw cord was attached in such a manner that the opening could be closed, or, if he wished to form compartments in the wilal, he could use the cord to lace the wilal either horizontally or vertically. Two bottles were thus carried, in vertical position, one in each compartment; in one instance, eggs were placed in one compartment and tomatoes in the other. Chances for breakage were lessened thereby. A 6-year-old boy carried his school papers and six eggs in a spherical wilal. His mother had put the six eggs into the bottom, laced the wilal horizontally over them, and then put his school papers in the upper compartment and laced the opening. The mother had netted the wilal, but an older brother had collected the ñocha and made the cords. The wilal was 6 inches at greatest width, and 3 inches at the opening. A 30-inch carrying strap allowed it to be suspended from the shoulder, but since the boy was carrying eggs this day, he had shortened the strap and was carrying it by hand.

Külko are generally woven of voqui by women specialists. The weaving must be loose enough to allow water to pass in and out of the basket "in case I want to wash potatoes of dirt, for example, as I walk home with them through a river." Coñaripe women favor voqui of the copihue; it is found throughout the area. Some women use voqui of pollpell.

The külko shown in plate 46, *4*, was made of copihue voqui by a Coñaripe woman (pl. 46, *1*) who had become a specialist in making these baskets to help support her family, her husband being a nonlandowner in the area. Her school-age children had obtained the voqui from wooded lands nearby. The külko measured 12 inches across at the handle and 14 inches at right angles to it; its depth was 8 inches. In general, these baskets approximated 14 to 16 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 8 to 10 inches in depth. Small külkos were made for small children. "These were for useful purposes; not for play."

Chaiwe (pl. 46, *5*) are twined of voqui of esparto. They must be so loosely made as to allow liquids to drain off freely. Specialists in külko making also make chaiwe. In general, chaiwe are pot shaped, and are from 8 to 10 inches at greatest diameter and from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The chaiwe illustrated is 10 inches at greatest diameter, 8½ inches at shortest diameter, and 8½ inches deep.

Llepü (winnowing trays) (pl. 46, *3*) are made of quila. Men make them, using the coil technique. "It takes a strong hand to do this weaving, for it has to be very tight." Their shape is that of a conical

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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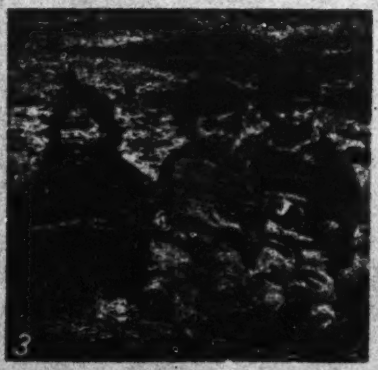

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Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilpil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilpil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilpil.)

[p. 268(C)]

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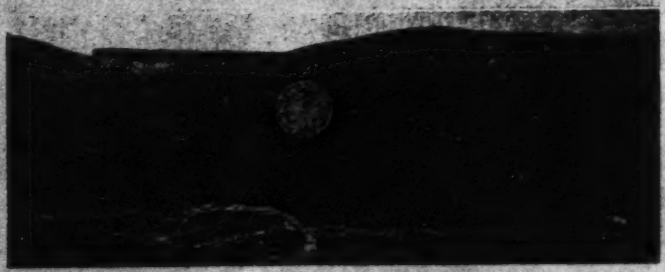

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Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quilaquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with bundles of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[D. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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1. Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2. Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quinquina). 3. Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 [502 782]

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pañi or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or pūdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, A shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their A custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly 482 for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Foyel.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dying, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Cañarípe area, two. 483 482

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 482

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 58, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a low front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a chupón, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a chupón today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chilenos who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 58); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Bridles have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and 493
they are available. (Pls. 39, 3; 40, 2.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Coñaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, 1). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 472
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, 2 and 3.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, 2).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiaca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Pyra* sp., *Libocedrus* [324]
chilensis (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
724 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

● 484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a
493] considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 621 [574] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1, 2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 481 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water 482 supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

501 in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (tañi), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

491 In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

484 It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and [462] children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

437 Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

426 Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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641 648 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 423 484 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common. When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will 764
be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors 574
who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or [484] •
in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their [492]
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The 764
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the 574
llañi, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is 576
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the 764
men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the 574
formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the [537]
ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians S64
Picunches

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1*, *2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or 481 to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 482 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [731] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [137] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 133 [487] A [496] C A 132 C A 131 162 A 648 A 361 C 361 C A [496]

There are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
● 487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

439 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[M] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[435] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are poor [illegible] to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinchet reduction with Choichol, may be regarded as typical.

438 Cautinche is linked to Choichol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Choichol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cuechar en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Choichol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[291] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699-708) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Lanternari, 1960, pp. 367-441 and Mandelbaum, 1938, pp. 19-30 and 158-68.

to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *trailkull* could be heard. A *trailkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 491

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours. 417

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections. 484 [762]

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior. 252 [462] 262

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol. 621 [131] 133 [245] [191]

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

[8] That part of Coique which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE V

491

FIG. 1. Winter travel. The main highway linking Cholchol with the rail center at Nueva Imperial, at the height of the rainy season.

FIG. 2. Crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos. Passengers and crew haul on the steel cable at the left of the raft.

[end plate 5]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VI

492
491

FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

509

FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Cholchol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, upül) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 492 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (*Cf.* supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 10, 1917, [3?] p. 349, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and [3?] caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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501 in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (tanj), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

491 In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

484 It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and [462] children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

437 Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

426 Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guaraní; that the Guaraní, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439?

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junín de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439 491

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertos (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertos were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malál. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 361 C 961 A 2 133 C A [491] [996] [261] A 648 175

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and *Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed.* But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[8]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[8] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1961:139–307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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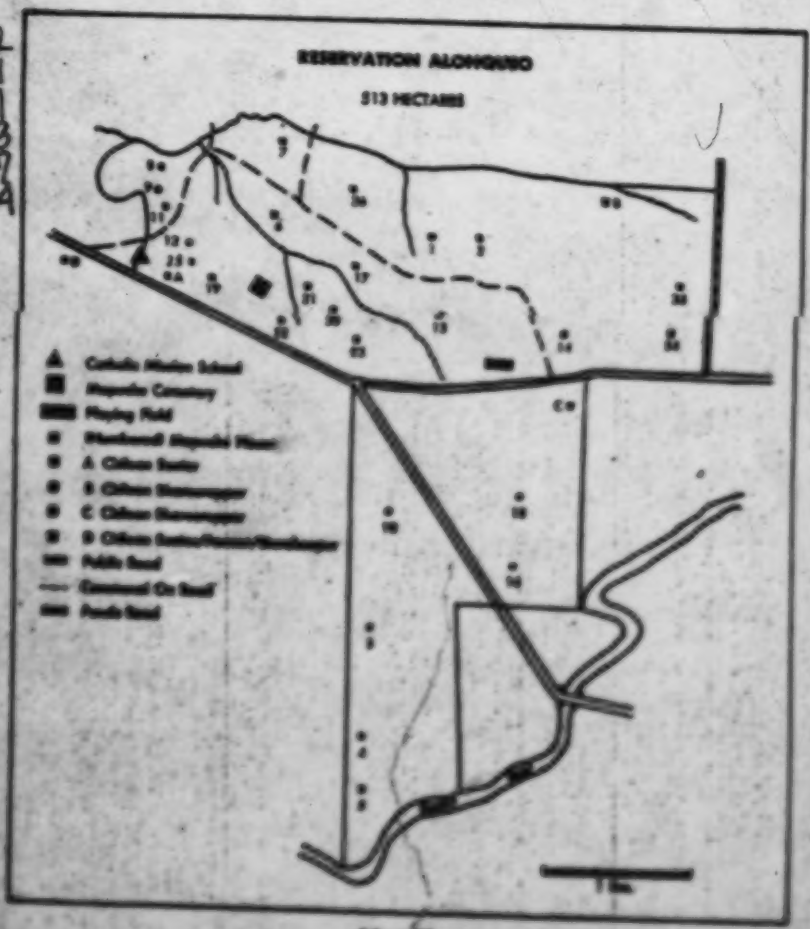

Map II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo, and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, 314
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 18 households on the reservation, double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery
[i.e. LLANCAMAN -- Analysis]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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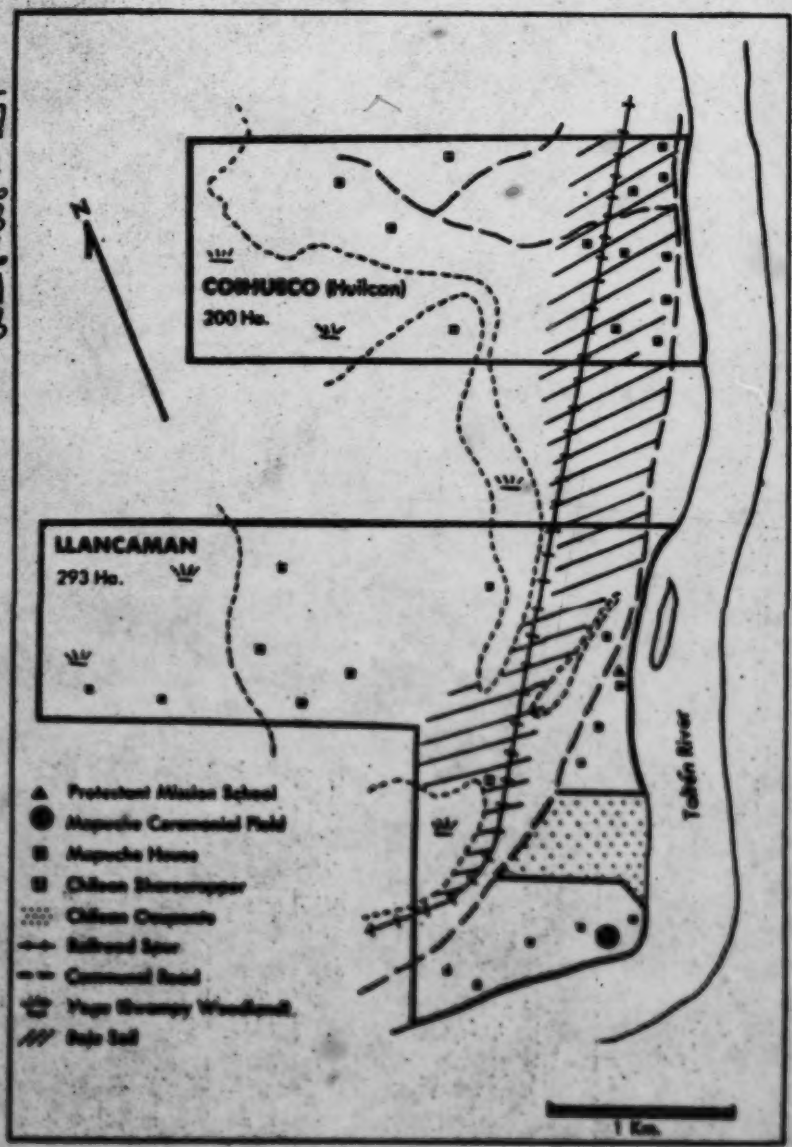

MAP III

[p. 36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

11:Faron E-5 ([illegible]2-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

426 (*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
24 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[364] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

426 Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
24 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[491] applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is
[621] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[312] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 *Most threshing is done by machine today and mingaco arrange-*
[496] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[420] generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
[244] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region
[496] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples
[535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

426 *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
24 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[198] tions in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of
[613]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[450] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
● 491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
497 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[485] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[491] (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which
[493] represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[434] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they [illegible] to be generally untrustworthy or because they are [illegible] to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain goods
[438] through credit organizations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the postharvest season to in-

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kulkull* could be heard. A [534] *kulkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was [202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, [576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
● [492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an escort, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *muday* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kal'trafi*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, bareheaded and barefooted, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, crook his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed heartily in appreciation of his antics.[8]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[9] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YA!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[8] Mansuhid (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[9] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 182-83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of shinny in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the machi. At the invitation of the Cuipue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot, then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramada. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Cuipue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Cuipue sent meat and drink to the machi, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Cuipue chief took up a *kul'wel*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the machi's manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No chicken or endorsement is fair by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE I

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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857

FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate 1]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antimo with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VI

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FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Choichol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, 224
not easily pursued.

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu [[36]
(*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou [223]
(*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others.

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Coña describes a multiple immobile or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the 231
Mapuche-Huilliche were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1888, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area.

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kitho; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chillihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the cacique 12 to 20 (Goicoeta, 1882, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 380), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly [236
for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic 492]
function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[162] 1b3 meat was highly relished, but was not eaten except at important social or religious feasts.

231 The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1555. Lautaro was seen on horseback in 1556. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddletree, saddlecloth, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1855, p. 200.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McCafferty, 1932, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The llama, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanians*, was probably introduced and spread

[i.e. The llama]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McCafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231 492

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231 [235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chiloteans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranephrops* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (*Pyura*) were sought also for food. 226 [262] 136

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chagual (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; pouches and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 180); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 265). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Fabres, 1882, s. v. rinstin; Hosmer, 1909, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227 [225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 155; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rupu; and parched, or mitrka. From the first was made a bread, kofka, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked on sahas, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven thereafter was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 243 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huayum, tuna, mango, and bacon. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tupūl) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 492 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Corenados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Ofta, canto 10, 1917, [504] p. 249, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together [504] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 871) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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PLATE 155.—Araucanian Indians and Araucanian masks. *Top:* Mounted *Araucanians.* (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom:* Modern *Mapuche masks.* (After Claude Joseph, 1921, fig. 29.)

[p. 734 c]

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of snares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[30]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[31] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

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explore or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the forms of Indian bravery. Another weakness in the author's uncritical use of Pedro Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1551, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Outwardly honest as was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escobar for reworking. As a true courtier, he shifted emphasis to flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise made liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revision it was probably revised by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently discovered in Spain by Hurtado in suit for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was cited at publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In retaliation he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Nájera remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more vicious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). See Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, vol. 2, pp. 282-288).

29 Mancoulajo, pp. 44-49, 61, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 687, 1946) is in error when he concludes that the Indians assimilated European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

30 Olivares, p. 34.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian backyards. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless foot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish encouragement the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to never soldiers on foot.[28]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particulars in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

25 Mascardus, pp. 40-41, 47-48. There are few representations of many such descriptions.

26 Núñez, pp. 62, 110-111. Cooper (p. 700) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Núñez, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xerónimo," Mar. 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xerónimo to King, Jan. 19, 1611 and Jan. 18, 1612 (above, pp. 197, 239-257); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1612 (above, p. 257).

28 Núñez, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and swore about an hour, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their worst horses, keeping their good mounts hidden for use after the new rebellion (above, p. 128).

101. Mulger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
BO4 Araucanians BO4
Chile

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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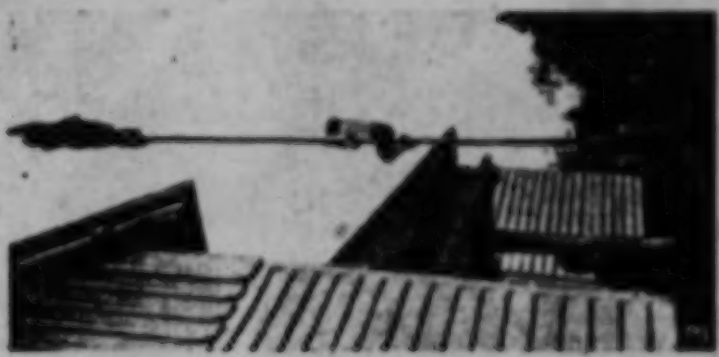

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Aliquis araucanus: (1) Boy at right carrying a hatchet (from the blades of a chopper); boy at left blowing into a compound (2) A boy about to ride home at the close of a school book. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) S. Chile. Photo by the school Repub.

[p 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, A.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast.

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse hammed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls shooed the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to handle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "These foals are so stupid; they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls hammed the horse, the boy mounted it, and was ready to have another stump when a boy, probably 10 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Now the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were shown in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blackbird on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots.

HEALTH

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIONS OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chuchuhuí, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by

10: Hilger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957

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Chile

[p. 112 A]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

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Chile

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Fig. 112(a)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
504 Araucanians 504
Chile

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1. Ceremonies for season of years. 2. An established pair of years, showing details of robe (Adapin). 3. Standing figs for Ceremonial (Adapin). 4. Ceremonial. 5. Land of wheat (Cabrapin).

[p. 172 (F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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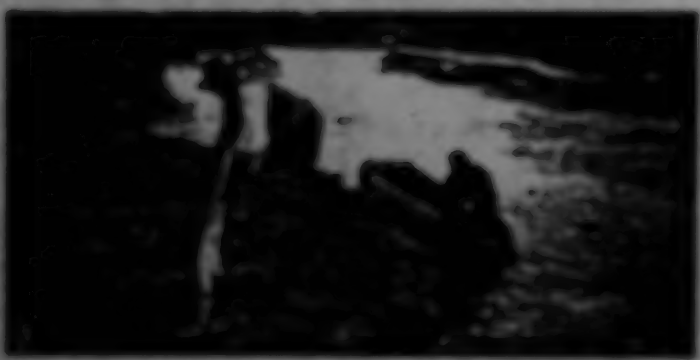

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Sheep and transportation: a. A flock of sheep in Coihaique. b. Transportation by mules (Aisén). Note wheels of two-wheel cart. c. Dog sled used in transporting persons across the Río Simpson in Coihaique.

F. 172 (G)]

pl. 1 and 3) or a wild (pl. 38, 1), a netted carrying bag (pp. 134-135); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wild suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head.

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 34, 1). Small things they carry in a wild; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, 1) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, 3). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, 3). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 5, 1).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alapén area three families owned no horse; in Cabaripe area, two.

A2 Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride horseback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's hindquarters.

The saddlecover is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 14, 4, and 38, 4, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a low front and back. Polished sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a champón, a thickly woven, knotted and fringed cloth of wood (pl. 38, 1). An occasional rider uses a champón today; in general, these cloths today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Bits of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 14, 1; 38). Spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Bridle horn cover been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

too poor to have one so ornamented. "A poor man might have only a spur with a piece of metal, like a nail of today," said an old man. "Every man had only one spur in those days. Why should he have two? I remember those days."

Today, heavy loads, such as flour or palm, are often transported on horseback, or if too bulky, are hauled by oxen, usually on carts. If the load is transported by horse, either the man rides with the load or puts it on the back of the horse and leads the animal by a halter. Often a load is carried on a montura de carga (saddle for a load) which rests on the padded back of a pack horse. If the rider shares the horse, the load is divided into equal portions and put into bags woven for this purpose or into two wilal tied so they can be slung across the horse's back behind the rider. Sometimes the load is transported in a sack placed back of the rider. Often a rider, in addition to the load on his horse, carries a basket or wilal on his arm.

Fish to be taken to a Chilean market are packed tightly in a large oblong wilal or a large sack bag, not unlike a net, between layers of leaves and long grass and are placed on a pack horse with an equal load on each side. The grass and leaves keep the heat of the sun from penetrating.

A heavy or clumsy load is hauled on a 2-wheeled cart by a pair of oxen. (Cf. pls. 35, f; 40, c.) The loads I saw hauled in this manner were stones, wheat, sacks of sugar, a quarter of beef, and cases of soft drinks to be sold at a fiesta. A few families own no oxen and must therefore borrow a pair for hauling. "If a man cannot afford to own a horse, he most certainly cannot own an ox—an ox costs about ten times the price of a horse, and one needs two oxen to work one."

Oxen are paired when hitched to the yoke for the first time and remain so during their life. Each is also given a name on this occasion, usually by the one who is doing the hitching. Should a new owner not like a name that has been given the animal, he must change it before the ox has become accustomed to being called by it. Names of pairs of oxen in Alepín area were Bonito (pretty one) and Clavel (spotted, red and white, like a carnation); Pinto and Pinado (both were spotted and looked as if they had been painted); Figura (ill-shaped one) and Paisano (fellow countryman); Andaviste (running one) and Pelendonde (suffering one); Precioso (valuable one) and Lucero (morning star); Clavel and Bandera (flag). Araucanians call an ox cancilon (from the Spanish canon) meaning quiet, meek, and healthy—qualities, the informant said, exemplified by an ox.

Carts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and they are available. (Pls. 39, *3*; 40, *2*.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Coñaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, *1*). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, *2* and *3*.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, *2*).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tinca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [324]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Pappe* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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436 either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. [427] dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families [464] also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[493] The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

481 Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (trauu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihue stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tapi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (puji or trapial); the wild boar or jabali (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shumam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (trulí or pidu or pofo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ñiñca or bandurria (ruki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pidefi); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (fodu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (Takai), the bola perfido, lazo, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 411

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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Clothing: 1. The cactus of Mulino in clothing generally worn by Araucanian men. 2. Sandals worn by both men and women; ponchos are worn by men as protection against winds. (Flight.) 3. Women's clothing. This woman was about to enter the local store (behind her) to trade a sack of vegetables (at her feet) for sugar and flour. (Mulino.)

[p.380(A)]

H:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

new and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*arados de cobo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

II:Farm E-9 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [192] 262 [182]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [558] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [131] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [648] [167]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will 764
be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors 574
who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or [484]
in carts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their [492]
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The 764
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the 574
llatú, or form a semicircle around the *llatú*, if their number is 576
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Though the widest extension of these terms, even somerelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, meet acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family aucatu or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the 764
men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the 574
formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the [537]
ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kulkul'* could be heard. A *kulkul'* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

PLATE I

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857

Fig. 1. Young boy driving a cart.

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Fig. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepúe). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepúe). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Collaripe).

[p. 172 (F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

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Sheep, and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Coñaripe. 2. Transportation by oxcart (Alepín). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3. Dugout used in transporting persons across the Río Llanquihue in Coñaripe.

[p. 172 (G)]

10: Bilger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

they are available. (Pls. 39, 3; 40, 1.) Sometimes a man makes his 493
own cart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most cart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Collaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel cousin. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the load can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of cuhlée (leaves); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, 1). Since oxen will follow an ox-cart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, 2 and 3.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, 2).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of ticu and the inner bark of voqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [324]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Poya* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia sempervirens* (laurel cousin). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called foto (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepín area when fishing

936 either borrowed or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handsome belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of palm used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a hand-woven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long hand-woven belt, 50 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chiquillanes each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

492 When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and baggage. (Cf. pp. 474-475 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the hock was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

[449] The introduction of the cart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all cart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *c*).

441 Snowshoes, known as chiqua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (trace), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chiqua were made by tying together the ends of a cubbie stalk to form an oval-shaped hoop and then weaving a net-work in it with strips of horsehide. The chiqua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

396 All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called waupa. The trunk of the tree known as radi was preferred in making waupas. A spatula-shaped oar in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tapi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

(8) Bilgeri E-3 (1946-1952) (1947)

DC4 Aircraftsman DC4

Argentina

a. Wooden plow (Transport). b. Cargo with non-crash action wheels (Quebracho). c. A file (Sawed-in one) in which wheel is fastened by sweeping levers (Million).

[p. 364(C)]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[438] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[485] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[491] (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

8. Fayen E-5 (1951) 1956 SO4 Araucanians SO4

114 tral material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Hallowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Collin, and tentatively concluded that the

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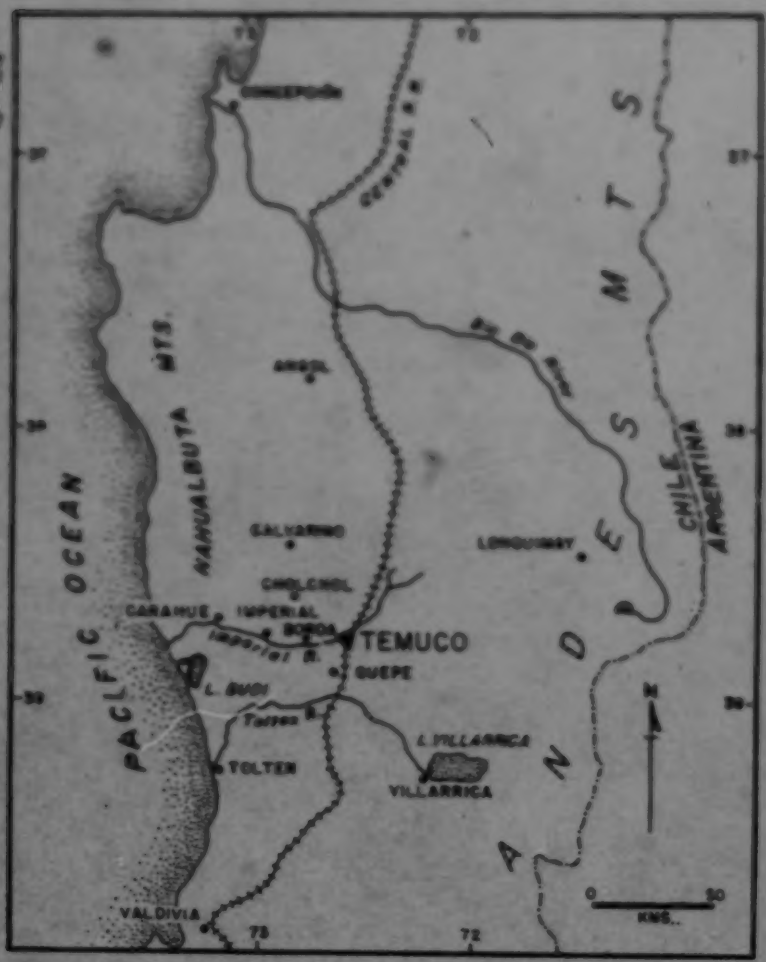

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

II.Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 101

in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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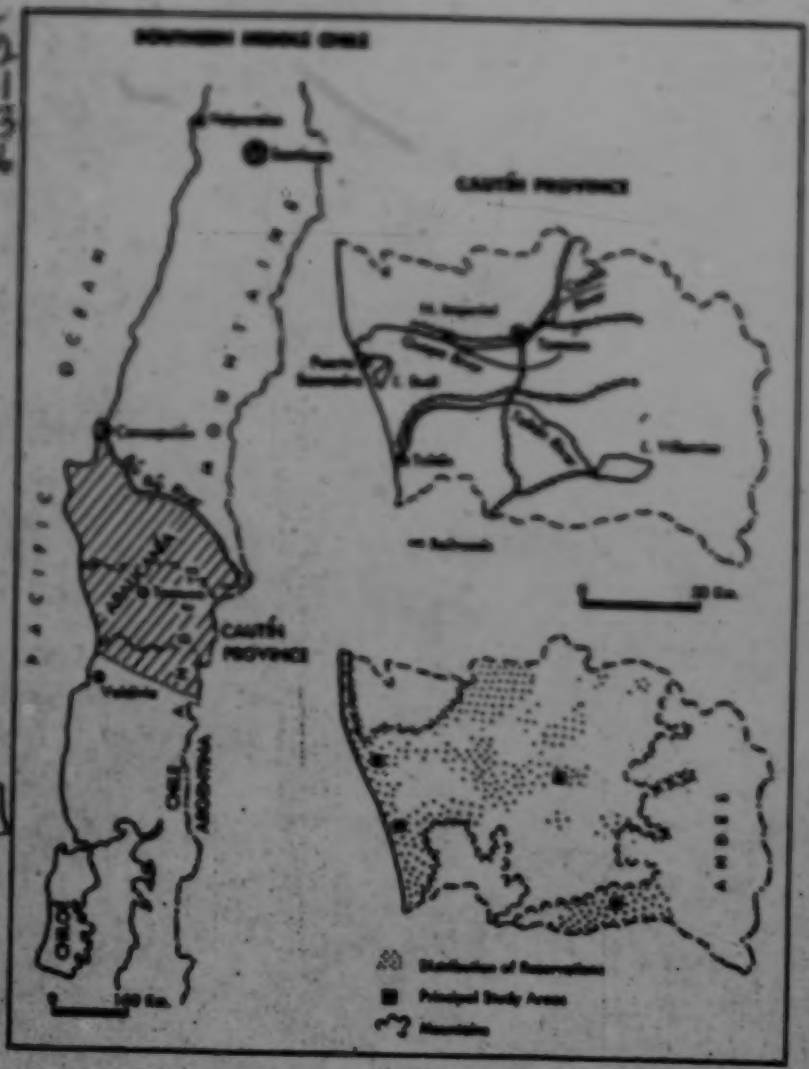

[114]

MAP I

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:259-307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacare-*
[222] *ría*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[226] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

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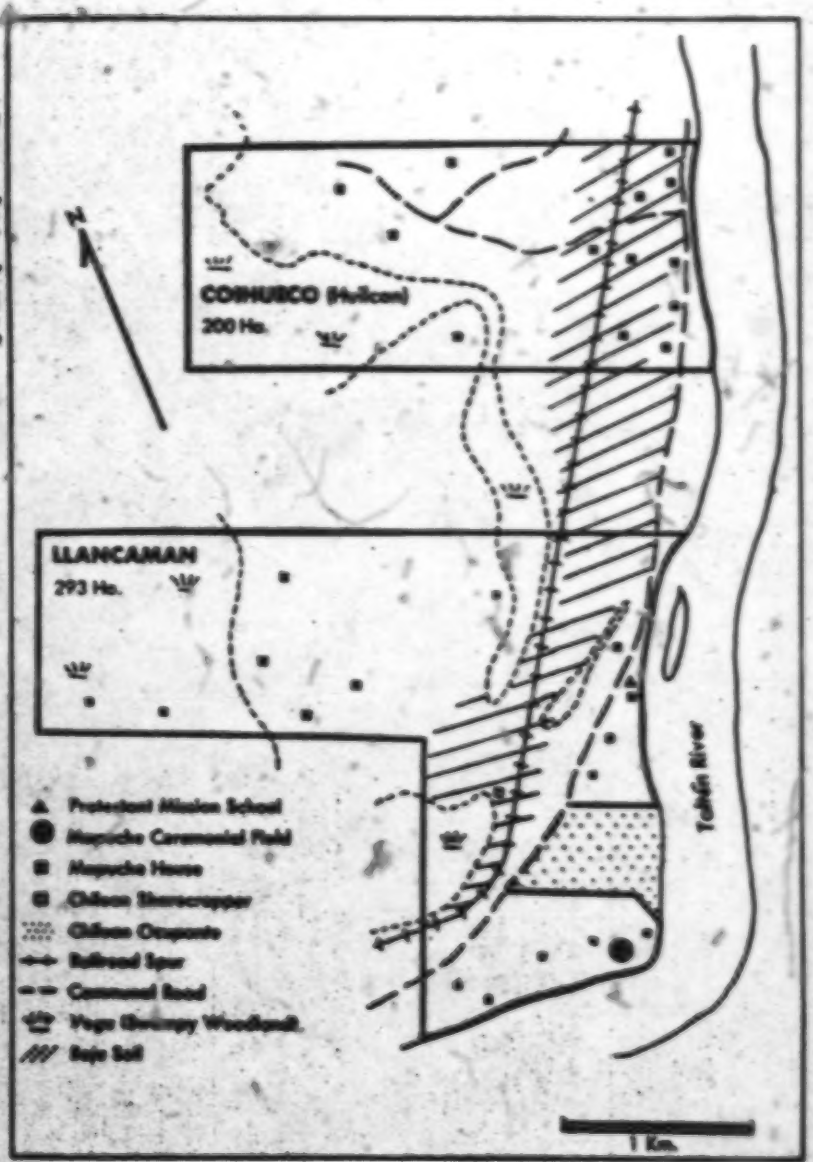

MAP III

[p. 36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
[433] firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[177] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from
[432] the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by 133
many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very 621
high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and [439]
Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which 621
can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable 484
amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along [491]
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of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air 621
service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tupil) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 482 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Corcuados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1882, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chiloteans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Ofia, canto 10, 1917, [258] p. 349, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together [259] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

p. 66; Cooper, 1917, pp. 198-99; cf. Lothrop, 1932, pl. 21, *c-d*, and fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank dalca.)

Dugouts (huampo, wampu (L. de Valdivia, 1887, huampu), canoe) were according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Toltén with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Such dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 89) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, *in* Lothrop, 1932, pl. 16, *b*.) 501

Balsas of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Toltén River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa María and Mocha.

Other "balsas," apparently rafts proper, made of *Puya* sp. or of "cypress" (*Libocedrus chilensis*) or "laurel" (*Laurelia aromatica*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa María and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the *Mapuche-Huilliche* region.

Sails are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877-78, 1:175), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friederici, 1907, p. 74). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early *Mapuche-Huilliche* watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1932, p. 245, pl. 21, *f*) describes and figures a [European type?] two-piece oar with crutchless rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chiloten plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Lenz, 1934).

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from plant fibers. Some of these more commonly recorded are: The loyo, made of *Chusquea*, of very fine weave; the chaiwe, made of voqui (*Boquila trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the lleptí (fig. 74, *left*), of *Chusquea*, of flat round platter form; the kiliko (fig. 74, *right*), of *Lapageria rosea*, a large basket; the yolo, of bejucos. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 241-244.) 285

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from ñocha (*Greigia landbeckii*) or molkachu (*Cyperus rotatus*), were used in the making of rope, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (pilua), and baskets (figs. 75, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 244-246.) 283

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well developed at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi- 286

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Sheep, and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Coñaripe. 2. Transportation by oxcart (Alepúe). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3. Dugout used in transporting persons across the Río Llanquihue in Coñaripe.

[p. 172 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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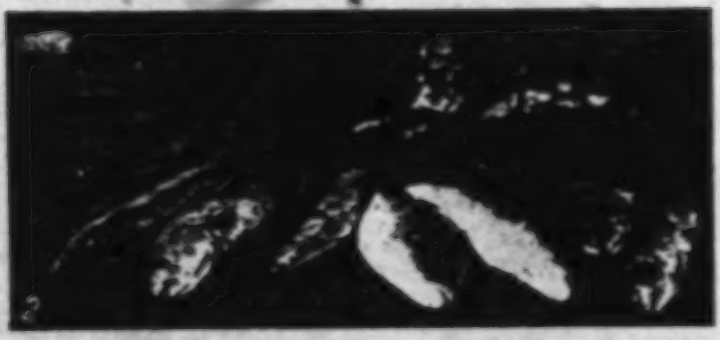

Fishing in the Pacific Ocean (Alepie): 1, Two fishermen landing their boat. 2, Their day's catch—a disappointing one. 3, Fish being cured on lines in air and sun.

[p.172(H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Oxcarts are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and they are available. (Pls. 39, 3; 40, 2.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Cofaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of culhile (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, 1). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, 2 and 3.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, 2).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiaca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Pappa* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called foto (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

In the Pacific (pl. 41, 1); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoe) (pl. 40, 3) and the raft, the balsa (tapi), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in carretas. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepín area, Valdivia (45,000 population); for Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepín, Pangipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepín school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lanco, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, carretas, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a poleilke paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, *a*), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pañi or trapial); the wild boar or jabali (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shumam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (trulí or pūdu or pofo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganso; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pidell); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (fadu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodors (Tekai), the bola perfido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodors—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, *g*), a ball was fastened to

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

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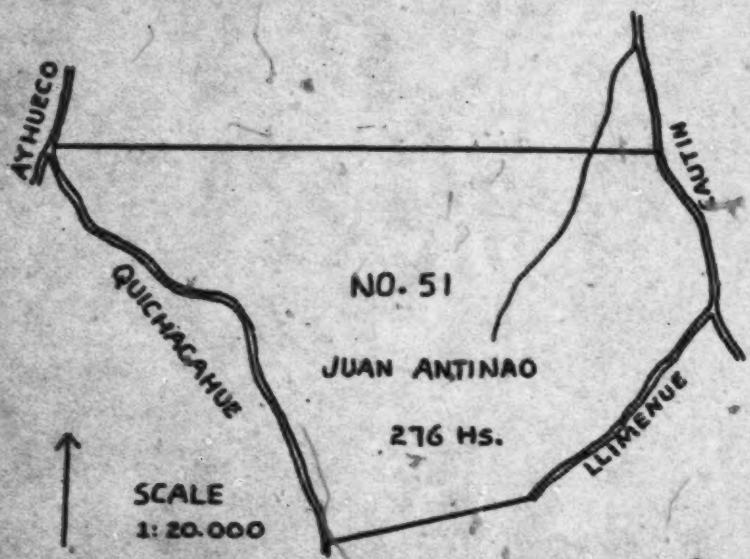

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

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Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VI

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FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Cholchol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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[430] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
512 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen korũ* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *raniañtu korũ* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun korũ* ("night soup").[18]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
252 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yuyo*,[19] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikin korũ*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *ullpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal korũ*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[20]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pisku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[21] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[18] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *iagel*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 342) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[19] *Yuyo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[20] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[21] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[35] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, ● 512 as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[35] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 512
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 857
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apa- [181]
thetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually foresake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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177 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the
241 contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

●512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first.
264 They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males
415 sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *poñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *moté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *alga*.

The favourite meat is horse flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sun-
512 down. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes
[565] among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 157
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Formerly, according to a Panguipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground. 273 [415]

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the nillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon, 264

[415]

FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal. 264 512

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

264 On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school [512] early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning [87] and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

[352] Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

342 The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs [177] to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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000 warmth as well. Additional light is sometimes furnished by burning
373 wicks of twisted threads placed in bottles or tin cans containing kerosene. A lighted sliver of wood helps one find things in dark places in the ruka. If light is needed on the outside of the ruka, or when one needs to walk any distance at night, "like going for medicines for the sick," the end of a piece of wood is set on fire at the fireplace and as one walks, it is whirled in a circle at arm's length to keep it burning. "We were brought home that way one pitch dark night after caring for a sick person," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The light keeps pumas away, too." On Christmas Eve one could see such firebrands being whirled by leaders of groups of persons coming to Midnight Mass.

356 Almost without exception ruka seen during the present study were orderly and clean, and so were the yards about them. Children were expected to keep everything in its proper place when not in use; if they neglected to do this, their attention was called to it. A 10-year-old Alepúe boy was seen putting back an ax, which he had used to slice down a block of wood from which he was making a top, into the exact place from which he had taken it. A 13-year-old Cotarípe boy slid off his horse when he came home from an errand, which had taken several hours, removed the saddle, and at once carried it into its corner in the ruka. Dishes, after being washed at the brook, or in water brought from there, were put in their proper places to dry.

356 Sweeping, both inside and outside the ruka, is done with a broom
412 made of coarse twigs tied to a wooden handle with tender shoots of voqui. The yard outside of the ruka is also swept with a leafy branch of a tree or shrub. Whisk-brooms, used in cleaning kettles, pottery, and bellies of fish, are made in the same manner as the broom. A Cotarípe girl, about to tidy up the yard, shooed away the chickens, chased the pigs, and then with a leafy 5-foot branch vigorously swept the ground near and between the two rukas occupied by her family. "Most certainly one does not use this type of broom inside the ruka! This enormous thing! No, not this!" she said, somewhat annoyed, when asked if it were so used.

352 Household furnishings are very simple; they are meager, but ade-
513 quate. Unless the family has a ruka for sleeping purposes, persons sleep in corners or along walls on sheep pelts either on the floor of the ruka or on low platform beds of planks. A non-Araucanian Alepúe area herbalist had seen a row of children, each rolled in a blanket, asleep on pelts on the ground in the ruka used for sleeping. They were placed head to feet, alternately. Two adult men were sleeping in the same position on a platform bed, each rolled in a blanket. Sheep

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepin man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean house. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [158]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of vogui from the beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepin woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining collide sections of equal length with vogui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Collaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on the beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (kilko and chalwe), netted bags of various sizes (wilal), dried gourds, ponchos and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware olla and clotaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 241

10: Hülger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ñiñem or ñañem, cernícalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 [278 865] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a ruka are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer 515 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them 863 warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[a]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[b]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l-ewen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel-ewen*[c] ("heart-medicine"), and *lip-l-ewen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinine, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[a] Several informants mentioned the use of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponiferous plant, *Mi'a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chenopus* spec.

[b] Hanson, 1936, p. 365. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1935, pp. 714–15.

[c] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving hammocks. 000

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 62). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:298; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. *gayde*; Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 59-63.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the *awka* (*awa*), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Ensing p. 700).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the river or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of *lollai* (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep hair and cooking utensils clean. 515 [881]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 701

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a male made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with soda made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are called on for drying.

Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rasa) from cala cala or from rilan (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepín area, rasa were made from coral, the plant from which lipstick, too, are made. "The brush, as long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grouped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut 302
shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down [301] the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and [515] keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were compli- 832
mented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of 301
silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his per- 515
sonal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not insti- 572
tutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

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ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing [388] is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *2*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed 302 it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepúe area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rüna (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (fiatrowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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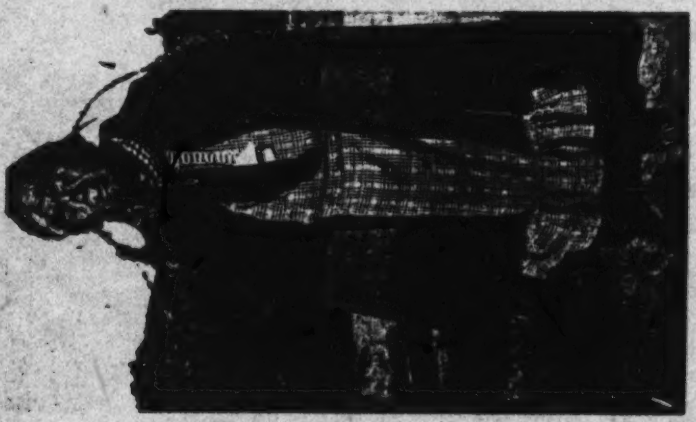

Older women: 1, A machi (Alepúe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coñaripe).

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[p. 92(I)]

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593 of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and pro-
[855] vided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

● 515 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating 841 women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

● 515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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[482]

Alepúe schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[p. 28(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Plowing: 1, A wooden plow in the making (Alepée). 2, One type of wooden plow (Alepée). 3, Another type (Collaripe).

[p. 172 (A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chan Chan in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chan Chan in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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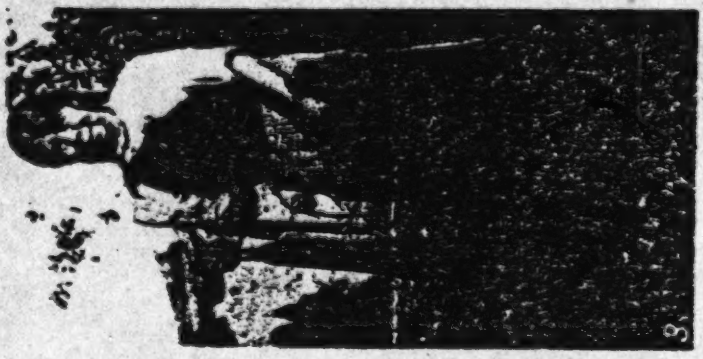

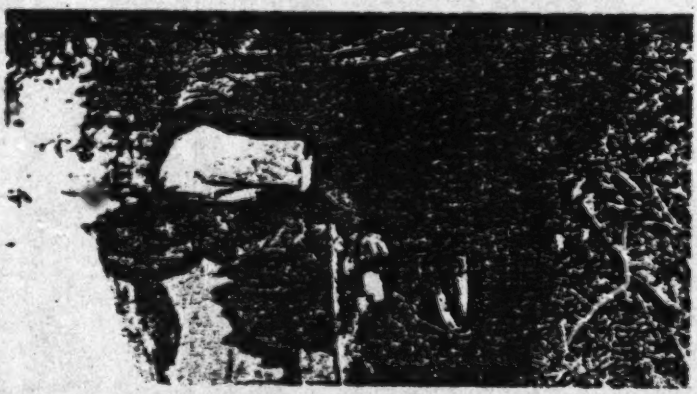

Dyeing (Alepke): 1, Woman returning from woods with a wilal (carrying bag) filled with bark to be used in dyeing. 2 and 3, Woman cooling off yarn after having dyed it.

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[516
415]

[1182]

[p. 220 (G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was,
[517] and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach
[516] a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ikull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The women dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawifi of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawifi were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruin, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

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again called, "Too, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should 535
be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The men
suggested that they make a ñillatun. So they began to make preparations to
hold one. This man then was the leader in the ñillatun. He was well treated;
he ate and drank to satiety. When the ñillatun was over, he hurried to the river,
moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how
the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true
story.

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women— 517
never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100- 276
year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at
least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources
it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in
the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper,
1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that
had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de
Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre
(wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked.

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often
than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by [272]
those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté.
Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any
kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui
mixed with crushed leaves of tiera or of filqueñi (unidentified; prob-
ably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut
and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it un-
wise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from
the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes
offered him.

MUSIC, DANCING, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the 534
pifulca (whistle) (pl. 32, 2-4, 6), the trutruca (wind instrument)
(pl. 32, 1), the kultrun (drum) (pl. 30, 1), the wada (rattle), and the
kultkull and the kaqkul (bugles) (pl. 12, 1). None of these was
being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifulca, which
an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because
no other whistle was available. The pifulca, trutruca, and kultrun are
used at the ñillatun; the kultrun and the wada, at the machitun.
Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instru-
ments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort
of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, 5, 7, 8), and a musical bow.
None of these was seen during the present study.

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SG4 SG4 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the ponchos, she noted. For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

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DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

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During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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Argentina

521 [illegible] A small [illegible] into the opening and cut down something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it.
531 Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion. He indicated stones being blown off. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirihueico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that cross of the mountains. Those that flow rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshoneco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshoneco so that today Shoshoneco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

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270 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the gilletun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalks of maqui and dried wood of ruali, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kelquen, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of ruali to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called pawen; the word kimkilmich was not known to informants; Kelquen found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out cattails stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, g). Those of cacique and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *lawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palihuetue*), or *minga*s to labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *lawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *ewe*, which may also be referred to as *lawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

While secular events make for intercommunal contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *ewe*. While there are ritual overtones to *palihuetue* and *minga*s, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

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VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversation were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

[648]

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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

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VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

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Formalized conversation, probably the koyaqtun, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother:

An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl tucked her child under her poncho and rode away with the one that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian. [539]

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following:

Ings—some say Inca—sent word, saying, "Children, your God is captured. He must die unless sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill three rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had soon to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any farther; Inca has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Whites." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, pushed the gold and silver into it, and then onto these they pushed all the slaves. Next they pushed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were pushed down a smooth ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it can still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Currhue Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, so says the legend, worked their way toward the surface of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Whites came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have sunk deeper, but in all probability, when the Whites leave here, they will again move upward. [539]

Kolupan told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolupan, was a child. In recent years Kolupan has told it to children in his neighborhood:

West of Hua Hum, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pirehueico which is still there. About 300 years ago an earthquake split the earth wide [539]

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521 539 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [he imitated steam being blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehuico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [521] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *reñu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *reñu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *reñu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live uxorilocally (even for obvious eco-

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Cringoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *aum*. 231 492 526 796

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.[27] Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated. 526 796 796 796 262 [252]

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul-truñ*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque. [522]

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re- 796

[27] By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *konchotun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[30] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan wentrus*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

[30] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

phere so pleasing to the gods that they would be more likely to grant the prayers of the people.[21]

Irrespective of differences in details, both sets of observances were patterned along similar lines. In each case it was evident that the *ñillatun* is a complex performance, containing elements of the major Araucanian ceremonial activities. Within its structure there are included features of the public assembly (*kawiñ*), hockey game (*palikantun*), and curing ritual (*machitun*). There is a likelihood that the lack of systematization and standardization may reflect the breakdown of Mapuche social organization, but such a hypothesis can only be stated tentatively at the present time.

[21] A wide variety of songs used by masked clowns is published in Guevara 1934, pp. 322–31.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under
[831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to drop him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other 522.
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are omnipresent, however, and must be dealt with continu- [578]
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Lumaila region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my 752
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (llique, lîqn, lîq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

[524]

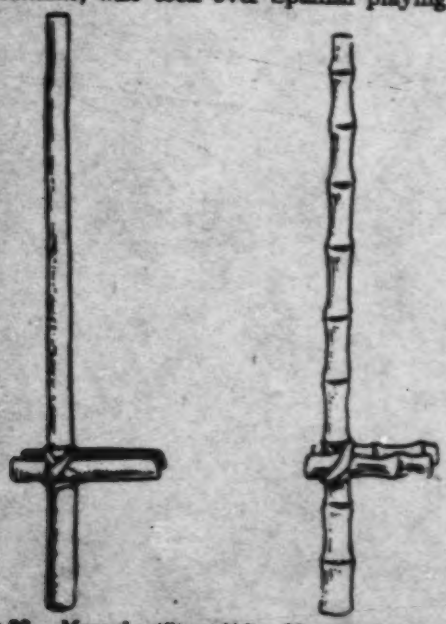

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thentícahue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:220), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascuñan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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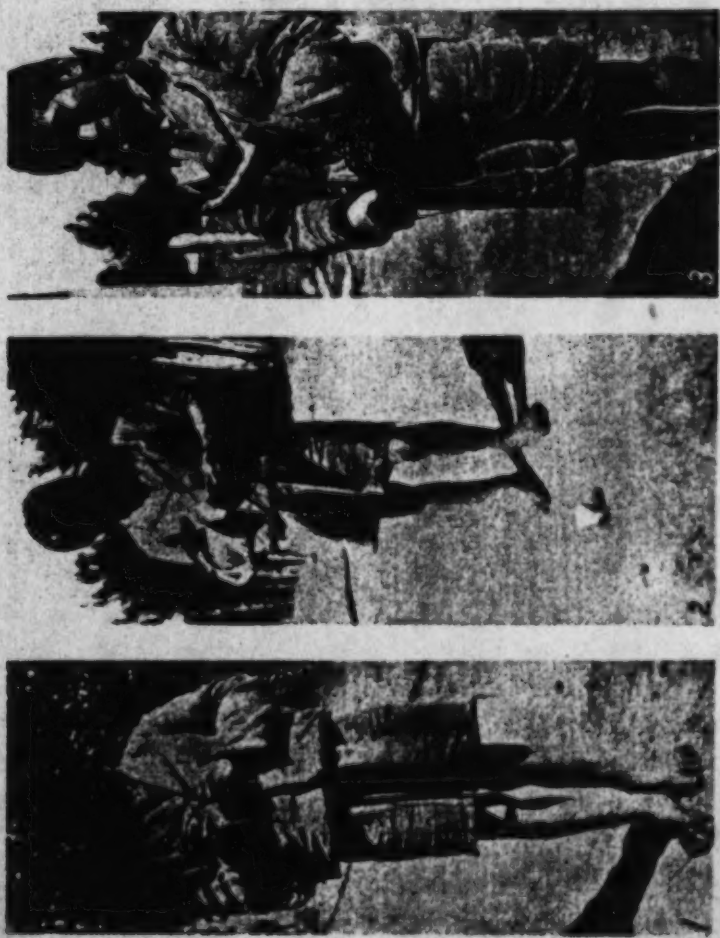

Spinning the top: 1, Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2, Spinning the top. 3, The boy has aild his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

[p. 76(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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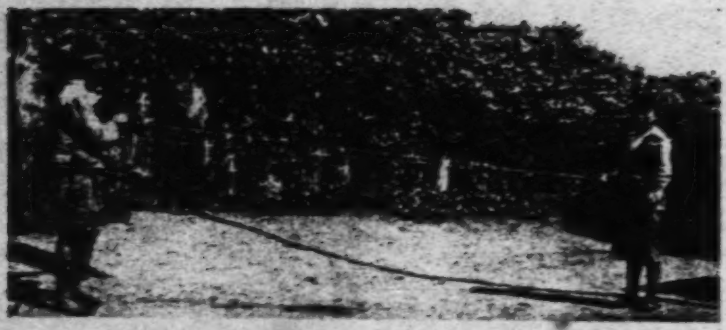

[4m]

Tops (Alepúe): 1. Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3. Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(0)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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GAMES

During recesses at school and at fiestas children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call cholo (mixed-blood). The "it" tags a child and calls "cholo." Then the cholo is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged. 524

Girls 14 to 16 years of age tossed from one to the other (anticlockwise) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several knots had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 16, *2* and *3*). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 12-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 13-15). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 2¾-inch cube of luma in line with the grain. "I like luma best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he filed it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed these down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (anticlockwise) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Bueno! Bueno!" all boys, nonparticipant observers in the making of the top, called out. Smaller boys had watched intently every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 16, *1*). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord taut between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twirl itself. Cords released when flour sacks are ripped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "But do not use fincha, if you use any; it is too coarse and rough." 524 857

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Often boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Seven boys competed one day; the winning top spun 50 seconds.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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524 Another competitive game played with tops is called juego al gallo (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, sides alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy in dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to count. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called jugar de los bochitas (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made ollas"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 1½ meters apart, by a boy rotating on his heel. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a handstretch of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

526 Alepúe schoolboys 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of futbal as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the grass to relax.

524 Until recently, boys in Alepúe area played a competitive game with quoits known as rai huela; today, it is generally played only by young men and older ones, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quoits were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." 524
Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapizoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ⅜ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, noncompetitive and nonscoring, called pilota de cochayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepúe area. A 526
ball of cochayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it togther, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fiesta young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cochayuyo.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; 524
only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with 857
sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, 1).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (runrun) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 524 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hstch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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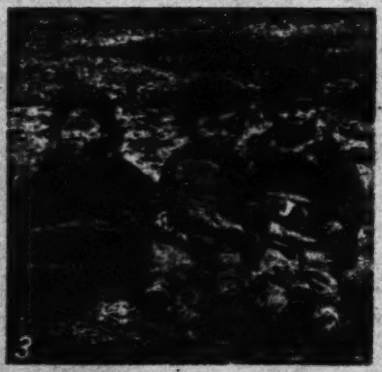

[526]

Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilpil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilpil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilpil.)

[p. 268(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, *2*) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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857 524 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, 3). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, 5). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 231 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *fillefaun*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *lonco meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *lolto purun*. Latcham said that *lonco meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey. 525 526 526

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations. [784 525]

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320–23) and Manquilef (1914, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

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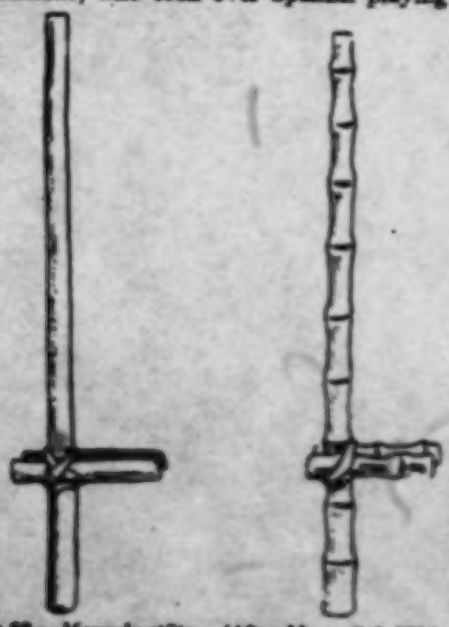

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 1.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:182), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thentichahue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:230), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then set busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hocky sticks (weno) and balls (pali) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pellingue played against one from Carilingue in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of fútbol is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is an umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

● 525 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chuqe. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniane SG4
Chile

opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
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Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They modeled machines of clay, wove balls of coihuepeque, and whittled tops out of wood. A 13-year-old boy made himself a ball counter (cancan) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

10. Müger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

534 ends wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pickn, a fiddle instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of coihue or cañihue, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chulkul, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ngillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The trabatrula is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The trabatrula is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the trabatrula is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the kaplumun and the purutun. He danced the kaplumun, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I would do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruy playing the tune for it," he said. The purutun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruy by saying, "dang, dang, dang, dang" and then took a step to coincide with each "dang." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dang." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ngillatun (cf. p. 338).

GAMES

536 A game of chance, known as rwki kudun (game with beans), is played by men at get-together. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and unsuspecting men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 526 525 After a good diner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

T 137 222 252 Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimè, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manranas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Chocoque, and the much-praised

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 A. T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 137 A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintahual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

T A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A T A 586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

T A 525

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

T A [illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his govern-
173 ment connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

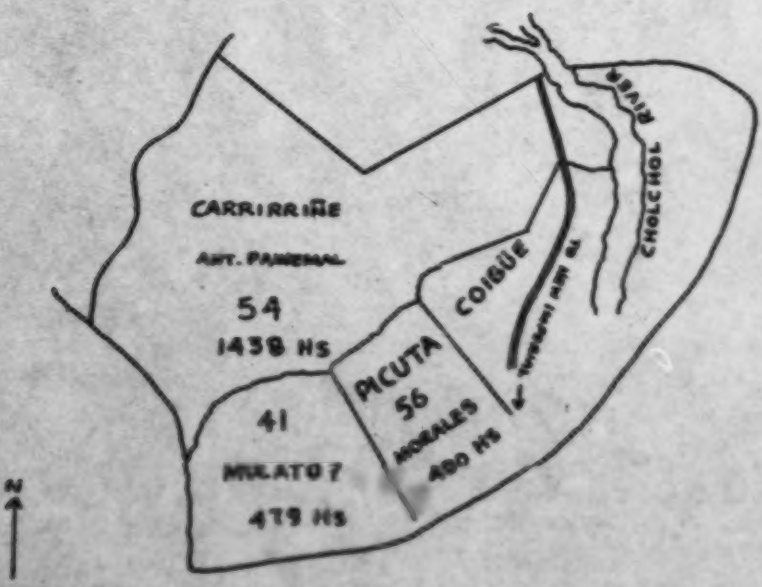

FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarriñe. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarriñe residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarriñe's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Transbuillín.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *fiñatew* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1885, p. 185.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *kuce meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *koko purun*. Latcham said that *kuce meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Marquilef, 1924, pp. 187 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey. 525 526 526

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations. [784 525]

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320-23) and Manquilef (1954, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

1: Titiev C-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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526

starts, the ball is placed in a slight depression exactly at mid-field. The opposing centers face each other with sticks crossed over the ball, and at a shouted signal of "Ya!" each tries to hit the ball toward the opponent's goal. Thereafter, the progress of the game consists of trying to drive the ball over the end of the field defended by the enemy without letting it cross either side line. Defenders, of course, strive to prevent this, chiefly by forcing the ball outside the playing area. As soon as the ball goes out of bounds play stops, and the game commences again with a new face-off at mid-field. There is little organized team play, and little specialization of functions (Pl. XV, Fig. 2). Once the ball is in play, everyone shifts from offense to defense as the situation demands. No one is especially designated to guard goal, and when a long hit is made everyone runs after the ball, the offensive team trying to keep it in bounds until it crosses the goal line, and the defensive side struggling to knock it out of bounds. Blocking and tripping are permitted, and there is no such thing as illegal use of hands, but no point is scored if the ball is kicked or thrown across the goal line. Whenever the ball is improperly handled, or if a man is badly hurt, play is stopped and a face-off takes place in the center of the field.

Every little boy, in ancient times, was given a stick and taught to play. Under the supervision of an older man, often a *lokko*, youngsters were organized into teams and encouraged to compete. As they grew older they formed groups, each of which had its own captain. To summon his team the captain sounded his *kullkull*, the Araucanian equivalent of an army bugle, which was formerly used also to assemble warriors or to sound warning of an enemy raid.

When *chueca* was played avowedly as a training exercise for war, games lasted for long periods of time, because neither team could win unless the score was four to zero. Each goal made by an opponent cancelled a point for the other side, somewhat on the order of deuce in tennis. Hence it often happened that two teams struggled for the better part of a day before either side won.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturing of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[16] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Chokchol in [541] conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they [756] pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[17]

[16] There is a possibility that *lekhu* formerly selected team captains.
[17] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 229–30.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kulkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarrile's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[10] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarrile's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

Sillatun ceremonies[11]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *sillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 776 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *dunachen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *dunachen*, or *kimel* ("good") *dunachen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[10] See Figure 9, the Huaiquin-Paineo field near house No. 15.

[11] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 740–45. A good account by a native is given in Manquilef, 1911, pp. 271–90.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug
at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a
small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to
796 beat with drumsticks on the *kul-truñ*, and three performers
535 staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a
somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers,
barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men
moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while
the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an in-
formal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old
man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men
had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across
the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they
could be spread or brought together by arm movements to
suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the
ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclock-
wise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured
and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the
other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads,
and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the
leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist,
stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised
his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed
loudly in appreciation of his antics.[20]

231 While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more
526 than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the
796 Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks
492 of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around
the entire sacred area.[21] Whenever they came abreast of the
altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they
charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted,
bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would
remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[20] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[21] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewn*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kalawal*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing chueca in the schoolyard at Cautínchu. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

PLATE XV

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FIG. 1. The family of Segundo Painao at Carrerillo, in front of a ramada, by the rules in which they live. The boy at the left is the son of Mrs. Painao's brother.

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FIG. 2. Hedge gate at Carrerillo. Plants and sprouts from smaller shrubs. Remote Celtic sounds full of sound, which has been spread wide open.

[end plate 15]

3:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawik was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

FIGURE 61.—Mapuche hockey sticks and ball. (After Mansfeld, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (lechuca, ulin, palinon) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of Chusquea sp., curved at the end (fig. 61). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1941, pp. 189-193.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (Ilique, lûqn, lûq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kachu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

[524]

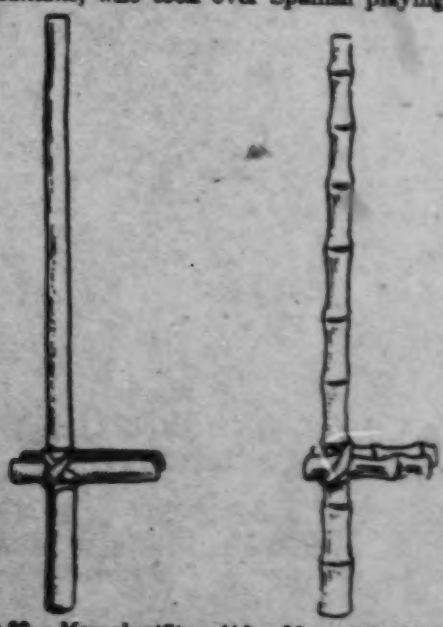

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1883, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:582, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thentichue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:220), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:642; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Aleuts boy making a football of cockroaches: 1, This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cockroaches on skin. 2, Dampening the cockroaches with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3, The beginning of the ball. 4, The ball being built up by slipping the strand of cockroaches under and through the tightened loops of the ball.

[p. 76(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Making a fabel (continued): 3, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the embryo through the hole; 4, Pushing the end of a small length of the embryo to which the fabelling form is fixed, through the hole; 5, The completed fabel; 6, Fabels in Rosario.

[p. 76(6)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Competitive games of adults: 1, 2. The competitive game of chueca being played in the Province of Cautín. (Pictures were purchased in Temuco.) 3. Coloripe men practicing futbol. 4. A rest period during the game.

[P 92 (H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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524 Another competitive game played with tops is called juego al gallo (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, sides alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy in dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to count. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called jugar de los bochitas (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made ollas"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 1½ meters apart, by a boy rotating on his heel. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a handstretch of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

526 Alepín schoolboys 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of fútbol as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the green to relax.

524 Until recently, boys in Alepín area played a competitive game with quoits known as rai hueda; today, it is generally played only by young men and older ones, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quoits were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." 524
Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapezoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ¼ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, nonkompetitive and tenacious, called pilota de cuhayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepín area. A ball of cuhayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it together, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fonda young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cuhayuyo. 526

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then sat busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hockey sticks (weno) and balls (pell) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1½ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pullinque played against one from Carillanque in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magicoreligious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of fútbol is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is no umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

526 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chuga. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, sorsal, tordo, diuca, pitio, and the trugle. The children know that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The trugle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the trugle announces his coming. Those that hear the trugle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The trugle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The trugle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him tenpuel."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The sorsal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitio sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only cows. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls himself, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The chuncy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it cuki—has a sensible cry; its cry is called trabendido.

SWIMMING, SUMMERTIME SPORTS, CONDITIONS

● §26 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 79).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *a*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast. 526 492 [868]

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to handle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "These foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 10 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a bluestick on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he said with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots. 526

HEALTH

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF BAD HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF BAD HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chuchuhuil, a mythical bird. "The cries are heard by 787

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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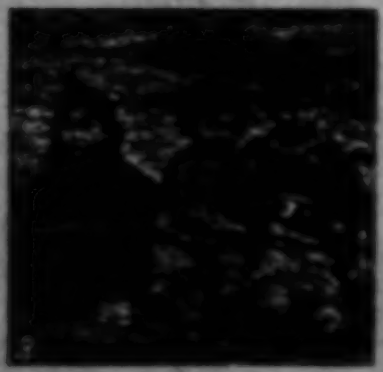

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Araucanian children: 1. Bringing bundles of water from the spring (Pilqui). 2. Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3. Three children produced from a map to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4. "Who are you?" (Pilqui). 5. "I am winding the skein" (Pilqui).

[p. 268(c)]

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took bottons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Marichu, marichu, marichu" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the bottons, with some force, upon the throw. The player who said is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of horseman clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (pulin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lolilip in all areas except Mallen, where it is called pulinn. 526 [34]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or leaves, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 527 528

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 90-year-old Indian, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 6a, c) for his 4-year-old son, and also constructed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Kobapen, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 6g, *e*). 957 231

SWIMMING, BOREBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 [illegible] 70 856

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were brought bed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And so raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than ten years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than ten years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn. "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles criss-crossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kobapen: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (*hechiceros*) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and medicine know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Old, enemyp whom we were sure was 757

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1951-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the conversion system brought the Mapuche into blocks of congregations, consolidated communities in the indigenous sense has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural form of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *lawen*, even those held for similar purposes. Field hockey matches (*palihuen*), or *minga*-type labor parties, or the recent innovation, *wenu*, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *nillatun* or *ngen*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in social instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interpersonal contacts of a fairly wide range, there are boundary. The *wenu* (secular) draw participants and spectators from a number of communities, but they are qualitatively different from *nillatun* and *ngen*. While there are ritual overtones to *palihuen* and *minga*, the substance of the relationships is not clearly considered. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tals, they are able to contribute to the ceremony. Their most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 522
munication, not in terms of social composition. Secular kinship 476
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything,
similar bonds involve some heterogeneous groups than ever
before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes
in work patterns, urbanization, rapid de-crops, and a trend toward
"nuclearization" (a complete statement) kinship.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 996
funeral rites. The great diffuse ceremony and the compelling 571
core observances serve to unite the Mapuche before deceased 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composi-
tion of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational
boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the limited
feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in
sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) gen-
eral of unrelated households and without blood or marriage
ties, and endure family friendships rooted in long contact and
local residence. In this sense, both diffuse and core ce-
remonial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of
obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among
congregation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even
though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties embedded
in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites Here

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that witchcraft causes death, usually at the
behest of a kalku. This explanation covers all situations, accident-
al death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning,
etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the force
of evil operates and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad
death" (*wesa Fan*) usually refers to the fact that a person died
violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of
modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional
beliefs in supernatural causation. The sponge and the aspirin 000

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

A After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great
126 match being on between the two tribes. The course was
525 about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mondils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mondil tent and dance.

T Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and
137 the women used to start early in the morning and come back
222 towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were
352 the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Engel-kalk, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Los Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 8th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two tolldes marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chilano. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Gennino, and pay a visit to Chocoque, and the much-praised

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

During our stay (until the 25th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chaequis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Tolok, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Feyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaite, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The cacique having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Cuaiaiv, the chaequis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Cuaiaiv. After this function, with my apartment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a month, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-east

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of crushed apples;* *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;* *muday*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;* and *mache* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with germinated corn.* All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to inebriants, particularly at fiestas.* Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

* Lenhoss (1909, p. 341) reported that apple cider is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pipe in a drink said to be considered an omen of healthy.

* Skin was removed with a strong solution of soda. Cf. Joseph, 1930, p. 46.

* Good accounts of muday manufacture may be found in Mandach, 1905, pp. 147-48, and in Hunen, 1930, pp. 170-71.

* Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid caution to the prospective groom occurs in Smith, 1882, pp. 308-9.

* Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish 301
conquest and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the [177
Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, 191]
bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's great lust for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or half-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ch*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a chain from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano soldier dashes his face with paint (or was tattooing as a means 302
of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties [304]
painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and tattoo marks used by some of the northern tribes seem to have had no significance among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the 342
Araucanos was the tolda or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with thorns compare. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted at one operation, but is generally divided [521] ●
into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 20 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell- [513]
mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where heavy thatches

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1912, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-
538 composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul·true), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifellka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1862, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawiñ was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

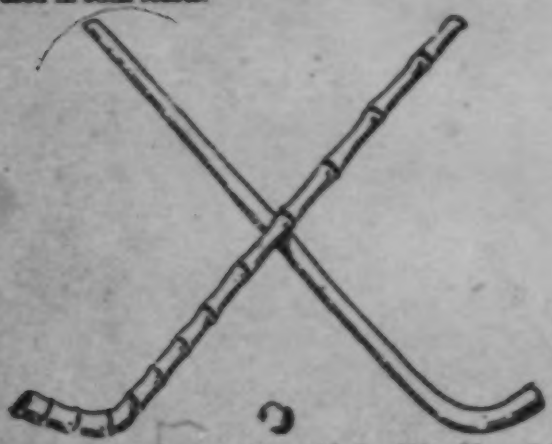

FIGURE 81.—*Mapuche* hockey sticks and ball. (After Manquilef, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (huñno, uño, palican) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of *Chusquea* sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 189–208.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no 521
one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively.

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, 527
have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. According to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739).

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and 517
others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another.

Stories both historical and ahistorical are told at any time; fables, 538
generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow.

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was companion to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child. 944

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup. 944 954

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. 553 551 603 613 597

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

A 527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Digalik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian tolderia, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of A T 648 which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calfiqueo, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against those Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 415 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pots, and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative dimensions. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs
[531] most used are chevrons, chequers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to resort to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *pouyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huayo*) and rye (*mayu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

some of the products

28 [53]

were of uniform color; others were in variegated stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, still animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

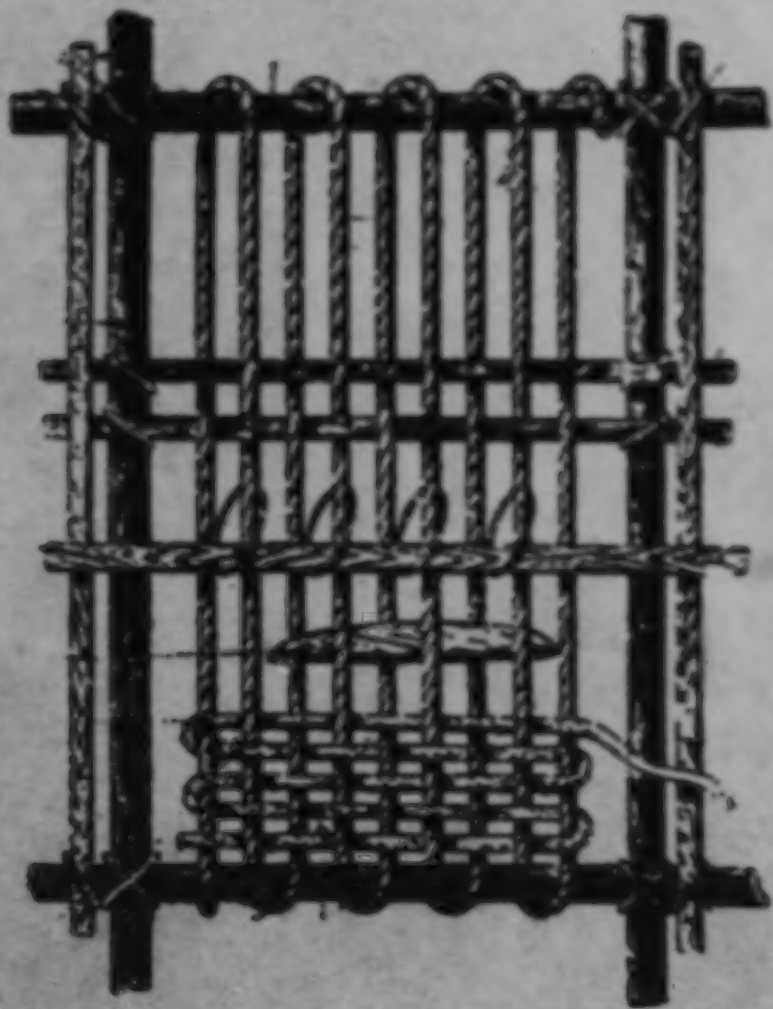

FIGURE 77.—Mapuche loom. (After Claude Joseph, 1928 a, p. 998.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Joseph, 1928 a; Guevara Silva, 1930, 2:203–71; Mossbach, 1936, pp. 218–30; Looser, 1927, pp. 5–9; for illustrations, Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928.)

[412] Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[321] designs on some of the archaeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1938 b, pp. 47-68, 195-219; Guevara Silva, 1919, 3:247-62; Claude Joseph, 1921, pp. 43-48.)

324 Stoneworking.—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone axes, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 Mining and metallurgy.—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chronicles (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xiv; Martín de Loyola, 1860, pp. 113, 135; Gonzalez de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46-47; Bouroton, 1853, p. 201; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:180).

[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McCullerty, 1932, pp. 35-40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835-38, p. 356) used painted stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1946, p. 496). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1919, 2:274-83.)

372 Fire making and illumination.—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (dame, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the foot; the drill (wentru, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Otta (ante 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Pirenche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

S Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Hosse, 1929, p. 90). Other beliefs were that sorcerers after death dwelt in volcanoes with the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanoes; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by heroes in the air, waged by the spirits of departed warriors against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead sorcerers could certain the living in the form of large blue flies.

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Figure 16.—Mapuche grave, with upright bows and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1936, p. 327.)

ARTISTIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 204–26) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

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Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and practiced as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and terms of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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286 fringes. Belts for men and women are woven alike, except that a woman's is decidedly broader and shorter than a man's.

286 531 Designs used in weaving are usually conventional; they have no significance. Kapam and shawls have no designs. Belts and headbands often have varicolored stripes running lengthwise, or stripes of one color running crosswise near the ends. Ponchos are usually of one color, either gray, purplish gray, or silver-gray; an occasional one has woven in it a geometric design of some subdued color, usually black or brown (pl. 25, *1* and *2*). Blankets are generally of undyed white yarn with stripes of one color running lengthwise near the edges. Lamas are of one color, usually gray or brown, with stripes of a bright color in the woof, close to both ends.

BASKETRY

285 Cooper (1946, p. 713) lists several kinds of basketry made of plant fibers: the chuive, made of voqui and used as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the lepü, a flat, round platter form made of coihue; and the kilko, a large basket, made of copihue. He also gives the lapo and the yole as basketry containers—the lapo, of very fine weave, made of coihue; the yole, of bejucos.

Basketry used by my informants were the wilal (a carrying bag), the kilko (a carrying and storage basket), the chuive (a sieve, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the lepü (a winnowing tray).

285 482 Wilal (pls. 12, *3*; 58, *1*) are netted from cord made of ñocha, a grass found in damp places. (See p. 101 for cord making.) Both adults and children make them. They vary in size from small ones, convenient for the use of small children, to large ones used in transporting fish to market. An in-between size is used for storage, being hung on fire racks or on pegs on ruka walls. In shape a wilal is either spherical or oblong. The opening ends either in a braid of three strands of ñocha through which a cord of ñocha is passed, or in loops of ñocha cord which are attached at intervals and through which a cord is inserted as a drawstring. A wilal may have two short handles for carrying purposes or two long adjustable straps. Straps permit carrying by hand or suspension from the shoulder or the head. Handles and straps are braided ñocha.

For the making of a wilal, a 13-year-old boy had gathered ñocha and laid it in the sun to dry. "Because we had so little sunshine and so much rain while I was making it," he explained, "it took me 8 days to make it. If my father had not helped me roll the cord, it

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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283 than two years, whom I visited, spun for five years. Spinning may be done while sitting down, standing, or walking.

286 The traditional loom—still in use today—is a rectangular framework of poles, usually of reed which does not easily split. (Pl. 78, 3.) Poles are tied together, letting ends protrude, with leather ropes or thongs. Swords are usually made of wood of wild apple (*manzano silvestre*) or chilchilt, since neither splinters easily. Women do the weaving, but girls are taught to do so as soon as they are old enough to learn. The weaver sits with her loom slanting slightly away from her, and weaving is done upward. Both woof and warp are of the same material.

Articles woven today, for both family use and sale, are ponchos, belts, shawls, bed blankets, *champino* (saddle blankets), *matra* (throws), saddlebags for carrying purposes, and *ruinun* (rugs). Matra and champino are placed under saddles; they and ruinun are used to sit upon when resting on the ground or on low benches. Standard size for throws is 40 x 50 inches (pl. 79, *2, 3*); for bed blankets, 63 x 82 (pls. 79, *1, 4*; 80); for ponchos, the weaver for whom it is woven (pl. 78, *4*); saddlebags, 40 to 44 inches in length and 16 to 17 inches in width, with an opening for the saddle 9 by 12 to 11 by 14 inches (pl. 78, *5*).

286 Designs are sometimes woven into certain articles. No two designs are alike, but a similarity exists in patterns by which an experienced
531 eye can tell that a woven article is Araucanian-made. "I saw the patterns my mother wove and remembered them. From them and others I saw I worked out my own. We carried the patterns in our mind. No woman would think of copying patterns. Every woman thinks out her own and then dyes her yarn accordingly."

In general, designs had no meaning. Two, however, were spoken of as "crawling-worms" design (pl. 79, *3*) and "tail-feathers-of-a-bird" pattern (pl. 79, *2*). These were considered ordinary ones, and women varied them only slightly. "We make these when we are tired; they take no thinking. Every woman knows them."

DYEING

286 Guanaco wool was not dyed but was bleached white for borders on
386 shawls and stripes in ponchos. A white clay known as *mulio* was used; today this is used in bleaching yarn of sheep's wool. (It was used to make pottery too.) Yarn stored in it until it gives a peculiar sensation to the touch (this may be two months later) will be "whiter than white, a color known as *lin*." Once so bleached, yarn will take no

18. Hüger E.-S (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
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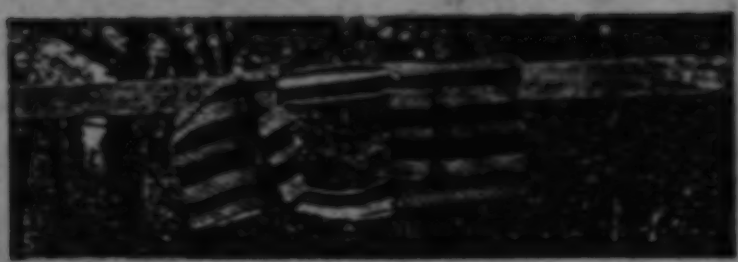
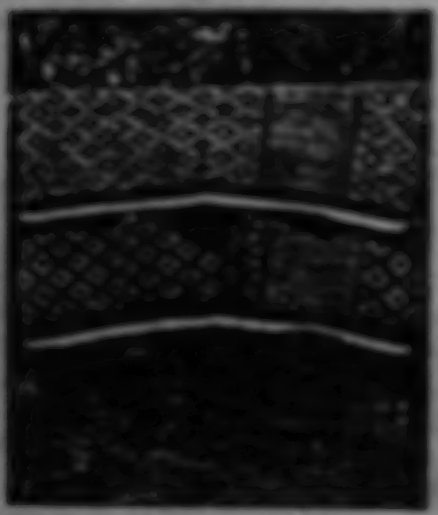
[531]



Spinning and weaving: 1. and 2. A woman spinning into yarn the wool wound about her left arm. (Mallico). 3. A woman weaving a blanket (Quinquina). 4. Kolupan wearing a poncho found in the collection of Bertha Ilg-Kunsler (San Martin de los Andes). 5. A woven saddlebag with two pockets. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Kunsler.)

[p. 380(B)]

10: Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Arsenanilate SO4
Argentina



Weaving done from home-spun and home-dyed yarn: 1 and 4, Huichola; 2 and 3, Tepehuanos; thread, white, plain weave on traps. (1, 3, and 4, courtesy Berthe Ry-Kunsler; 2, courtesy Lisa Pelner.)

[p.380 (C)]

18: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Patterns of old designs woven of Merino wool and homespun yarn. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg Kessler.)

[p. 300b]

0 Latham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Arrangements SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion.

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up.

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black snake (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' vocation terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the wand the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a crab, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green canela was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it.

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermission, and every kind of license indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony.

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alkao*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilpuey*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of canela, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

S Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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PLATE 133.—Araucanian Indians and Araucanian masks. *Top:* Mounted *Araucanians.* (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom:* Modern *Mapuche masks.* (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 28.)

[p. 734 c]

S Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Hanson, 1938, p. 80). Other beliefs were that cacique after death dwelt in volcanoes or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanoes; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed native against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could restain the living in the form of large blue flies.

FIGURE 30.—Mapuche grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1934, p. 227.)

MIMETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collin: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and permitted as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[25] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[25] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once [622, 537] a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

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[1] For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2] Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3] Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

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[4]Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5]For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6]The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG: Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS
FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

creencias araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Año III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 24, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrarrile, near Chalchol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

but the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen.
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu. 539

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai 539

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 836 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[29] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newly wed woman. While a groom 592 continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds 582 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (koñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[29] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-
538 composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul·trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activ-
796 ity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 854 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies. A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "sh," another was a repetition of "sai." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tsa." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 854 A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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536 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as porun. They are danced at the ngillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word porun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ngillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as porun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gitne, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the porun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 539 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting [273] at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. For cutting a down, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans." 243 [465 804]

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being trampled upon (kaillikan) either by human beings, or by horses on hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop." 243 533

In Alepie area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its loads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha. 243

In Collaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child. 354

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle. [357]

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another 854 533

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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by
533 hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then
[854] another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *c*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

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361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
624 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
724 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *trukull* could be heard. A [534] *trukull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was [502] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, [576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance
[492 travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a
491 masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

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directly from him or in the adjacent cities, where there are usually shops specializing in native wares. 463

Although the making of new musical instruments is currently much curtailed, many traditional implements are still used. Commonest of all is the *pifullka*, which ranges from a small hollow tube of cane, bamboo, or reed that is blown like a simple whistle to a rudimentary kind of bitonal Pan pipe fashioned from laurel wood. The latter is the older style and consists of a hollow chamber, divided into two parts by a wooden septum. The newer kinds of *pifullkas* may be blown on any occasion, but the old-fashioned instrument is reserved for ceremonial events. It is blown in conjunction with dancing, its higher note signifying fast time, and the lower one a slower tempo. 534

Another common wind instrument is the *trutruka* (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), which consists of a section of hollow cane or bamboo, about eight to ten feet long, to one end of which a cow horn is attached. Before it is used it is cleared by dipping water into the cow horn and letting it run out at the opposite end, which serves as the mouthpiece. *Trutrukas* are in evidence on all important occasions, particularly at assemblies such as *ñillatuns* and funerals. One specimen, owned by Pedro Llancao, husband of Cautinche's medicine woman, was fashioned from a length of hollow metal pipe affixed to a cow horn. When blown it gave forth a series of notes approximating G, C, G, E, C, two octaves below middle C. All *trutrukas* have only a limited range and are played a few notes at a time with lengthy intervals of rest. The sounds are mournful and not very melodic by our standards.

A third wind instrument is called a *llollkin*. It is much less common than the *trutruka* and is employed primarily at funerals. It is considerably shorter than a *trutruka* and is played by taking in the breath. A *llollkin* is made from about two to three feet of hollow cane or bamboo, attached to a cow horn, and is cleared like a *trutruka*, with water (Pl. IX, Fig. 2). It has a greater melodic range and is pleasing to the Western ear, even

Renaco, but in no one of these places is there a single specialist in woodworking, pottery, basketry, or metallurgy. [28 32]

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534 though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the tra-
[102] ditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñi*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñi* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñi* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñi* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñi* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[24] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct
512 of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[24] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñi* are described in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

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PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collio identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alemo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Levin ("Sekuta") Painco playing a *kultrún* of his own make at Carrarrile. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

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§33 special songs were

composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, native, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119-21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122-24; 1912, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15-25) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Sonntelle, 1928, pp. 76-77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:92, s. v. homos) look more European.

§38

•§34 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pilellka) of wood, and formerly of human longbone; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 12 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of Chusquea sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Inkowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of Chusquea sp., a small part of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hrdlička, 1909, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281-82; Félix José, 1916, 1:190; Inkowitz, 1935, p. 202)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

§35

Dances.—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flute. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bacmeister (1862, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern Mapuche dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 220). In some of the modern Mapuche dances and gatherings there is considerable drinking (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45-46), and use of masks (pl. 75, bottom) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 129; Claude Joseph, 1901, pp. 234-36).

§27 ¶6

Recreation.—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche was the kawin. This consisted primarily

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war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hunting games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In divinatory sessions, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a trey of water (Ramón, 1877–78, 1:133). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 189). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 61; see supra, under Musical Instruments, p. 730) containing three or four sacred Stones (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stones supposed to have been thrown up by volcanoes: Félix

FIGURE 61.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1901, fig. 30.)

Jaud, 1910, 1:113); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (only recorded on 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1937, p. 100).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal witchcraft (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

Towards a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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723 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53]
266 In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones,
727 most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was
534 forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish cul-
727 ture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had
[534] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced
121 the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

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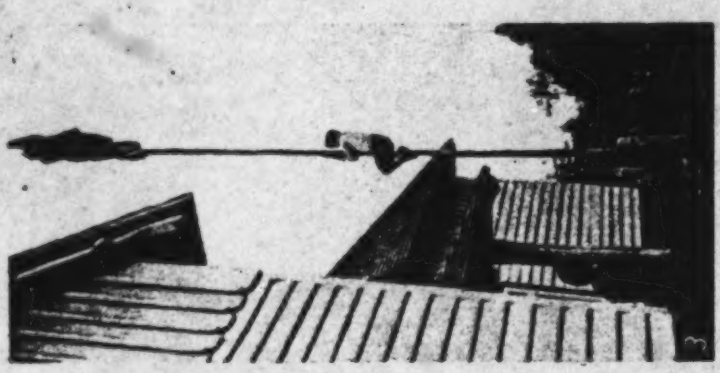

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Araucanian schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a kuykul from the blades of a chupón; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

carred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an aranko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Aranko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (piku), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willimapu), and west (konüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was pikukürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is puelche kürəf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or nagpa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afken kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Coñaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifalka (whistle) (pl. 32, *a-4, 6*; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifalka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ñillatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kullkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuykul, when no kullkull is available. (Cf. p. 99) for the making of a kuykul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kullkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

202 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hop-
●534 ing that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fücha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fücha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as chospino and lana. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring chospino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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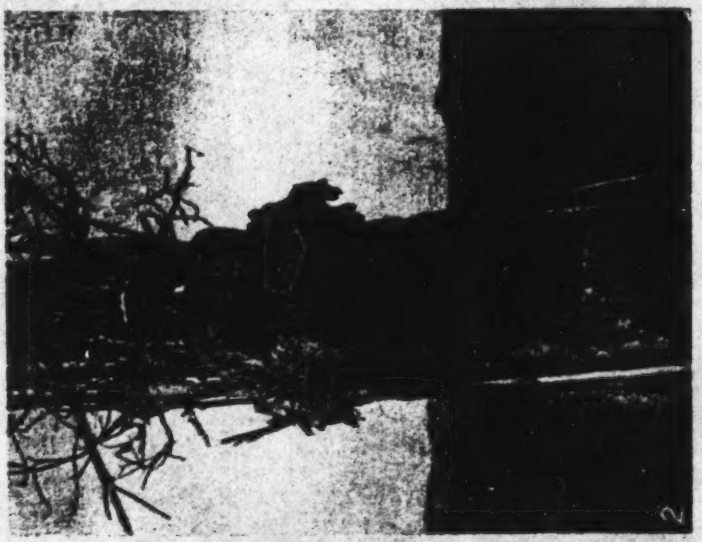

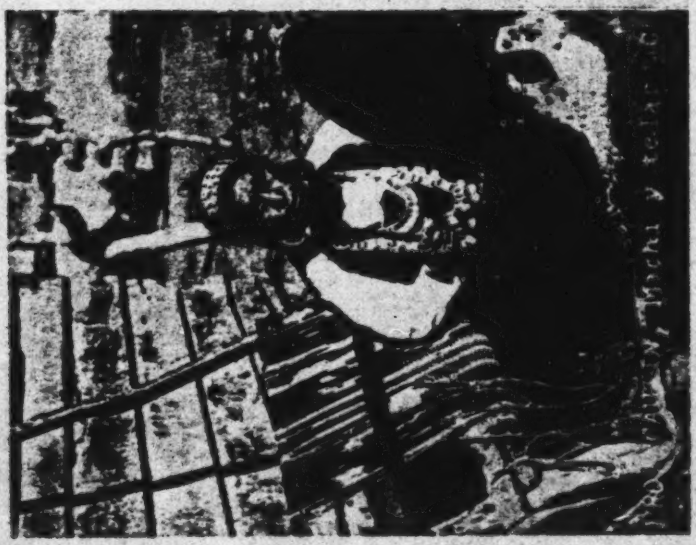

[286
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1, The machi, Province of Cautín, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

[p. 92(J)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifalka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kulkull and the kuŋkul (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifalka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifalka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534 ●

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

534 A very old pifəlka owned by an informant (pl. 32, *4*) was of stone (today pifəlka are often made of wood). It was approximately 4 inches long, 2 inches wide, and ⅓ inch thick and had one hole as a ventage. Through a perforation on each side, which the informant called ears, a cord was passed so that the pifəlka could be suspended from the neck. Following the old custom, she noted, the cord should be made of the bark of either pelú, maqui, or totora. The bark is warmed over a fire, rubbed between the palms of the hands until soft, then boiled in water, cooled until lukewarm, and then pulled apart into strands. The following day the strands are rolled between the hands to the length needed by the person who is to use the pifəlka. "It must be long enough to reach around the person's neck and part way down the chest." Today, more often a colored ribbon is used in place of the bark cord. A pifəlka is sounded by holding it with ventage at the top, and blowing across the ventage, as one does in playing a flute.

An informant had made a trutruka by splitting lengthwise a stock of green quila, approximately 8 feet long, removing the pith, then tying two parts back into position with fiocha and pulling over them the dried intestine of a horse. At the farther end he inserted and fastened securely a portion of the horn of an ox. "Without it there is no tone," he remarked. The other end, the one used for blowing, he cut off on a 1¼-inch slant. When not in use, the trutruka is filled with water to keep it from shrinking. Two trutruka, collected in the Province of Cautín (Nos. 115 and 116, Museo Araucano de Temuco), are of split colihüe bound together with vine and then overstripped with animal intestine. Each is an inch in diameter and approximately 9 feet long. A 6-inch section of the horn of an ox is attached at the farther end of each.

No kultruŋ was seen in the field. Specimen No. 572 in the Museo Araucano de Temuco, collected in Panguipulli and labeled "very old specimen," had been made by stretching the inner lining of a hide over a bowl of wood. It is 5 inches in depth, 13 inches in diameter at the opening and 8½ inches at the bottom. Another specimen (No. 438—according to the curator, a recent collection)—contains some articles which make of it a rattle, also. Its depth is 6 inches, diameter at hide end 18 inches and at the bottom 6 inches. Its 18-inch-long drumstick has one end wrapped about with red, white, and purple yarn.

The wada is a dried, hollowed-out gourd, "big enough to fit into a big hand," into which either seeds of coral or pebbles are put, and the gourd then covered with the inner hide of sheepskin.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The kunkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). 534
Félix José defines the kunkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kunkul (pl. 12, 1) that what they had made were kunkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kunkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kunkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiocha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four ventages, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 715 and 739). They are, respectively, 1½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 2¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the choike to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours. 534 177

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueco, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—choike (rhea) (pl. 17, 3 and 4). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gime, the corrido, the walse, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as danzas; the choike, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the choike for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them. 535

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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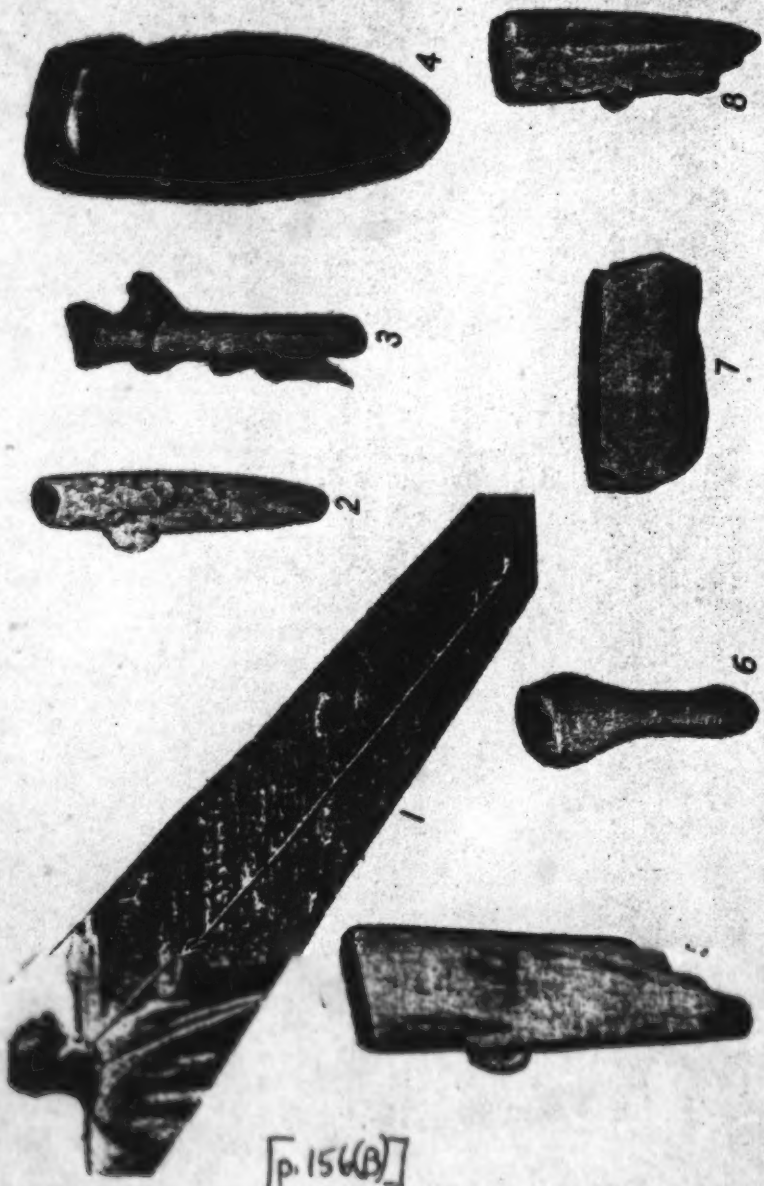

Musical instruments: 1, Trutruka (Province of Cautin). (Picture purchased in Temuco.) 2, 3, 4 (Coñaripe), and 6, Pifalka. 5, 7, 8 Panpipes. (Figures 2-3, 5-8 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 156(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

115
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[534]

Informants, interpreters, and field assistant: 1, Obtaining information regarding the trutruka from Kolupan of Pilpil. To his right, Bertha Ilg-Koessler of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter; to his left, Margaret Mondloch, field assistant. 2, Informant in Quilaquina (left) and Lisa Pfister, of San Martín de los Andes, interpreter.

[p. 268(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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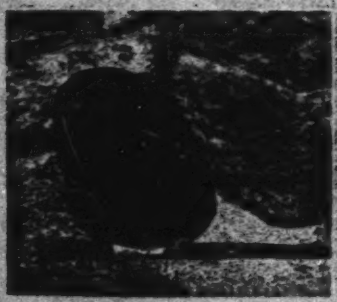

Musical instruments: 1, Kolupan holding a trutruka (Pilpil). 2, An informant demonstrating the use of a trutruka (Trumpul). 3 and 4, A kultrun, a kettledrumlike instrument, and drum stick. (Courtesy Parque Nacional de Lanin).

[p. 316 (C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

534 Traditional musical instruments were the kultruŋ, the trutruka, the pifəlka, the tupulwe, the pioko, the piloilo, and the cholkol; the tralatrala has been added to these since the introduction of the horse; and in still more recent years, the jew's-harp and the guitar also.

A kultruŋ is a kettledrum-type instrument (pl. 70, *3, 4*). It is made by stretching a circular piece of well-scraped hide of young horse or female goat over the opening of a wooden bowl—one hollowed out of a tree-trunk section. Sheep hide must not be used since it tears easily. The horsehide of a kultruŋ in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is kept taut by lacings that are passed through holes cut along the edge of the hide. These lacings are about 5 inches from the rim of the bowl. The diameters of the bowl are 12 inches at the opening and 5 inches at the base. The handle is of rawhide of horse, wound about with several layers of green yarn. Its drumstick—only one is used—is a piece of shaved-down wood, 14 inches long and ½ inch in diameter. The 5 inches at the end used in beating the kultruŋ are bare; the remainder wound about alternately, in 3-inch stretches, with blue and white yarn. The poruntun, one of the sacred dances of the ŋillatun, is performed to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. Generally the machi beats the kultruŋ, but the cacique is known to have done so, also.

The trutruka, a wind instrument (pl. 70, *1, 2*), is made by drawing fresh intestine of horse or cow over a colihüe stalk varying in length from 9 to 12 feet. After the intestine is dry, approximately 7 inches of the wide section of the horn of a cow or an ox is inserted at one end of the colihüe to spread the sound, and a mouthpiece of wood at the other end. The loŋkomeo, another dance of the ŋillatun, is performed to the tune of three or four trutruka and the beat of the kultruŋ.

The pifəlka, a whistle (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), is made of an approximately 12-inch-long section of the branch of a tree, preferably the roble chileno, about an inch in diameter. Bark must be removed since it might obstruct the tune. Tones are produced by holding the pifəlka in an upright position and blowing forcefully across a hole bored in the upper end. The piloilo, a panpipe, is made by boring a row of five or six ventages across one end of a small piece of wood, also peeled of bark. A person skilled in its use can produce several whistling sounds by blowing across the ventages. Men use both the pifəlka and piloilo at the ŋillatun.

The tupulwe, a tune-pipe-like instrument, is a hollowed-out colihüe

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihue, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The cholkol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the poruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The poruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as awár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [791]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one. 796 789

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *ewn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *cenelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *ewn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *ewn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum). 796 535 [301] [824] [534]

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled. 796 [535]

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a 796 782

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

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THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: Marshalling the *Forces of Good*

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It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

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The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *machen* and the *machi's* familiar (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lewen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *lonco meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *loñko purun*. Latcham said that *lonco meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul·truñ* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul·truñ* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.[22] At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated [801] four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

796 When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ● 535 ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

[22] For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Cholchol for the night. 796 535

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and asperging was now so copious as to suggest a mimetic shower.[24] 796 [302] 822

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

[24] *Ñillatun* ceremonies that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. Those designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Coigue rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall plowing difficult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul·truñ*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[25]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[26] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[25] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[26] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

proceeded to Malalche.[28] A double row of ramadas stretched for 796
nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing [252]
soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Malalche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *mudai*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).[29] Beside her stood two female assistants, each one beating a *kul·truñ*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the 796
opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four 535

[28] The women rode in an oxcart driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Raúl made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antinao answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

[29] We learned that this *machi* came from Cholchol where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antinao told us afterward that she had received sixty portions of roast meat and many beverages for her services.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 young men danced in separate rows toward and away from the
535 altar, in an east-west direction. One of the men carried a Chilean flag, another a white banner, and the other two straddled bamboo poles as they danced. The rhythm was at all times six-eight and fairly quick, and two *trutrukas* were occasionally sounded by players standing north and south of the altar. Among the male spectators were many who blew rhythmically but monotonously on small *pifullkas*.

Shortly after noon the *machi* began a vigorous dance, once striking an inverted *kul·truñ* against her head. From her position west of the altar she moved north and then east, thus approaching the six young dancers, whom she appeared violently to oppose. Her assistants spat on the ground and repeatedly asperged the group of dancers. Soon the *machi* dropped to her knees and continued to dance wildly around the altar. She paused for a moment while an assistant bound a dark kerchief over her head and then, even though blindfolded, she resumed her forceful dance around the altar on her knees. When she returned to the west side, a number of men clashed hockey sticks over her head, and one man waved a knife about.
796 The *machi* then began a conversation with an interlocutor, in the same fashion as in a *machitun* or curing service. Juan Antinao said later that her first words were, "I have come," referring to the arrival of the spirit that had possessed her. After an exchange of conventional greetings, the *machi* went on to give instructions for the successful conduct of the *ñillatun*, ordering, among other things, an ostrich dance, circuits of mounted men, and the sacrifice of a sheep. She also told the assemblage that the Araucanians were having trouble because they had given up their ancient ways. This must have sounded strange coming from a *machi* who lived in a Chilean town. When the spirit's report was finished, the *machi*'s head was uncovered and after she had rested a bit, the interlocutor reported the full conversation he had held with her.

796 A short time later, three young men, one very reluctantly,
535 prepared to do the ostrich dance. Except for the use of shawls

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming 796
or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced 535
eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *awn*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls [782]
and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started 796

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul-truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the *ñillatun* is in progress.

[end plate 13]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIV

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FIG. 1. Main altar of the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*curevunyapue*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunemapun alkine cheu melepi huye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Penelelmen chi huye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick sealskin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. [567]
The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

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special songs were
533 composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-
538 composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul-truŋ), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203) —the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activ-
796 ity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

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Performing the dances of adults (Alepúe): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the waise. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the choike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their bashfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

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The kuŋkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). 534
Félix José defines the kuŋkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kuŋkul (pl. 12, *1*) that what they had made were kuŋkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kuŋkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kuŋkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiocha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four ventages, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 715 and 739). They are, respectively, 1½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 2¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the 534
harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational 177
purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the choike to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours.

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances 535
in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueco, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—choike (rhea) (pl. 17, *3* and *4*). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gine, the corrido, the waise, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as danzas; the choike, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the choike for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them.

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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as porun. They are danced at the ŋillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word porun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ŋillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as porun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gime, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the porun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so
539 when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting
[273] at the girl's home (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

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about the parufe as the center. Each sun shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, *1*), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

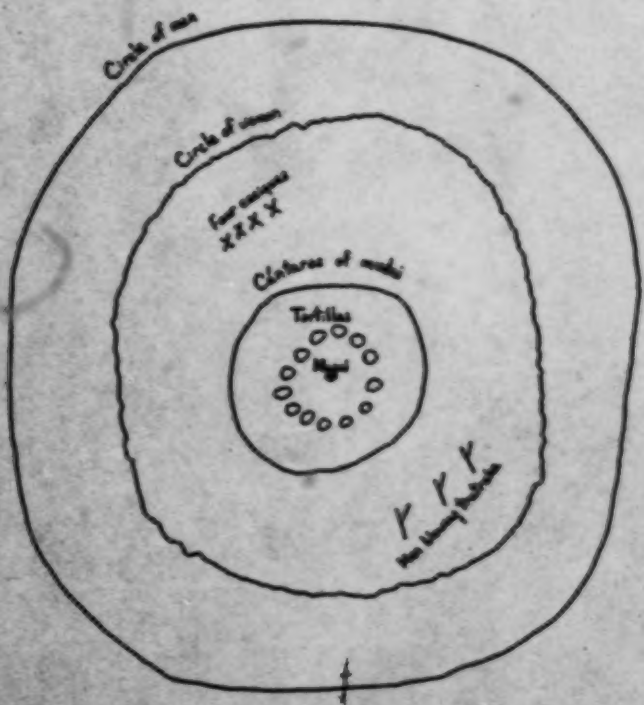

FIG. 3.—The ritualists in Alepúe area. (Diagram drawn by an Alepúe informant.)

50 to 80, depending on the number present—mount their horses and get into formation beyond the sun shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the poram about the parufe and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the

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796 porun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the porufe barely move, 535 while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifalka, the machi beat their kultrun, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ŋillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the porufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the porufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the porun until the küntron has ended.

796 A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsat-
782 ing heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four collihie. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ŋillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ŋillatun."

796 After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

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534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihüe, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chollol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

●535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the poruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The poruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as awár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

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have for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished woman of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Peumguem queme tripapa tayin traun fəta chau chau, rey mapu, ray kuʃe," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers." 796

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the colihüe, while standing (today kneeling) near the colihüe at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the colihüe stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordillera; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

The machi now beats the kultrun, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as poruntun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward circlewise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say poruntun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the poruntun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The poruntun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people. 796 535

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the gillatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the tregle (a bird), the pono pono mapu

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(stamping on the ground), and the huillafan kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultruŋ.

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Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifalka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
ñillatun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances.
Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are al-
ready courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the
parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special
notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually en-
courage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit
from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young
people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents.
Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are
chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close
female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain
girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents
for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming
to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage
will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar
line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically
work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve.
Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially
refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception,
the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair,
and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and an-
swers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweet-
heart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [791]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared. 796 782 [535] [535]

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time. 796 574 796 574 431 [564] [608]

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other. 796 [782]

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622]

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 756 [622] [198] 796 756 789 536.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- 622
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

764 Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or
787 some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

764 Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*,
[537] representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by rela-
[765] tives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1929, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *cupolave*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1892 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365–70).

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once [622 537] a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101] [1]For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2]Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3]Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

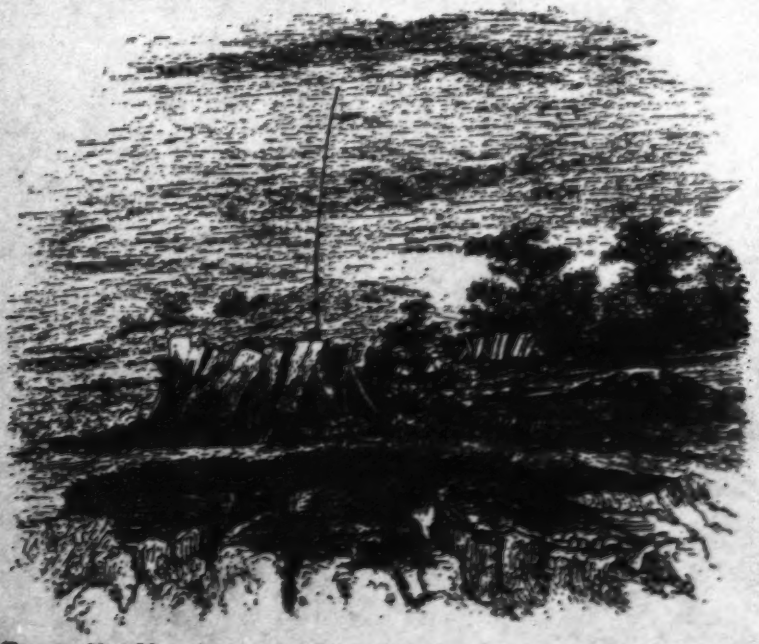

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and premiated as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ŋillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic famliy; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, 622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver 202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. At-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tentive listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in oratorical fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used force, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in Alepín could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numerals also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 802

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 734). The 100-year-old Cofaripe man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Pangaipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. [711]

TABLE 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian* (Chile)

1 kiñe	11 mari-kiñe	31 kiñe-mari-kiñe	100 patakin-epu
2 epu	12 mari-epu	40 meli-mari	199 patakin-kayfu-mari-kayfu
3 kiñe	13 mari-kiñe	50 kechu-mari	
4 meli	19 mari-kayfu	60 kayu-mari	200 epu-patakin
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	70 regle-mari	300 kiñe-patakin
6 kayfi	21 epu-mari-kiñe	80 pura-mari	400 meli-patakin
7 regle	22 epu-mari-epu	90 kayfu-mari	500 kayfu-patakin
8 pura	28 epu-mari-pura	99 kayfu-mari-kayfu	999 kayfu-patakin-kayfu-mari-kayfu
9 kayfu	29 epu-mari-kayfu	100 patakin	
10 mari	30 kiñe-mari	101 patakin-kiñe	1000 mari-patakin

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. *None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation* as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Sailo, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Maesuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collum Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junín de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Sailo chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Sailo in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Malaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primavera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Sailo observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

537 [202] man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolupan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

802 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	50 kechu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 küla (or kla)	12 mari-epu	70 reqle-mari
4 meli	13 mari-küla (or mari-kla)	80 pura-mari
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	90 ailla-mari
6 kayü	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 pataka
7 reqle	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-pataka
8 pura	30 kla-mari	300 kla-pataka
9 ailla	40 meli-mari	1,000 waraqka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will 764
be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors 574
who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or [484]
in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their [492]
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The 764
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the 574
llañi, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is 576
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the 764
men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the 574
formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the [537]
ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[637] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
602
262

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

537 764 613 829 [769] Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 ### *The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun*

The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population [178] density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that 000
if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear
himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period. T

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, A 439
a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions
being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of
Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from
the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches,
thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of
all their wares to advantage, and became the happy pos-
sessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils.
Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they
would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers.
The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for
their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn
must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I A
noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manza- 231
neros more resembled those used in the Argentine States
than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing
finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being
inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting. T

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous A 648
chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of
the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, parti-
cipated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's,
and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to
keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made A
in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely re- [194
sembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. 537]
Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs
had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in
the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them,
but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was pro-
bable that he might send a small force to assist his country-
men.

Calficura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekūyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *kūyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [842] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[28] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[28] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; 538 Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul·truŋ), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily
796

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

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out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

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Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai

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[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

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inche ta eimi
deuman piuke
fente ini ayufiel
kimwe laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
felen meu feipien
eimi ta sakin domo.

[551] Free translation.—It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peuman
kuifi meu kai
welu fele pulai
alka pülelen.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a lapwing[14] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.—In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[14] Fray Félix José de Augusta (Diccionario araucano-español [Santiago, 1916], II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collío described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

7 539

Man's Reply

ñuke anai ñuke
ñochi müten kimei
mute dungulmi
ñillatu piuke nguea fun
piukeye niye eli
fele kayu müten
tayu poyen küleu
inchiu meu ta
dungu kilpe che
inchiu müten kieu.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor (literally, piuke, "heart"). If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

koñi anai koñi
müna kürre küllü
tami feipi fiei
ruf kimu lan tafei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke. 539 593

[15]Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart." 601

[16]A woman calls her husband koñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

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Woman's Song No. 3

ngüru peumun
ni wesayuan meu
chum ngues afui
femguei felesei.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a fox. It was bad for me, but there is no help for it now, since that is the way it turned out to be.

Interpretation.—After having been married for two years or so, a wife has come to realize that her husband is like a fox,[9] in the sense that he is given to thieving and wrongdoing.[9] Interested auditors, acting on this hint, make it a point to advise the husband to mend his ways. They also remind him that he has now been married long enough to realize that he ought to settle down and accept the responsibilities of a married man.

Man's Reply

mülna wesa pimi
mai vichi nake
femkefull ofpe
fachi antü kimgue
eimi meu mülten
pual ñi lelilen
wesa dungu alai.

Free translation.—Things are not as bad as you have said, my little cousin (wife). If I have done anything wrong, it's all over now. Only as you do my eyes gaze. Let everything bad be ended.

Interpretation.—The husband expresses remorse for his errors and promises to mend his ways at once and henceforth to keep his mind only on his wife.

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[9] It is a Mapuche convention that a man whose faults are publicized in an extemporaneous song must neither show anger nor seek to punish his wife. Nevertheless, an ominous tone runs through the husband's reply in Woman's Song No. 3, and the wife's counterreply is distinctly conciliatory.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

Woman's Counterreply

539

fenin amai kofi
fami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay fi piuke
femili mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

tod-cod peuma
Nüme peuman
fei neu felen
fi rumue kürme filu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[10]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi fi kompayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ko lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[10]This song and the next two were termed pilmal kuan ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Coñilo. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

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539 dirt make mud, and that is far from good.

Interpretation.—A wife sings in this vein to make it known [592] that she is maltreated by her husband's family, with whom she has to live according to the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence. On hearing such a complaint people speak to the singer's parents-in-law, urging them to be more considerate of their daughter-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 6

weda lerkei puñmo
dungu allkutun
fotum müten mülei
domo nguerke lai.

Free translation.—Things are very bad with me. My father-in-law pays attention only to his son, while I am dismissed as if I were dead.

[592] Interpretation.—Once again the strain put on a woman by the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence is brought out. A wife is a newcomer to her husband's household and is very much subject to her father-in-law throughout his lifetime.[18]

Woman's Song No. 7

weda peuman
trafia müten
hi fillka duam
me peuman müten.

Free translation.—I had a bad dream just last night. On account of my brother-in-law (fillka) I dreamed of nothing but dung.

539 592 Interpretation.—This song expresses unhappiness because a woman's brother-in-law is about to marry. Through the workings of the custom of unilocal patrilocal residence his marriage means that another woman will come to live in the singer's household and will share in the conduct of its affairs. Women who are married to brothers often are so hostile that

[18]There is reason to believe that in former times a mature man maintained strong control over the inmates of his household. Normally, these consisted of his wives and unmarried offspring and his married sons and their wives and unwed children.

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they call each other medomo ("feces woman").[20] 539 ●

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law. 542

Woman's Song No. 8 539

re kochü dungu
piyeninga welu
afkerkelu kochütun
fei ula fre letui
tami dungun
ellaka feipi feli.

Free translation.—At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.—Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Collío expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing in this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household. 539 543

Woman's Song No. 9 539

maicoño kuntrul
inaful inche meu
pün-pün kilai

[20]Cf. De Augusta, op. cit., I, 131.

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inche pülle müten
fenguechi peuman
taki ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[21] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my nadu ("husband's sister").

539 592 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenankun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[22] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

539 584

Man's Song No. 1[23]

Aiñe nguen meu
eila lelien feichi
elu ad laen
rume kutrantun
tami fem fiel
re kura piuke
ñtruf niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[21]De Augusta, op. cit., I, 128, identified meñhuñe as la tortola, the turtledove (Zenaida auriculata).

[22]Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law move into her household.

[23]"Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dabelfun ñi ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

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Why must you ever show me nothing but a heart of stone?

Interpretation.—A boy sings in this fashion to his sweetheart, either during a family visit to her home or at an assembly where members of both families are present. It reveals the fact that he has failed to win the girl of his choice, and it also serves to test her reaction. In accordance with Mapuche conventions it is not proper for a young woman to accept a proposal too quickly or too directly. Hence, she answers in the manner of the reply given below. If the affair reaches a stalemate the suitor's father, confident of the singer's sincerity, may take steps leading to a formal betrothal.

Woman's Reply

mūna koila wentru
piuke meu feipilai
re mellfu-un meu
mūten feipi kei
angue ta pengue
kille kei mūten
piuke elika lei.

Free translation.—Men are all liars, they speak only with the lips, not with the heart. They show their faces uncovered, but not their hearts.

Interpretation.—By singing in such a vein, a girl who is being courted makes it clear that she is not to be taken lightly. The implication is that she may consider a serious offer of marriage but that she is unwilling to take part in a mere flirtation.

Man's Song No. 2

chumūl anchi
inche kimun
tami piuke
ni inchū nguenei
feipi keeli
feichi dungu
allkutu anei
kūme pichi ñuke.

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Free translation.—When will the time come when I shall know what is in your heart? Why don't you say the word that will allow us to be united? Please listen to me, my little cousin.

Interpretation.—A lover will sing in this way if a sweetheart continues to show reluctance even after some of the preliminaries to marriage have been carried out. The intent is to persuade the girl to set a wedding date.

Woman's Reply

prolei ñi piuke
feipi keeli arol
piuke ta pekan
fam tuku keel
troki kifilngue
rulpa fingue
amulechi antu
fei ula kimaimin.

Free translation.—At this moment my heart is tied in a knot, so I cannot reply. The heart is not a toy to be lightly given away. Please do not hurry me. Let the ever-moving sun go on, then you will learn what is best.

Interpretation.—In these words a girl expresses her unwillingness to set a definite wedding date. Her song implies that she may yet be willing to marry her suitor, but is not interested in a casual love affair.

Man's Song No. 3**

faaNu mahuida
amulerpu fun
wolu pela eyu ñuke
chew anta mülei
tawi piuke am
inche kutran piuke
eimi a yene-en
papai anai papai

**Strictly speaking this song is not rendered in public. It deals with a request for a private love affair and is addressed only to the girl concerned. Nevertheless, the lover may make his plea during the course of a large assembly.

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churnül chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[25] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[26] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[27]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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koñi anai koñi
müfüchi ñuke
rume piyaimi
welu rüpü kilñe
kiso lelmi rume
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me ñuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[28] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a [illegible] on the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their ñuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[25] Tami piuke am means literally, "your heart soul." However, am also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where in the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[26] For the use of pepai see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[27] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[28] Compare footnote 15.

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539 836 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[29] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 582 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (koñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[29] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

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The assembly songs also serve to call attention to several items of Mapuche religion. Belief in dreams as omens is frequently reiterated, and there is one interesting example of the widely held notion that heart, soul, shade, and reflection form a single complex. Furthermore, there are some references to bird and animal lore, with mention being made specifically of the deer, fox, vulture, lapwing, turtledove, hen, and rooster. 539 771

In conclusion, it may be said that these songs give proof of the high poetic quality of Mapuche oral literature. At the same time they throw light on numerous aspects of social organization and provide important clues to an understanding of the interplay between Mapuche culture and personality development. 539

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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "asi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tsu." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

● 539 854 A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Cañaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or milk, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Cañaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. According to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "aai." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they finished two machi. Those machi sang songs. He only the machi knew and sang. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was acquainted to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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539 skunk then said, "Let us dart eight little sticks like we dart arrows. [These are darted toward a goal.] If you win, then I will take your poncho and let you have mine." The skunk won. But the fox who had forcibly taken the skunk's poncho by now threw it into the fire where it burned up. Then the skunk sat down and cried, and said, "My mother will spank me." Then three very young children came walking along and said to the skunk, "Don't cry; before long you will find a better poncho than you had." But that was not all: The fox then ordered one of the children to split wood, another to build the fire, and the third to put the olla on the fireplace. After the water boiled, the fox took the three children and put them into the olla. As soon as they were cooked, he ate them.

One of "the other kind" as told to a 14-year-old boy by his 80-year-old grandmother:

It was in ancient times. There was a very rich man who had many animals in his meadow—he was so rich that he could not count his animals. This rich man had two dogs. He thought of these dogs as his two sons: they understood all that they were told and they carried out his orders. These two dogs were accustomed to being sent to the meadows to bring home animals that were to be slaughtered. When the rich man was no longer satisfied to eat jerked meat, he sent his dogs to the meadows to fetch animals.

The following nonhistorical tale was told to a 12-year-old boy by his 34-year-old uncle; the uncle's grandfather had told it as having happened when he (the grandfather) was a child:

A puma had four cubs, and lay in her den with them. While lying there she heard some cries and whining. It was dogs she was hearing. The dogs were coming nearer the den. The cubs ran out and away. The puma, too, leaped out of the den and over a bush of quila. But the dogs chased her. Then the puma climbed up a tree and the cubs followed her. The owner of the dog came and cut down the tree. The dogs killed the puma and ate the little ones.

The two following stories, told by Coñaripe men (33 and 34 years of age) are true historic events, so the informants said. Said one:

My grandparents told me that old Mapuche said that from very early times one could enter caves at one end of Lake Calafquén near here, walk underneath the lake, its full length, and then under the complete length of Lake Pilaifa and come out at the other end of Lake Pilaifa; that our people formerly hid under these lakes when their enemies came upon them—like they formerly did from what is now Argentina; they say that the entrance to the cave under Lake Pilaifa can still be seen.

The other informant then took his turn:

There was an old lazy Mapuche man, but a very intelligent one. He lived off the rest of the people. One day he saw many Mapuche coming up the path. He hurried to the river nearby and stuck a sapling into the river bottom, a little distance from the bank. When the people came, he said, "A flood is coming!" The people moved on. When they had moved on a bit, he, behind their backs, moved the sapling farther from the bank toward the middle of the river, and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ñillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ñillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ñillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tuca or of filuponil (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 32, *2-4, 6*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *1*), the kultrun (drum) (pl. 30, *1*), the wada (rattle), and the kulkull and the kuqinl (bugles) (pl. 12, *1*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifulka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifulka, trutruka, and kultrun are used at the ñillatun; the kultrun and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *5, 7, 8*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

1 Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as porun. They are danced at the ngillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word porun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ngillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as porun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gine, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the porun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at
539 any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Paradise has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Paradise has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting
[273] at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. There is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Formalized conversation, probably the *koyaqtun*, was carried on when a woman's relatives, including her immediate family, came to visit her for the first time after her marriage (cf. pp. 331-332). 521

Informants, now old, were told stories connected with wars—usually those between Araucanians and Argentines—when they were children. An informant, when a young girl, was told the following by her mother:

An Araucanian girl had a child by an Argentine soldier, but another Argentine soldier wanted the girl. The girl tucked her child under her poncho and rode away with the man that was not the father of her child. After some time they were hungry, but they had nothing to eat. So the man stole a horse. They found a cave and lived in it. Here they cut large pieces of meat off the horse, but they broiled them in another cave, one close to a nearby lake. The cave was in such a position that people could not see the fire they made in it; they did not want to be discovered. The girl could have eaten the meat raw, but the man not—he was not an Araucanian. [528]

"My mother would cry when she would tell me such stories."

Certain legends were told to children, but children were usually listeners-in to those intended for adults. One legend told to children is the following:

Inqa—some say Inca—said, saying, "Children, your God is speaking. He says the Indian sufficient gold and silver are collected to fill these rooms; do all you can to collect both, and send them to me." All the Araucanians gave whatever they could, their finest things in gold and silver. They collected all these in one place. It took a long time to do so. Then they looked for slaves to carry the load over the mountains. They were finally on their way. But a great difficulty had risen to be faced: they found snow in the mountains. Just when this difficulty seemed insurmountable, they met Araucanians from other mountains. These said, "Do not go any further; Inca has died. And do not sell or give your gold and silver to the Wincas." So they dug a large hole on the top of one of the mountains, packed the gold and silver into it, and then rolled down they packed all the slaves. Next they packed a big mountain over it all. No one now knows where the place is. So runs the legend, as told by some. Others say that the slaves with their loads of gold and silver were packed down a smooth ledge of stone on the side of the mountain where it was still be seen resembling a slide. It ends in Lake Cordoba Chico. At the place where the ledge enters the lake, the water is very deep and is dark in appearance. The gold and silver, wherever they are, as says the legend, traveled daily way toward the center of the earth, a hair's breadth each year, until the Wincas came into the area. Since then the gold and silver have sunk deeper, but in all probability, when the Wincas leave here, they will again come upward. [529]

Kolupun told a legend with a historical background as related to him by his father when he, Kolupun, was a child. In recent years Kolupun has told it to children in his neighborhood:

West of Rio Negro, there was formerly a lake in addition to Lake Pudendue which is still there. About [illegible] years ago an earthquake split the earth with [530]

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanans SG4
Argentina

521 [illegible] open [illegible] down. A [illegible] went into the opening and cut down something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it.
539 During this [illegible] a noise like a powerful explosion. The [illegible] steam being blown off. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lanar and Lake Pichaiaico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, [illegible] piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a lot hanging down his side.

517 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years
276 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked occasionally at the ritualum; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of *yaqui* and dead wood of *radi*, or a mixture of crushed leaves of *lari*, was smoked. [illegible] Kidapan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with *radi*, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of *radi* to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a tobacco in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The tobacco was smoked only at holidays *[illegible]* it had a narcotic effect. Any tobacco smoked was called *petrum*; the word *[illegible]* was not known to informants; Kidapan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (*ill. pp. [illegible]*); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out cylindric stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (*pl. 56, 5*). Those of children and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their ones with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

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The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with *witranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of ñuchi [blood] when you kill the animal."

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The young man acceded to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the wituanlwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the wituanlwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden
bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the
house for the wituanlwe. The wituanlwe approached at a
gallop, drank the fachi at one gulp, and then toured off the
wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral
to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the
secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are
alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation
offers. Other encounters with wituanlwe are often more lugubri-
ous, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The
Mapuche jokingly call wituanlwe the mounted Chilean police-
men, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with wituanlwe and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is
the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying.
After a startling experience, people can return to the relative
security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are omnipresent, however, and must be dealt with emotion-
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578]
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility
against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *chonqulwe* described earlier. In the Lonquilo region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my 752
residence of a young woman lost to a male *chonqulwe*. A
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and
people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from
that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night.
The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

773 182 mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

539 184 The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

> Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Cabrairue and Temuco. Kai Kai was a large serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the home of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every year in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people outbeated Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillar] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Tolten region along the coast, is as follows:

> Tren Tren was a bill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Then, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the 539
action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests an internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forebears of its present indigenous occupants.

The following myth, again one of a type, is one which relates 539
even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the 184
locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the Alitahue ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of *the conquest of good over evil, and the subjugation of the new* golden figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Tolten version is the story of Tiuwelcuda and Wirkalcuda (in the period this myth originated, whole mount plundered or so under). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours).

There were two men from this part [around Tolten] who set 539
out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many mourners, the relatives of these men, who felt great sorrow at their untimely death. These men were well liked, and were leaders [leaders] of their people.

In Quillaho [between Villarrica and the modern town of Loncoche] there lived a powerful kalku, who sent a message to the mourners. The message said that the kalku would provide, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was that the mourners had to come to the house of the kalku within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the mourners were unable to arrive before the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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539 eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her retiti. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Trimalwida and Winkolwida, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a tillatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word tillatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way tillatun originated among the Mapuche.

[NK] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *lefkerufuche*, whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquión, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquión. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquión managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquión was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquión partook of the meat. Then Manquión began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding. 539

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a fenechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is fillatun. [782]

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *lafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study. 539 776

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturitg of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[30] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Cholchol in [541] conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they [756] pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[31]

[30] There is a possibility that *lefkes* formerly selected team captains.
[31] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 332–34.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648 were placed under a guard of Tehuelches for a short time until the party started to find the wounded men. We then all proceeded a short distance down the valley, and bivouacked in the pampa grass about a mile and a half from, but out of sight of, the toldos of Chocoque. Messengers passed two or three times between the latter's residence and our bivouac, and ultimately a very old woman came over and made a long oration on the benefits of peace. This was all very well, but as both parties were evidently suspicious of each other, a watch was kept in the event of a surprise; and as we thought it probable that the negotiations would fall through, we spent the night shivering round the fires and making bolas perdidas. I assured Quintuhual and Casimiro that there would be no fight, at which the latter grew very irate, saying he knew better, that the whole business was a trap to obtain the gear and firearms of our party, also stating that I did not understand those Indians, in which I differed from him. Later in the evening news came that, although fearfully cut about, none of 'my cousins' were dead; the opposite party, however, had fared worse, losing three killed outright. For six men to fight against twenty-five seems long odds, but I believe that Quintuhual's and Foyel's people are the bravest Indians to be met with in T A the southern part of America, fully deserving the proud title of 'the Warrior Indians.'

648 A 541 The following morning at daylight all mounted their best horses, and forming into column of six, proceeded, with the lancers of the warriors at our head, towards the toldos situated in a valley running at right angles to the one we had rested in on the previous night. On arriving in sight of Chocoque's ancestral halls, we observed the Araucanians or Manzaneros forming into line and manœuvring about half a mile distant; we approached to within 800 yards, and then forming into open line to display our whole force (my proposal of hiding a reserve behind an eminence having been overruled), awaited the course of events. Thus we remained

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoqpe, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth poncho, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlamento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Cadmico's proposition for guarding Patagonia, and the Chilian war with the Indians

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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A bastard, *weda fiñe* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it." 848

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[3] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another. 836

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[4] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to remed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful. 548

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social 548 829

[3] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 629. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

548 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting
829 with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lofko* supervised negotiations with the *lofko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach
836 an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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78 back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men
● [59 could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to
271] the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF *ñillatun* AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutruka* and *pifulkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less singing, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *ewe*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *kuschaw*, is called by Mewhath an omen to the *ñillatun*.[20] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning
78 by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns,
92 *ewekan newtuy*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy amus-

[20] Mewhath, 1939, p. 371.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the women in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

636 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

685 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to
● 686 pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

687 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is punished, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

678 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
735 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

681 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning pedigree and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

579 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same toy or chui; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtues among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Areas.*—When the Spaniards arrived in northern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Inalmapu* or level land was the central valley, *Inapirre-mapu*

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

786 father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

787 Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1923-24, p. 712).

606 Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

836 Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877-78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1905): under lliuken, paillawe, pelpel, wethewe, vodoro.

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[833]

KINSHIP

611 **The kuga.**—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, ciga, cuaga; also cipa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887 a.v. ciga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:160; Febrés, 1882, a.v. ciga; Molina, 1901, p. 197; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, cognatio (Havestadt, 1852, 1:277, 299, 2:640-41); cast (not caste), family (Fallmer, 1835, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of outsiders into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adopter, as is recorded by Havestadt (1852, 1:299; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 309-42) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true clan.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[4] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

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[4] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather — Analyst]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.* This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not impossible that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that *ely* commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

* It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lonko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allowed tribes to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautiñche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 176 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 101 people were living on the original grant.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions too generally set the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they became available.*

The practice of granting titles to ownership also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate villagers or to

* From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences around legal boundaries in order to encroach on Indian land.

Kinship terms are widely employed for direct address in ordinary social intercourse. Whenever a specific relationship exists between speakers, adoptancy is utilized. If there is no close relationship, terms of address are used as listed in Table I.

601 [55]

Arawanian kinship terminology recognizes only five generations, two above and two below ego. If it is found necessary to extend terms to higher or lower generations, the Magrebe do not use new words, but employ numerical prefixes as needed.

TABLE I

Terms of Direct Address

Male Speaker	Person Addressed	Female Speaker
Shelmeche	Very old man	*shechel*
Sengagal	Very old woman	*Sella*
Aba or *shechel*	Older man than ego	*Aba*
Pagal[2]	Older woman than ego	*pagal*
Bell	Man of ego's age	*Sendra*
Sendra	Woman of ego's age	*Sendra*
Ninna or *Sendra*	Younger man	*mitche*
Sendra	Younger woman	*pullen*
Sellemin	Very young man	*shechella*
Sendrem	Very young woman	*Sellelin*

For instance, a man calls his paternal grandfather *Aba*. Hence, great-grandfather is *shechel* ("senior") *Aba*, great-

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cousin, *shellen*, and (if it exists in Arawan) his actual father-in-law, whereas *mitche* applies to any one of his mother's brothers or potential fathers-in-law; and *bell*, a term of affection used by a woman toward a female friend's child's son, whereas other cross-cousins of the kind are generally called either *aba* ("father") or *pagal* ("sister").

[1] Forms of direct address are almost invariably preceded by the Magrebe greeting "Ohm, ram," which means "yes, sir," and has the connotation of a hundred greetings or welcome.

There are so many alternate usages possible for terms of direct address that the data given in Table I require confirmation and further study.

[2] *Pagal* is the most common (respectful) term of direct address used by either sex when speaking to an adult woman.

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inche ta eimi
deumun pishe
feete ini eyulel
kimew laimi piyael
fei - ula doi eyueye
felen mew felpien
eimi ta eskin dumo.

[551] Free translation.--It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deumun, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peumun
kuifi mew kai
welu lele puimi
alka pilelen.

Free translation.--I dreamed of a lapwing[11] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.--In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[11] Tres Pólito José de Augusto [illegible] (Santiago, 1916?, II, 23) identifies the tregile bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collie (Scorthed N. [illegible]), it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

946 companionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to
974 her own home, where all her relatives and friends were assembled to celebrate a
feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified,
and the birth takes place in the room itself. The mother takes up a kneeling
posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended
by her friends, and a midwife (*ejenwen*) assists at the birth. The men remain
outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the
sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe
are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some
friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*ten*), and requests that the babe, if
it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among
other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on
the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin,
and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the
towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take
as surname the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a
surname.

946 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest
brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed
among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first
married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to
the heir the price they cost.

613 *Polyandry.*—Although polyandry is not in vogue among this race at the present
day, there is reason to suppose that it was [redacted] at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has
already been referred to.

● 551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals,
birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged
to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find
numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by
some distinguishing adjective, as *Rukuel*, tiger; *Rukuelelo*, red tiger; *Rukuelquen*,
leaping tiger; *Leuca*, lonesome; *Marilauca*, ten lonesome; *Lemulauca*, lonesome's head;
Filu, snake; *Quilavilla*, three snakes; *Colavilla*, red snake, etc., etc. These names
have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children
other names at baptism.

613 The *Araucanians* believe they originally descended from the animals whose
names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

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Each kupa had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillar (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grass, lizard, pebble, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, fish, tiger, peuhen, Snake, condor, snake, mountain ridge, house, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 211). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kupa name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kupa name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the Zorra kupa, he would call his son according to circumstances, "white Zorra," "black Zorra," "running Zorra," "woodland shade" (where Zorras rest in summer), etc. (Havestadt, 1883, 2:64).

According to Havestadt (1883, 2:64), sons derived their kupa name from their father's kupa. Félix José (1897, p. 4) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but while that in the family names of the two sons name the same clique [=kupa]. Latcham, however, (1922 b, pp. 225-22) states that his own comparison of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kupa element of the name; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kupa. According to Carvallo i Goyenechea (1876, p. 128), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kupa name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1897, p. 80) and Guevara Silva (1908, 1:240) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877-78, 1:106; Havestadt, 1883, 2:64)—neither very clear on this point.)

Members of a given kupa had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and aided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kupa eponym to the kupa members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877-78, 1:6), many "Ranges" had the names of whales, etc., from sacred ancestors of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Pelleter, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular sept or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the sept went to live with its eponym (1865, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, second-

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hunt, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Tobin, a tree was planted at the same giving birth of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned but due die. (In large centres, see myers under Kinship, p. 722.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 76): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or also a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (Horwood in: Smith, 1904, p. 212; Lassman, 1928, pls. 24-25; cf. Moulinch, 1928, pp. 130-32 for descriptions).

Figure 76.—Hypnotic cradle. (After Smith, 1904, p. 216.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were out (Lassman, 1928, p. 200), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 10 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1929-34, p. 712).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gudeke (1924, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with sand (Gourvan Eliza, 1928, 1:241-42; 1928, p. 222). Fritz Jaeel (1918, 1:21) lists the well-known custom to kill an infant and count its testicles in a heated pot, an done sometimes by an unmarried mother to escape herself or her unfaithful lover—or making him impotent (Gourvan Eliza, 1928, p. 222; 1928, 1:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices, apparently in recent

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to disease (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 52; Menéndez, 1877, 2:48; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 81), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean Araucanians (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large tables occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1826–27, 3:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 143–45), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a boys name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–32), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a basketlike cradle (cf. also Hrdlička, 1931 b, p. 79); for sweep they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of pulverized urine, a kind of "aloali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of foot masses that are reported among the Argentine Araucanians. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses appeared, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the table with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbarat, 1879, pp. 179–78, and 1888, p. 38, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 119–40) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[8] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonymy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonymy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which have a superficial resemblance to teknonymy. 601 [55]

[9] *Nuta* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñuta* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñuta* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fachai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[10] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientas." Given the Araucanian kinship designations, there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lawtun*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[11] Mofi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 103–111, Latcham 1924).

[12] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persiste la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matías family did so; its name was Calfín, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfín men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, ciga, cunga; also elpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kumpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly
756 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipelican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaplimagpei (what falls from above); Pinatrayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquilmirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirimagpei (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Pangipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Lonkon after my father who had been named Lonkon after his grandfather whose name was Lonkonanco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

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of a kuga name and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name (Cooper, 1946, p. 723). Informants reasoned that if the kuga existed in the early days, it might possibly exist today in what was known to them as the kumpén, since kumpén meant a group of families related by blood ties, such as the Lienlaf in Alepúe and the Tripailef in Puringue; but that not always was the given name one compounded with the name of the kumpén. "For example, in one family here [Alepúe] brothers were named Huaiue, Marilaf, Maupue, Peneru, Lefin, and Choewe, and their sister's name was Cumitra. The relationship name—probably the kumpén you are asking about—was Lienlaf—that is, they belonged to the Lienlaf people in this area. I know it, because I belong to the same family. These families go way back to the time before we fought the Spanish. Today the names of these six brothers are surnames. The children of each use their father's Mapuche name as their surname. The brothers have all been baptized, and when they sign their names now, they write their baptismal name first and add to it their Mapuche given name, but not Lienlaf." 551

For 700 families in Pangipulli area, on the contrary, names contain the word pun, an abbreviation of punul (lion). Among them are the Kuripún (black lion), the Licunpún (light of sun lion), the Aillapún (nine lions), the Kilapún (three lions). The names of another group of related families, also in Pangipulli area, end in llapka (blue stone with magic). "My grandfather's name ended in llapka. So did three of his cousins whose names were Wenullapka (power from above blue stone with magic), Meillapka (four blue stones with magic), and Rayenllapka (flower blue stone with magic). Félix José (1907, p. 30) lists as members of the kumpén of llapka, which he translates as finely colored bead, such names as Chiwallapka (foggy finely colored bead), Purnullapka (spotted finely colored bead), Anlall (proud finely colored bead), Kuflll (finely colored bead that warms), and Malllall (finely colored bead of cinder). Informants believed the last three to have ended at one time in llapka, also. (Cf. also kuga, under "Marriage," p. 129.)

A non-Araucanian interpreter of Pangipulli was bewildered at the information regarding the kumpén. She had often attempted to trace names in baptismal records for adult Araucanians who needed an official statement of their ancestry in order to lay claim to land. Quoting her: "It is impossible to do so. There is no similarity between the names of parents, grandparents, or other relatives to indicate that they are related to the child, or even to each other." A 70-year-old Cofuripo man was certain that similarity in names had nothing to do

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with the kumpion. "Else, why was my father's father's name Nelcolon, my father's name Wilhelmuco, and my name Pailiñelfun?"

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine. Neither prefixes nor suffixes indicate gender. Women's names have no relationship to the kumpion. Some names, both feminine and masculine, lend themselves to translation; others do not. Feminine names that have meanings are Llanquirai (witchcraft stone with flower), Lefucú (running), Pinolu (hummingbird), Huaihuipilu (enclosed lion). Feminine names that do not lend themselves to translation are Pudunei, Llolliai, Pinolueia. "Clearly, anyone seeing these names will know that they are feminine names; they have the sense of femininity in them." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 778), the name of a female child could not be mentioned lest it die. Informants of the present study had not heard of this custom.

The following names are those of parents of the first 10 persons baptized at Misión de Pangipulli in 1903 and whose names are recorded in its Libro de Bautismos de Indígenas (Anonymous, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1-3). The first name in each pair is the father's; the second, the mother's: Huichanao and Calfucao; Aburto and Nahuel; Calfucura and Ayllapán; Huillipan and Mangpil; Lefuinao and Huenteuh; Lefuinao and Huenteuh; Malupán and Nahuel; Trutrui and Ancalen; Trutrui and Pudpan; Ancalen and Nahuipir. The following pairs of given names (surnames omitted) are those of the parents of the last 10 children baptized in 1947: Huaille and Huenchanco; Santibañez and Ailliapán; Llancahuano and Lonfumao; Antiao and Pichilef; Nanancura and Aucili; Caupilef and Cabor; Huaiquipán and Calupán; Trubhanco and Mellano; Collipán and Curacul; Aucanao and Curacul. It is interesting to note that each parent has an Araucanian name recorded as a surname; in 1903 no parent had a surname. Nearly all the given names of parents are Araucanian; those of children are Christian.

SURNAMES

As noted previously, Araucanians had no surnames in the early days. Surnames were introduced by the Capuchin Fathers in order to make baptismal records permanent files to which Araucanians could refer in later years. The Fathers were certain that in due time the Araucanians would come under Chilean law regarding land and inheritance and that accurate information as to dates of births and to parentage would then be essential. This has proved to be true.

In more recent years, too, teachers have had to give surnames of

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schoolchildren in order to fill in reports demanded by the Chilean department of education. The following given names of men are today surnames of school children in Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas. Meanings follow. If names had themselves to translation—some cannot be translated "any more than you can translate John or Joseph." Calfilmanin (blue gulls), Pillimanca, Canin, Canincura (? stone), Calfinquera (blue fox), Hualica, Huaiche, Huaquilito (herd of snakes), Carrillo (cutting snakes), Nenquillo (running snakes), Huaiquel, Curiñanil, Huaiquipichi (leave of the fox), Marillo (two snakes), Maripichi (two foxes), Machipichi, Marifuan (two grandsons), Colliman (grandson), Nenquipichi (eagle fox), Nenquilel, Pillman, Pillichanca (the back of the eagle).

At present schoolchildren and adults frequently follow the Spanish custom of including the mother's name in their surnames, as do Chileans.

NICKNAMES

A nickname (kidiachen) is attached to an individual because of an atypical physical trait, a unique similarity to something, or an unusual or amusing event associated with the individual. Nicknames today are both Araucanian and Spanish. Quoting informants: "A boy who lived near us had a hunchy; so I nicknamed him Mellfi (hunchy), something he resented. That was when we were boys. Maybe I was punished, for now that I am married one of my children was born with a hunchy and cleft palate." "My father gave me the nickname Kuche (old woman)," said a two-age girl; "he said I acted like my grandmother."

Teachers told of nicknames of school boys and girls. "Many girls in the school and nearly all the boys have nicknames; some have several," said one teacher. "One boy is called Wekufü (devil); another Tuwle (thrush); another Fidell (name of a small bird that lives near water). One of the girls is called Perdiz (partridge)." Children in another school enjoyed telling their own nicknames or embarrassing others by telling theirs. One boy was nicknamed Pelill (the core of a tree) because he was tall and lanky; another, Chuzzo (name of a bird) because he was a good whistler; another Sombo (from a story in a reader). One boy was called Ojo because he began every sentence, hesitatingly, with "ojo" when he was learning to read; another boy was dubbed Memorio (memory) because he was quick of action; another Diablo (devil) because of his mischievousness. A girl was called Zapatillo (small shoe); another, Zorzal (a bird's name; also a crafty person). "Whenever we read about that bird, all the children

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look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschitz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for so many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko lacha. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko lacha. Each family took along several pelts of the 222

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last." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name.

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The latter, it seems, was more closely associated with the piercing of the ears (cf. p. 272).

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The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants. "We gave our children the names that already existed; from where these came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son Wuhilliaplu; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know."

Feminine names differed from masculine ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, Paine, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name Elizabeth to one of your boys."

Some names lent themselves to translation; others did not. Paine had no meaning. Rainuche and Rumi, exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "tender person" or "tender people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were Llaplaque (green stone formerly used for magic purposes), Trempan (spinning-top lion), Pahilliu (blue snake), Chemquepan (ostrich lion), and Wuhilliaplu (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A 25-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was 65 years old.

SURNAMES, NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. 357), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Pendio of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drunk to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

[C13 [P20] [P22] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname* of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huenumill. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Tranaico is allied [C15] politically (that is, belongs to the same indigenista party) with the chief, and is opposed to division, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Tranaico is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huenumill brothers comprise the most tightly knit superhousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Tranaico is the son of the father's first wife. Their [C18] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huenumill than most other families,† a belief which is accepted by

[S5] [P9] *The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish customs. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about genealogical ties with other reservations in the region.

[C20] [P13] †One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since Juan, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be cleared out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband evoke feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child. 844

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaboratly conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup. 844 754

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. 553 551 603 613 527

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231 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and
417 newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[432] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marinero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many houses. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on these berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guarani, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservations are because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary villagers could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lofón*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

tive owners. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a parade it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuls without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautículo was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 176 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[9]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[9] From time to time native complaints that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encroach Indian land.

INFANCY

553 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collio in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

•553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hosse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L·aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself. 553 454

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupalur*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night. 854

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 862 863 [278 386]

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man passed to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

946 compatriots friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own house, where all her relatives and friends were assembled to celebrate a
899 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the room itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*ejeyewen*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lawe*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take on various the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolo*, red tiger; *Nahuetripel*, leaping tiger; *Lemu*, huanaco; *Meriluan*, ten huanacos; *Lemuilaue*, huanaco's head; *Velu*, snake; *Quilevilu*, three snakes; *Colevilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

Each kuga had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillar (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grass, lizard, pebble, sun or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, dove, tiger, parakeet, Banda, condor, snake, mountain ridge, house, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 311). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kuga name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the Iguana kuga, he would call his son according to circumstances, "white Iguana," "black Iguana," "running Iguana," "woodland shade" (where Iguanas rest in summer), etc. (Hervástadi, 1882, 2:641). 611 553 551

According to Hervástadi (1882, 2:641), sons derived their kuga name from their father's kuga. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same cinga [= kuga]. Latcham, however, (1922 b, pp. 322-26) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kuga element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kuga. According to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 139), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kuga name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 36) and Guevara Silva (1929, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877-78, 1:106; Hervástadi, 1882, 2:641—neither very clear on this point.) 611 551

Members of a given kuga had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and sided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kuga eponym to the kuga members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877-78, 1:5), many "lineages" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Falkner, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the cast went to live with its eponym (1935, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord- 602

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NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 With rare exceptions, it was the father who named his child. The name was selected in several ways: Either the father selected it and talked his choice over with the mother of the child and then bestowed the name unceremonially by merely saying that this was the child's name; or a close relative, such as the grandmother or uncle, said that a child should be called by a certain name and then the father bestowed it, again unceremonially; or the name of someone outside the extended family, possibly, known as a l'aku (namesake), was selected, and his name was given the child at the l'akutun (naming feast). In rare instances the l'aku bestowed the name also. More often a boy's name is bestowed at a l'akutun than that of a girl. There are both masculine and feminine names.

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had named his children unceremonially. He said that his grandmother came to his ruka on each day that one of his children was born and asked him to give the child the Araucanian name that she suggested and that he did so: "When my first child, a son, was born, she told me to call him Rayenllanka (flower magic stone—magic stone used by machi). I gave him this name on the day he was born. We had no ceremony or celebration of any kind. I merely said that Rayenllanka would be the boy's name. When the second son was born, she told me to call him Melillanka (four magic stones). So, I called him that several days after his birth. She asked me to give my daughter the name of her mother, and I did so."

When a child is given its name at a l'akutun, the l'aku either announces that he will do so or the father of the child invites him to do so. The following are essential elements of a l'akutun: the father notifies the l'aku of his desire to use the l'aku's name and gets his permission to do so; the l'aku furnishes a slaughtered lamb or sheep for the feast; either the l'aku or the father provides an alcoholic beverage—formerly it was mudai, today it is chicha; families of relatives and friends are invited; the l'aku holds the child in his arms while the father declares that the child will have the l'aku's name; the l'aku then asks God to protect the child during its life; the day ends in much drinking. An informant described the l'akutun thus: "If a father wants to give his little son the name of an old man, he sends a messenger to the old man to tell him that he would like to take his name for his son. If the old man consents, a day is set for the naming. The father provides chicha (formerly it was mudai) and the

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old man slaughters a sheep. Others are invited. If the old man is rich, he may give the child a horse or a heifer as a gift, and from then on he will continue to give the boy gifts until he is two or three years old. The father names the boy by saying to those present that this old man gives his name to the boy. The old man then takes the boy in his arms and says, 'God care for you. During the remainder of my life, you will be my l'aku. I am your father.' Then the father of the child answers for the child, 'I will be your l'aku. I will be your child.' Then the wife of the old man, if she is there, says, 'I will be your mother. Come to me if ever you are in need.' Then the old man and the father shake hands. From then on that person and the child call each other l'aku. The feast ends with much drinking of chicha. A l'akutun is made so that the name of a grandfather or great-grandfather or some other person will not be lost." 553

There was no set age at which a child was named. Generally, however, it was given a name when less than two years of age; often it was named shortly after birth.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 732-733), the naming feast followed the period of the mother's seclusion after delivery. At the feast a white lamb was sacrificed, at least in more recent years. Some of the blood was sprinkled in the four cardinal directions and the remainder poured into the hole in the ground where the umbilical cord had been deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. Informants of the present study had no knowledge of these customs, except that of the naming feast itself.

Sometimes a boy's name was changed; very rarely, a girl's. If a noted cacique came on a visit, "such as the cacique from the Pacific coast or Loncoche or Pitrufquén," a father might change the name of a young son to that of the cacique, especially if the cacique was also well known because of his oratorical abilities. If a father disliked a young son's name, he might give him a new name. "A boy near here was called Autüman until he was five or six years old. His father disliked this name and changed it to Kallullanka." It also happened that a relative who had been away for a long time came for an unexpected visit. He would walk into a ruka and say, "I want this boy as my namesake. I want the boy to have my name." And from then on "the boy will have this relative's name and he loses his other name." If a boy wishes to have his name changed to that of a relative, the father confers with the relative about it. If all is agreeable, the change will be made at a naming feast held in the boy's home. On rare

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553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matías family did so; its name was Calfín, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfín men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kunpén, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly
756 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llanḳūnagpai (what falls from above); Pinsarayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinsatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Loṇkon after my father who had been named Loṇkon after his grandfather whose name was Loṇkoñanco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

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THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it." 846

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years. 852 304 [553]

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver around." [413]

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727 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people.
587 A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 22 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and liked it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (piche wentru); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Salustiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Traipe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

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best." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name. 553

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The katawe, it seems, was more closely associated with the piercing of the ears (cf. p. 272).

The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants. "We gave our children the names that already existed; from where these came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son Waikillanka; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know." 551

Feminine names differed from masculine ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, Paise, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name Elizabeth to one of your boys."

Some names lent themselves to translation; others did not. Paise had no meaning. Ñamkuche and Ñanci, exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "condor person" or "condor people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were Llankape (green stone formerly used for magic purposes), Treopan (spinning-top lion), Pañiñilu (blue snake), Cheuquepan (ostrich lion), and Waikillanka (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A 25-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was 65 years old.

SURNAMES, NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The [527]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[135] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[182] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of
[169] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[828] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores – in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

867 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowl-
603 edge from one adult generation to another, this situation
593 provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life
829 experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent
603 that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and
613 grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary
[769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his
[601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun*
[553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of seq[illegible] the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-h[illegible] view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and th[illegible] manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family
182 confines, the household or group of most closely related house-
867 holds, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of
[603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

613 769 [553] [585]

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

775 776

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

777 782

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe*
[372] as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when
[763] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

775 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died
[858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children
[563] who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran:* strange or alien; *alwe:* spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and fenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-llankomu*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price." 583

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment. [554 595]

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal. [727]

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[10] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[10] Titiev, 1943, p. 517, footnote 30.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but
733 even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unrewarding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. [554] Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a *werkeu;* and if he combined these qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llafcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (kopcho) entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Mosbach, 1936, pp. 289–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Hosse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1853, 2:891; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 581 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:241); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 20; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 28–29; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Mosbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 208–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Aldea, 1902, p. 20; cf. Mosbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laurelos (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pisarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Minor because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

559 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, 1; 22, 1.)

[965]

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
620 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
994 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
993 ruka, land, cows, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is grouped, it is believed, with disease, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Collaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pastoring them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepin area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a male family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is requested; that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepin area and one in Colueipe area. The Alepin family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Colueipe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, SISTER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

No case of psychosis existed in Pangipulli area while I was there. 158
There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepín area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Cañeripe area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruin close to his aged father's. Having an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruin. "He is working," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruin and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They fortified him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no place for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruin and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boroa area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One may leave home and wander about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and boisterously; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. In 595
Injuanco resided men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the men of caciques, the rauli, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married successive wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional one had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were [554]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for
[407] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would
[433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small
244 plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by
[460] women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep
554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former
[262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their
[262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At
236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra-
232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals
492

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [992] [262] [782]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [554] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [731] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [648] [167]

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios.*

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child
[844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
756 *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
844 seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery
[178] as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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595 589 768 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are 428 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along [613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of [618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance [587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[7] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[7] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[9]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[9] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallatun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallatun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared. 796 782 [535] [535]

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time. 796 574 796 574 431 [564] [608]

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other. 796 [782]

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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[86] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more
[554] common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies: only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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756 845 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery— [554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and [199] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapuchcland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impossible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *fillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *fillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 [769] [796]

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in movable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to many outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxoriously if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly no correlation between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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756 shamanism and the dandi side of the universe. Even if not
759 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestism only during
562 performances, the male machi is "ugly" and "unmanageable" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his
avid and unusual dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest
that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche think-
ing since time immemorial and that, in this important respect,
there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the lineal lineage
759 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 machi, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by kalku and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the machi's
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural
machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom
she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits,
female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands
supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands
aloof from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands
outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete
set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the
governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality
in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche
life.

Kalku: Modelling the Forces of Evil

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
99 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of experiential
quality, consistency, and reliability. Some of the recorded
myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-
century vintage they are labeled. The impoverishment and incom-
pleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the
Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger
at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of
considerable significance, in distinguishing a kalku from a
machi. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions,
this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Misfortunes short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the level of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

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Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (almost) is seldom openly charged. He will might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have witchcraft in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an offense to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other considerate mostly have the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

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The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only ritually related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or lynched, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

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symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

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There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

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There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
602 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
613 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
578 large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the ti[illegible] of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites. 772 554 613 602 578

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers. 772 431 554 571

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The 583 613 602 554 [114]

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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriсe is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan:* the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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582 [671] Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *fiillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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T A 648

the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

A 574 264 445 262

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

A [291 411] [861]

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

A 622 554

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

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622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
244 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- 622
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[28] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[29] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[30] Several early sources re-

[28] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[29] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[30] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous
[595] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
622 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
593 ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees. 593 556

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove. 423 554 593 554 593 [736] [736]

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief. [609]

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the 593 562

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

423 621 622 [556 565]

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

622

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

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221 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity
for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and
233 therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds be-
556 longing to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 195 hectares, approximately 180 are

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservationland when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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562 423 179 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 433 562 179 [552] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In preservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo division, a woman, as original radicado or as heir of a male radicado, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 591 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

[425] [423] 613 [27] 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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dictions of Guevara and Tiniev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They delight in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual has to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ckul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Tiniev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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These accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically mundane. 764 [893]

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *ewu* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *ewu* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the ceremonial cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by kalku and converted into *machimalku*, a fate which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery. 764 766 184

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the mournings much longer than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions 766 556

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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766 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attend-
556 ing. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are
622 the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate
[537] details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 *The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun*

The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population
[178] density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 [769] [796]

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a man or woman may address as chau a man from whom assistance is sought. 593

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help whenever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by laying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The fathers of families." A Coñaripe father told of a discussion held by "The fathers of families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and noted that he expected to be given a piece. "I must see to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family. [558]

According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least 20 years younger than the old Coñaripe man—had not heard of the custom. Two Alepúe women, one 80 years of age, the other 46, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Araucanians today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for reciprocal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a 22-year-old man brought his 19-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolonged headache, to an herbalist. After stating that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a ruka a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Araucanian herbalist heard an eldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman as a second wife. Most boys in an Alepúe school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the [684] baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 583
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is 584
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 836
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

584 836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would 848 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being 578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri- 558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love [836] affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the [692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of [839] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum- [692] stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llaúcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:691; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 308–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruíz Aldea, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

855 Coñaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [561] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋaillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

868 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting 841
Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de- [831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[12] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606]
father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [432]
that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had
married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607
regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592
who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *medomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[13]

[12] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[13] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at
the mission station in Chokchol, but also when I visited a small
877 rural school at Maiaiche, in the company of Juan Antinao.
Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural read-
562 justment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from popula-
582 tion changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 536 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[29] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom 592 continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds 582 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[29]The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a 756
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuvu*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 681
victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands 756
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of canelo planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Polygamy was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though [B38]
not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *longo*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *pawa*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the machitun or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, 681
religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he 682
can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone [562]
interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaykas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [736]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. [736]
The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

593 head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or
562 questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls
[761] in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.' "

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so. 593 562

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then." 593 578 [626]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen 593

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Caniulaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepóe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ŋillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe. [631]

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antelef Huetra, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." 622 [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepóe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ŋillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Mehuin, had no son to inherit his position, so the oldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Ispan

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

243 the land and another did the seeding; each furnished two sacks of wheat, that is, half of the seed needed. "And today we harvested the grain, six sacks in all—a profit of one sack for each of us. It is a poor harvest." Another informant owned land but no oxen and no seed. He had to give up his oxen as payment on a mortgage. A neighbor plowed the land and furnished the seed. Both men together seeded the land, and together they harvested it. Each got one-half of the harvest. When I asked a man if his wife seeded the land that belonged to her, he answered somewhat indignantly, "The land may [562] belong to her, but after all she does not rule over it; the man does that!"

Fields and gardens, it is believed by many, should be planted when the moon is waning. "It is the only time that the moon has strength." If rain interferes when the moon is waning, planting should then be done between the first quarter and full moon; never at full moon, new moon, or when there is no moon.

Complaints were made in all areas against small green-colored parrots (choroy, yawilma) that come in large flocks, practically every year, immediately after the wheat has been planted, and do much damage by pecking the kernels from the soil. Small children are sent to run back and forth in the fields to keep the parrots on the wing. "Finally the parrots get angry, give much back talk and fly away," said a little girl, quite amused.

Wheat, in the early days, was harvested by plucking the ears by hand, as previously described. Today it is cut with an iron sickle secured in a wooden handle. The spread of the opening of a sickle, observed in use in Cofiaripe area, was 7 inches; the handle 5 inches in length. The cutting edge of the blade had been serrated with a knife and was kept keen with a porous stone of volcanic origin found in the area.

The one who cuts the wheat grasps a half dozen stalks, more or less, with one hand a little below the ear (with little finger toward the earth), applies the sickle about 6 inches below the little finger, bends the stalks over the sickle away from the body, pulls the sickle toward the body, cuts the ears off, and lays them to the side, on stubbles. When enough grain has been cut to fill two outstretched arms, someone passes along, piles it up, and carries it by armfuls to an oxcart (pl. 35, *1*, *2*). This is done if the grain is thoroughly ripe; if it is not thoroughly ripe, and there is no rain forecast, it may be cut one day and hauled away the following. All members of the family, including small children, assist in harvesting. Anyone having a right to a share in the harvest of a particular field will assist in the reaping.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá. 621

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 621 622 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shaihueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillen	Curriumil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30-40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Panilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ñillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration. 622

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, [556] [591] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] [423] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to [158] periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684] been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626] in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[3] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[3] [i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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567 613 621 618 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 562 754 An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 562 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[572] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence.

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses. 613 562 [502]

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup. 613 178

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth. [621] [166] [169]

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 664
pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664
themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666
groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political in- [622]
fluence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666
vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 562
the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there
are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few [242]
women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666
is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting
hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns [203]
and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208]
in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they
are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [613]

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, [408] especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re- [596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [460] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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component of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [329]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resided on, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government list. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have extended theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 723 [648]

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In ex-
621 tenso, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intereservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
613 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu am*, *pu laku*, *kuifiche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuka*. While it is to *ñenechen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuka*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillifucha* and his wife *huillikushe*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

276 [769]

While the *kupuka* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillifucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sea), *trelkenfucha/kushe* or, sometimes, *pillanfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *ñenechen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *ñenechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

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of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran:* strange or alien; *alwe:* spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe are ghosts of dead adults as anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* repeesents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kelku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ñillatufe: The Chief as Priest. Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769
ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613
cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764]
the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am*, *pu laku*, *kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769
matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* 613
may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562.
female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783]
possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754]
by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613
to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602
is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

756 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not
554 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
794 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of repertorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

12; Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

772 554 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

772 562 769 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 562 There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. [623]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorceres by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulwachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of those sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 One cannot study the economics and material culture of the
241 contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

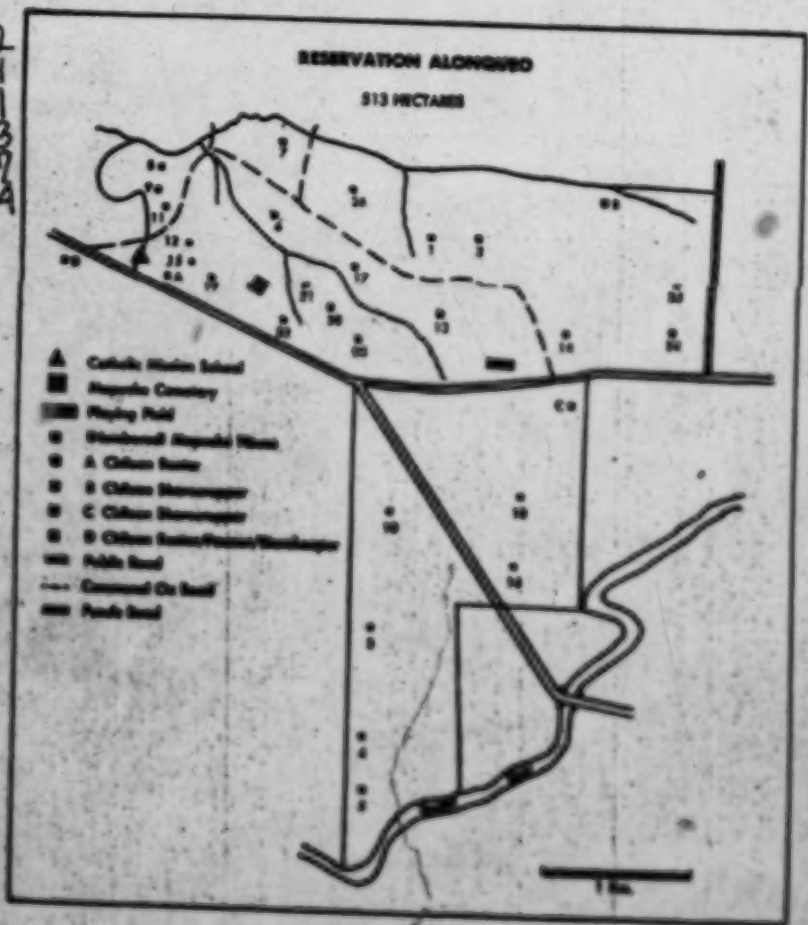
177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
•[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

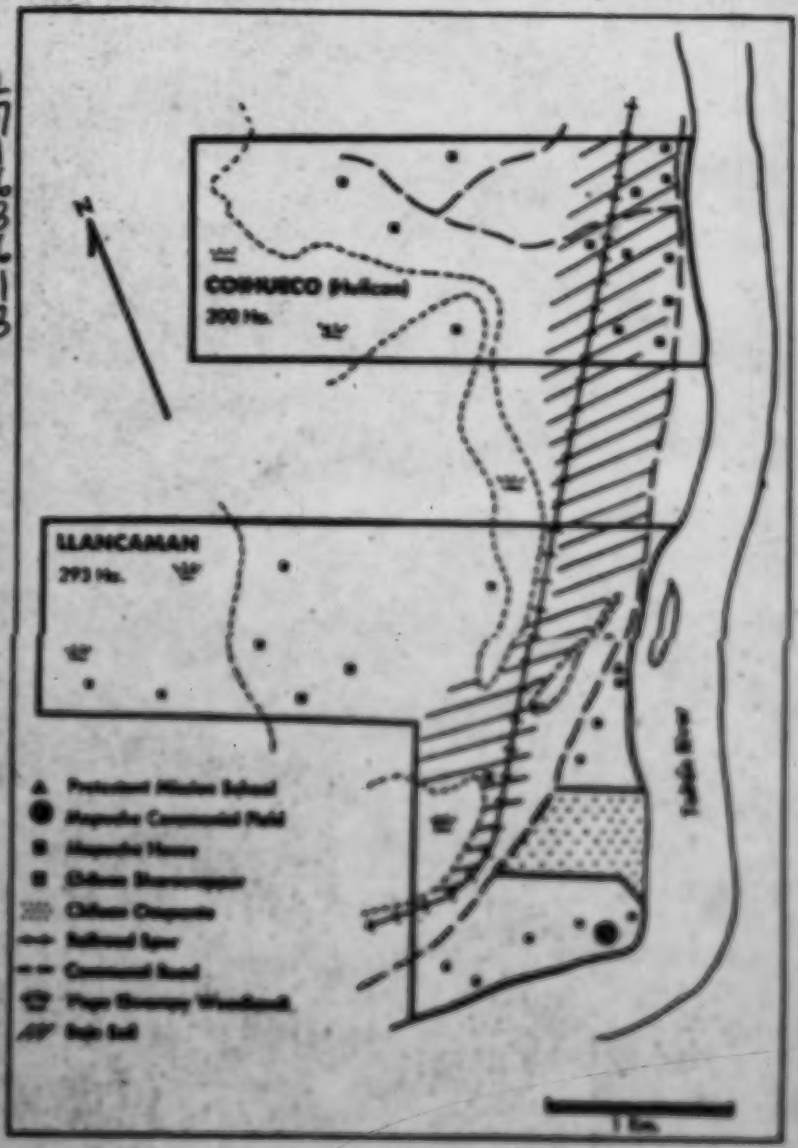
102
361
491
563
997
764



Map II

Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

102
797
361
996
523
496
491
133



Map III

[p. 56]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Lumollin (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *división*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded occupant status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential occupants on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 17 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of radicación. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of radicación was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward nuclearity and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding corn, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[I.E. OF RESERVATION MAPUCHAN--ANDEAN]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first.
264 They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males
415 sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *tiowa cori*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *potki cori*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *mote* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *algæ*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of food is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sun-
612 down. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of cartilar or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes
568 among the Araucanians, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term Bidcahuin, "la mitad de una rugua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:92, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Hosne, 1939, p. 209–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1852, 2:591; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 20; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 39–59; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 209–69.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or clan-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Aldea, 1902, p. 20; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 424

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his lf'mun, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (mulil) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the lf'mun; and very poor people—these were the lifu. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, pre-free head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the lf'mun class fell into the lifu class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifu. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in collectivizing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quorum consisted between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchupulce; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vuga Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchupulce. Then came the great malón (raid), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche -Huilliche

in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Araucanians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a nascent system of peonage.

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by reservation life and the allotment program is the disintegration of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Patrilocal and unilocal residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bonds of attachment were fostered by assemblies at which the retainers of one or two friendly *lekkes* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their men into fighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *lekko* was expected to supervise the training of his retainers' children, and through his *werkes* to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 000

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awtin (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kollai (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean. 515 [881]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 721

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Marifio de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Ofia, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
longed to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Some- [567]
times captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:289–90, for the "Pehuenche" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alapie boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 597 593

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 597

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 357

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SE

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintalual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

T A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A T A 586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calfioura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Checoque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

●567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt A our colloquy.

439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of 137 Checoque's toldos, where animals were lassoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for T a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been A cheated by the Picunche thieves.

439 Towards evening Checoque sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

•567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official weupin
574 (also orator) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[687] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one weupin from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

964 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the unsealed coffin on the *lleti*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rahit*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal weupin
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *lleti* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (men) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or chicha. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horseflesh, are
•57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilineally
682
262

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Mapuche

linked chiefs and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keystone of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and consist in *weupin* the explicit and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupinfe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy orations over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendships. These are the chiefs of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin*, *misha*, or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship. 476 [613] [608] [571] [572] [628]

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well. 469 [471] [197] [465] [556] [156]

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *forraros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually [648]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses. 562 613 621 618 [496]

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons—and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage. [571] [593]

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [535] [641] [641]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

11:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sanctioned, rather than innocuous as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are fonts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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Mapuche

and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at any funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and ethnal cap of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of woe and dilution. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expansion and involving the sentimental participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kowe piñche*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen -- those of his lineage and that of his wife -- and considerate participant. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the union of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in use of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the lines of

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to land. Chilean political power can and has thwarted time and again to repeal reservation law and fetcrate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened again with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and conflicting political-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional ties generally follow sublineage lines of organization and that loyalties and unities are more strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units connected to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unclear, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly vuelta mano, the medieria or half-share system, and minguen.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the sine qua non of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, vuelta mano agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are mates. Vuelta mano arrangements, conformed ceremonially, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families in new generations mutatis.

The medieria system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditures. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by local considerations of propriety but by lineal restrictions and prohibitions, the traditional expression of which (*ulwapu*) is matrilineality. 613 582 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilineal system is phrased partly in terms of enmity. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal enmity. All Mapuche lineal relatives—consanguines who are not of the locality—are potential sorcerers. To break the matrilineal pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is mistrust on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the moral and material road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other to-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay bridepoint (*mañwe*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving ("wife-providing*") group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 [illegible]

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

* When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mañwe* is used; when discussing bridepoint with the bride's agnates, the term *wallalwe* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallalwe* signifying "the provision on side of a young woman." The commonly drop *mañwe* and "*wallalwe*" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them." This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*filleu*: to
583 purchase, also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
those whom they pay for wives *weke* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *filleu* and wife-givers as *weke*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and
finally solemnized that the relative indemnity of the wife-
receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance,
and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value,
the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride
brings in dowry.* The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts
of submission indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-
giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in
574 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] * I am not considering personal bridegroom here. In general, though, it may be
said that the wife-receiving group is left to bother complained against the
wife-giving group. The expected ill will of the receiving group toward wife-
giver is always there, sometimes equally, of not varying for the women they
receive in marriage, of saying that their dowry is always upon (which, in fact,
it is not) to their essential sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[578] [578] complain differ with passing, under certain adverse circumstances. In this
latter action is something of the idea that unlikely inferior persons of little
means practice enmity against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy
men (*filleu*).

* In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer more often to
land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *ñi*, and really
signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, working tools, etc., which, in
any event, indicates: 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-
conquistan phenomenon which took the place first land acquired in greater
importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some substitution exchange is
necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron, *infra* note).

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is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

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While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the institution of bridegroom payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social solidarity of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a loan which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-giver, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-giver saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

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During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special arts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnatics. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due the presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such ceremonial acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the bridegroom animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those associated group themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun*: bridepriceⁱ), a ceremony connected with the distribution of bridepriceⁱ. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral endogamy and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñiluwthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wenpin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prescribed and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affinship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

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During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñiluu* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-giveⁿs, their "scoiⁿs" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of bridepriceⁱ proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *füllatun* or *ewn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *füllatun* and *ewn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *lawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *füllatun* ceremony and the compelling *ewn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *fücnechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *füllatun* and *ewn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weue l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horseneat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

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Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which usually through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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613 602 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineages and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this overlapping of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most intimately and [illegible] involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the affinal congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between the regional congregational expression of *ceremonial*, affiliation, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, there there are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the circulation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *ewn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocal-ized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571.

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
598 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[597] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[57] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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[754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

On inquiring into the prevalence of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a [178 [753] result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [756 female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Malicious[ness] short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ilmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witrunelw* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually small, since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, so one is no-portend of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to connect relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *mishu*, *trafkin*, and *kowlaton*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Mishu*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are incapable of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *mishu* with *ta-and-so* or *ada* another person to become *mishu*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people frequently involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and counterchanges of sorcery. And so with *kowlaton*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Kowlaton*, a formal and public (during difficult ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *kowlaton* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

Ib. Farm E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 602 571 788 632 182 perpetuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust flows through their closest kinsmen. *Trefkin* and *koschotun* are practiced between males; *machi* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the persistence of fear of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A consideration of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

791 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of
121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention
772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in
582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the idational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association
121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an
182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For
772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly
121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make
582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in
571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions
[577] which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed. 121 772 591 582 577

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the prominence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left. 772 591

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated. 772 779 577

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
hai hai	*ten ten*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

even well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and protecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when someone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presages ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and cease to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatufe* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *kouchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, twin twin, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

12: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, 972
little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized 554
on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members 613
of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political 202
and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in 554
any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the 578
original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer and opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, where livings were high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, 792
although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least tem- 431
porarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies 554
such as trafilu and kanelahue, in which gift-giving is important, 554
the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and 571
receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewu* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal 583
exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly incon- 613
sistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The 202
554
[114]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
[578] siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachá*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachá* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of
[609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *fuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor
[587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun*
● 572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16]

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans.

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389-91; and Hoppe, 1939, pp. 207-8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lowie, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this. 302 [301] [515]

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes." 832

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band inclined with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned. 301

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy looked sullen and slouched against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty. 56

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends." 572

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

157 Games played by children of the same age group. During recess periods the more three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

159 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver necklpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

151 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepúe, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Corral, and Puerta Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

302 could be better seen—it being a warm day she had already removed her shawl. She resented the request, said something about modesty, scolded, straightened her apron, put on her shawl and pinned it properly (the kapam was nearly completely covered by now!), shooed away the children, posed, and said, "Bueno!" One day in Alepúe area a man galloped along the Pacific beach on horseback to catch up with me to say that an airplane had come within five yards of the ground where he happened to be examining a fence; in fact, it was so close that he could see the man sitting in the cockpit—something he had not expected to happen in his lifetime. He was filled with surprise and excitement. His horse, with head high, snorted. The setting was perfect for a photograph. When asked to halt a moment to have his picture taken, he answered, "Nothing doing! Nothing doing! Not in this torn pants." (His pants at the knees showed four distinct layers of patches.) He swung his horse around, called once more with emphasis, "Not in this old pants!" and galloped away.

FRIENDSHIPS

572 Sincere and lasting friendships existed. Close friends were usually relatives. "I have noticed that always two women who are particular friends are related," said a non-Araucanian; "the same is true of men." A 21-year-old man wanted his 24-year-old distant relative in a photograph with himself. "He is my best friend," he remarked. "I ask him for things sometimes, and he gives them to me; he seldom asks me for anything, for he is richer than I am. We also ask to use each other's things. He and I are not like brothers; we are best friends. Everybody has a special friend." It was noted, however, that an occasional man and woman did not have a very close friend.

Occasionally in former times two unmarried men, or two married men and their families, gave expression to their mutual friendship in a get-together known as konchotun; if the expression of friendship was one between two women or a woman and a man, it was called mechatun. (Cf. also Cooper, 1946, pp. 727, 743.) Essential characteristics of both konchotun and mechatun were sincere mutual respect and the presentation of a lamb or sheep by one friend to the other followed by eating together an ample meal—not the lamb or sheep received as a gift, but one supplied by the recipient.

An informant described a konchotun between two men as follows: "This is done only where deep, deep friendship exists. A man will bring a lamb or a sheep to his friend as a gift. The friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own lambs or sheep and prepares

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a mechatun for you. There has been no mechatun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the nillatun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, accord- 576
ing to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality."

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In 574
general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a lasso, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital; possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership.

429 648 [188] [186] [621]

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 496 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

[572] [454]

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an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the posi[illegible] of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. [527]

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
[583] the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[572] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be e[illegible]ated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bri[illegible]pture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appea[illegible]at bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

[583] Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
[illegible] drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
● 574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

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girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakudun*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *uñam domo* ("loose woman"). 584 836

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakeltun*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakelchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakelchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss. 584 [583]

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakelchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. As the festiv- 584 574

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 231–69; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

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574 584 ities proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayükulen*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected 583 to parry.[9] "*C'est de bon ton*," as Housse expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rañiñelwe*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rañiñelwe* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the *ñillanentun*, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Housse, 1939, p. 242.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "mock rape." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[18]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer [762] suicide to any other arrangement.[19] The rarity of divorce is also 586 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his 595 previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[18] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[19] Cf. Hosse, 1939, p. 240.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ASSEMBLIES, GAMES, AND CEREMONIES

ASSEMBLIES

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796

Large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *ngillatun* are important features of Araucanian culture.[1] Their impact on the lives of the people can best be appreciated in the light of certain aspects of their social organization. It must be recalled that Mapuche communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion and a corresponding lack of communal activities. Throughout the year there is a fair amount of intrareservation visiting, but contacts with other reductions are quite rare, especially in the cold and rainy season when roads wash out and travel is all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every settlement tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

> The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings . . . are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants,[2] to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place,[3] to celebrate a holiday . . . or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability. Whatever their particular aims may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.[4]

Notwithstanding the variety of purposes underlying these reunions, they seem to follow a similar pattern, and even the

[1] These words may be variously spelled, and some writers try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All public assemblies have so many points in common that it seems permissible to treat them together. Cf. Rubio, 1912, p. 171.

[2] McBride (1936, p. 311) described a congress held to discuss land problems.

[3] A meeting of this sort is reported in Rubio, 1912, pp. 171–81.

[4] Titiev, 1948, pp. 3–4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *rañiñtripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[8] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarriñe, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *loñko* or cacique would send his *werkens* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *loñko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *ñunechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimuntuwe*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[9] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[8] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que vuelve el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[9] *Pimuntuwes* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 36–38.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *küllatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *ñuwe weu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *lekko purun*. Latcham said that *ñuwe weu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Marquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Uxilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 621 [57] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of uxilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-50.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

684 Where a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

685 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to
[illegible] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the *Araucanos*, and during
935 their fêtes the most unbridled lewdness prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as uncivil and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same fire or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lows.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four national divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lauquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region. *Inlcunu-mapu* or level land was the central valley. *Inapire-mapu*

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it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who founded his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's rules. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feeds the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a lonchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lowdown." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a lonchotun for you. There has been no lonchotun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a lonchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out in the gilletun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in age. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality." 576

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and 574

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574

walk toward him, especially if the visitor has been inivted or if there is a barking dog nearby. Should an unexpected visitor be approaching or an unexpected person be accompanying the invited visitor, the door of the ruka is closed and no one appears on the scene until all is in readiness within the ruka. Visitors, in such instances, linger at a little distance, awaiting the opening of the door and a call to enter, or they await the appearance of someone who will give a greeting of welcome. If neither of these happens within a reasonable time, the visitor may knock on the door. If there is no response, he leaves the place knowing that he is not welcome at that particular time. On one occasion my companions and I met no response and consequently left the place. When we were well on our way over the top of a hill, we saw the woman and her children leave the ruka for a bath in a river nearby. The following day we were met by the woman some distance from the ruka and given a hearty welcome, but no explanation was offered for the preceding day's silence. The woman had merely done the customary thing. On another occasion the interpreter wished to deliver some medicines at a ruka we were passing en route to another family. She walked up to the ruka and called the woman's name. When we were still some distance from the ruka, we had seen the woman and her two little girls enter it and close the door. When there was no response, the interpreter remarked that in all probability the ruka was not in order, and we walked on. On our way home the woman stood outside the open door and greeted us. We chatted a little in her yard, and then she invited us to enter her ruka. Low benches had been set and covered, and the little girls were in their best dresses.

When a visitor is expected at a ruka, either a sheep pelt or woven throw is placed on each low bench or low chair or on the floor, close to the fireplace. In a ruka to which we had been invited to observe the making of mote (wheat cooked with ashes, cf. pp. 206-207) the mother ordered a child to replace a sheep pelt with a newly woven throw. "Certainly, child," the mother said, "we must give visitors our best; that is only being courteous!" One is seated only after he has shaken hands with everyone present, including anyone busy near the ruka or in the garden who comes in to shake hands and then returns to his work. Once seated, one inquires about the health and well-being of all the members of the family, and for the whereabouts of those not present. Similar questions are asked of the visitor. This done, one begins to tell the purpose of the visit. Never, under any circumstances, does one begin with one's business immediately upon being seated. We noticed that all men and women—in some instances

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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ŋillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ñillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 828 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

●574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversa-
[648] tion were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that." 574 576 867

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it. 867

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

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834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ŋishem or ŭshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

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576 tains is treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented my assistant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would make a good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." Always persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from everyone when using a handkerchief.

In general, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demonstrating activities or showing objects that we were learning about. Specimen plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demonstrated; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, walked long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried our luggage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated to make a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would take too much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in making the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. When we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." He thought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I shall make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he returned with the cradle (pl. 74, *1, 2*) and explained how he had made it. This done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This is for you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him Kolupan."

574 Hospitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so today. Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one adopted from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we arrived in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to express a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped by someone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with a man in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering it, he made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my assistant, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, "Now let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, often by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our arrival at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, *1*), he walked briskly toward us, shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had arrived, and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and children had quickly prepared benches for us.

An expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to yerba maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up these mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté with a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught

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and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

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804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach
[517] a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons
[516] squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatves."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever.' A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fəta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋənechén; at the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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272 children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

[574]

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[i.e. yerba maté. -Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 594 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult 868 857 233 [885]

WORK.

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community. [594]

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage. [589]

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die. 834 593

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system. 596

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen*'s house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of sorrow on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*welufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *welufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurkawin*: black

764 152 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much drinking and the performance of spontaneous *ensalpullon*, during which the mourners hurl invectives at the forces of evil who

783 are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *ewu* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *ñilliatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *ewu* (coriolemont).

764 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the

574 wailing and mandlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *ewu* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *nutatun* (curing, sustaining), *kurkawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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velati *wake* (*velati*: *velorio* or *wake*; *wake*: *night*), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574.
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *ad*wapu. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [188]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [301]
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corpse through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173]
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[637] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as
he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not
wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to
approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be
closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and
other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the
deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—
is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the
surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects
were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for
the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small
pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this
manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the
dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until
the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin
was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily
cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and
its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral
ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the
immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There
is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
682
262

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participat-
ing reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congrega-
tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178]
vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take
up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of
ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive
everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are
responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to
ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the
ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among
the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to
obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At
the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes
its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the
proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a
repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual
falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early
afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants
and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial
field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each
closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is
always this repetition, even though there should be only a
morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared. 796 782 [535] [535]

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time. 796 574 796 574 431 [564] [608]

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other. 796 [782]

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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[574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility [illegible] elders, composed [illegible] (usually all elders of the three reservations) [illegible] arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been com[illegible] fourth year, the primary [illegible] reservation A and a new [illegible]

Each year, as indicated [illegible] that a *ñillatun* [illegible] either A, B, or C [illegible]

[1] This triple di[illegible] cheland, but othe[illegible]

[2] I do not us[illegible] a more preci[illegible] to this point, [illegible] consisting min[illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Cringoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was [illegible] came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which [illegible] sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches call it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women [illegible] the poncho, except, instead of two parts with a [illegible] the head to pass through, it consists [illegible] was perfectly new [illegible] daughters.

After a [illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat. T 784 T A

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of [illegible] attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening [illegible] evil spirit. After this my brother [illegible] of the ceremonies, hand[illegible] were soon very com[illegible] retired, in compa[illegible] whom was [illegible] of a distu[illegible]

439 T A. 574 273 T A [788]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlemento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolu-

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This [illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622
ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Cheoeque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Cheoeque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the
from his Tehuelche mother,
jects, exhibited a lurking
er was rather sardonic. He
and was disposed to despise
act, it was plain that he re-
reason, as superior to all the
not subject to him.
of the Araucanians had re- 142
eding to look up the horses,
by some of the Picunches.
ountenance decidedly differ-
, that of the Araucanians,
stinguished by their darker
y courteous, asking how I 000
and what sort of a place
sed when I told them it
referring to Devonshire,
all our conversation was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 354

000 carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having A taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. 326 Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the T A precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

574 On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of 273 horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him [352 and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter 534] playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[622] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Cheoeque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llaŭcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:691; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 308–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruíz Aldea, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
724 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a
493] considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 800

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. guyde; Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awin (awu), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kallai (quillay, Quillaja saponaria) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean. 515 [891]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 721

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHAKING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

857 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same
576 courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñë ñi penen" or "Kimñë pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche ñen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

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it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who feasted his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a mechatun for you. There has been no mechatun in this area for some years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out at the pillatun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, accord- 576
ing to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in ages. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in making contacts, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality."

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In 574
general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that." 574 576 867

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it. 867

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 864 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

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576 tains is treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented my assistant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would make a good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." Always persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from everyone when using a handkerchief.

In general, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demonstrating activities or showing objects that we were learning about. Specimen plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demonstrated; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, walked long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried our luggage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated to make a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would take too much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in making the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. When we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." He thought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I shall make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he returned with the cradle (pl. 74, *1, 2*) and explained how he had made it. This done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This is for you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him Kolupan."

574 Hospitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so today. Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one adopted from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we arrived in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to express a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped by someone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with a man in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering it, he made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my assistant, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, "Now let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, often by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our arrival at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, *1*), he walked briskly toward us, shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had arrived, and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and children had quickly prepared benches for us.

An expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to yerba maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up these mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté with a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught

the meal wh
be offered to
who arrive before
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or [484]
in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their [492]
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The 764
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the 574
llañi, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is 576.
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of
the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the 764
men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the 574
formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the [537]
ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

A 648
T A [576]
A [291]

fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being A
made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, [137]
strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the
butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused A 576
me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning
against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it,
as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as
a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed
that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright A
in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, 431
besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave 000
of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it
had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an
agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on
our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success
of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much T
lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom 158
a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event
of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night pre- 000
vious to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in
the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd
belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in
various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed
the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock,
to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same
spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's
toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other
Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were
already on the highroad to recovery.

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r husband, he was at liberty to inflict what
recover from the adulterer whatever value
at case becoming the property of the payer.
to her father as damaged goods, insisting on
ack.

unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at
once married, however, they are generally modest,
chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is
common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to
village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky
circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while
robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however,
in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in
common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages,
and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to
a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking
forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at
hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and
descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with
any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest
brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood.
This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish
Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person
is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is
considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and
it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their
jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal
endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual
strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country
divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of
them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Larquen-mapu* was the sea-land or
coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

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762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in midair."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martin de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
• 577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland? 577 182 602

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
• 577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes
[671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
571 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[577] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescrip tive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of 121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention 772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in 582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association 121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an 182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For 772 one thing, must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly 121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make 582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in 571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions [577] which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
welufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (reñil)	afterworld (wenumapu)
hal hal	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and *[illegible]* means "right." Whichever word, *wele* or simply *wele* and *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piuke-man* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gestures to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. When beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 592 [578] The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachū*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachū* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of [609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor [587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 572 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders. 177

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere [578] apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school.

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating 177 the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction 871 conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman 539
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai 539
eimi palelai

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were 754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its 787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, 764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *entren* and *cutranquetro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34] 648 [702]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35] 186 702 [727]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been. 184 648 578

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed suzerainty over all of the allareguas from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective suzerainty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local, 631

33 *Idem*, pp. 105, 133.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Mármolejo, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 83. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 270, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xauquenada" (*idem*, pp. 241-242; Nájera, p. 60). Through acts of terror the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-52).

38 Mármolejo, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

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arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

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should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so.

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chilenas; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then."

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[626]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen

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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ñillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman,
● 578 or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian
828 teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non- [838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

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brother over the ownership of a ruka: "When my father died my brother took his place in our family; I was still small then. Before my mother died, a year ago, she gave me this ruka—she and I were living in it; my brother had married and lived in his own ruka. I have lived here since my mother died. And now my brother lays claim to the ruka. He has repeatedly asked me recently to live with him and his family. I have told him that I will not come to live with him—his wife uses bad expressions. Since then he does not come to see me; nor does he talk to me; he passes me by on the road without a greeting." 578

Simultaneous wives were known to quarrel occasionally, but in general there was little dissention among them. Instances of prolonged quarreling between husband and wife existed in all areas, but were reported as of rare occurrence; usually the woman gives in; an occasional one does not. "The Mapuche woman is humble. She is obedient, even if her husband is quarrelsome," said a non-Araucanian.

Quarrels between two intoxicated men are frequent; often they end in lively fist fights. Such men will give each other black eyes, will bruise or cut each other's faces, and then on the following day will transact a joint business with a third man. "Neither one seems to mind the beating he got from the other," said the informant.

Prolonged family feuds seldom occur; one was known to exist during the present study. Short-lived quarrels between families, however, arise sporadically. One cause is neglecting to keep fences repaired to prevent cattle from breaking through and damaging crops. Quarrels between schoolchildren are sometimes taken up by their respective families. Sides are taken and members exchange hasty words. If feelings become strained, public opinion is sought. Because of a quarrel, a man closed up a fence, thereby shutting off a path used by schoolchildren. The father of the children asked the teacher: "Do you think that this is just? We have had a path through that man's land and another family's land and our land for years. No one has ever objected. And now this man does what no man ever should do: treat other people's children badly. Tell me, do you think he is fair?"

Anger is expressed by the father of a family more often than by any other person. He may vent his anger on both his wife and children, but more particularly his wife, in words or beatings.

An exasperated person—adult or child—will say of or to another: "You stupid person" (pofo), or "You senseless person" (wedwed), or more rarely "You devil" (wekufü). Angry adults may call each other dog in Spanish, something quite evidently not of Mapuche origin since the Mapuche word for dog (trewa) is not used in anger.

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578 "It would not mean the same." Vile expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants preferred not to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are sex words related to men. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists among common insulting terms "ghost," "dog," and "toad," and, as worst of all, "sorcerer." He directs the reader (1946, p. 729) to Guevara (1911, pp. 50-56) for a list including grosser insults.

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Araucanians, "even in old days." He spoke it in low tones in Araucanian. His wife and daughter murmured displeasure, in fact slight horror. He translated it as meaning, "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that one Mapuche can say to another."

578 152 Murder is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Araucanian woman who was married to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarreling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, so the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Araucanian land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The immediate relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant continued: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not uphold anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

754 Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fields through witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous machi (one of three simultaneous wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the machi was accused of poisoning them.

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [727] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[304] number of the Mapuche—an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1955, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[598] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year. 423 425 [691]

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy. 496 [511] [182] [822]

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions. 121 496 182

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sections of the country. 496 [914] [177]

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingaros* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [373] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated. 664 621 622

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder. 578

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family 621 622 578

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621 heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *divi-*
621 *sión*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity
578 tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as impor-
tant a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [498] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a landholding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [166] [578] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 583
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is 584
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 856
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [754]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker — outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since [628]
there is no possible compromise such as payment — no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public — at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth.
There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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582 601 613 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men [598] increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). 582 [423] [167] [589]

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. [595] [578] 601 121

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, 613 584 [622]

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613
greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining domi- 621
nant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of 178
lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of
reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact
that they controlled land at the time of registration and because
they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this
claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578]
lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under
pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights
of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose
about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601]
lineages are sometimes, in anger, called winka (outsider), there [578]
by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of
the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Subdivision

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its 613
sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs
importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal
lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheri- 621
tance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

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613 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be
621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in
425 which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a
share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
627 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by
578 monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in
Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of
witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the
other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business
sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights
not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that
matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of
ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the
kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most
always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal
for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the
reservation, except for disputes between members of different
sublineages.

613 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consid-
182 eration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of
Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter
economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such
disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a
consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially
noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which
makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and
which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher genera-
tions. Contention among members of the localized lineage is
confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a
practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and
approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it
is essential for the living membership to converge on a common
ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive
tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social
action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to sp-

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[8] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*fillan*: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *fillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[9] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgement on the marriage proposal and

[578] [8] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *fillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter sense is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy users (*ulmen*).

[9] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-conversion phenomenon which took the after form land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some substitutive exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1960:107).

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the wizzmalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 789
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the wizzmalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden
bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the
house for the wizzmalwe. The wizzmalwe approached at a
gallop, drank the fachi at one gulp, and then toured off the
wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral
to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the
secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 789
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are
alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation
offers. Other encounters with wizzmalwe are often more lugubri-
ous, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The
Mapuche jokingly call wizzmalwe the mounted Chilean police-
men, who sometimes ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and outside large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 789
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with wizzmalwe and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is
the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying.
After a startling experience, people can return to the relative
security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are overpowered, however, and must be dealt with condition- [578].
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility
against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the chonqueñwe described earlier. In the Limmilla region, south 789
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my
residence of a young woman lost to a wulé chonqueñwe. A 752
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and
people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from
that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night.
The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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lineage ranges to wide-ranging groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (vampire). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

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I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the wee spirit along a straight road to the halcyon otherworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an inevitable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of gaudifellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is consolidated.

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Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest paternal

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* This attitude appears to be a lineal function of money in the contact under consideration. It tends to maximize the status gain by making it more and more, even for a man in many lineal a fully-established wide-giving group. We therefore have a collaboration of social obligations by reciprocal and multiple alliance between two hundred lineages, and the collaboration of the standing alliance one among the membership. The accumulation of alliance groupings with social propagation, to the extent that this extends beyond kin, social and economic relationships, by leading to a greater social standing and trust, which makes for more successful transactions sanctioned by the social order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the welufe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the consecration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sanctioned marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the crib, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
62 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of *any* action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
755 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *rehu*, her haunt,

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683 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

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The Sisterhoods

754 756 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, fasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of [172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *rewu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition [184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [986] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 591 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *halku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
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Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublin-
578 eages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and counterchargs of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and dramatis personae of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of multilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
598 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in
598 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by decomphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
593 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[642] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[642] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to 754
accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather 578
than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, 593
difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They [521]
seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumptions) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to [756]
obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher 754
incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than 613
within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I 621
believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated consistent lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own lineagroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted compensatory murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 628 578 interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [994] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *fillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
681 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *fillon* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
559 with respect to *fillon*, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
578 large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively superior social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by reference of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as machitún and kawchetun, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the core ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (rokill), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper burial of rokill binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting intensity-superiority of gift-receiver and gift-giver.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Pehuenches

The jealousy existing between Foyel and Chocoque, which 578
had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief and Quintelual to the south, and all the Araucanos of their following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible aloof, and abstained from sharing in the jovialities, while the Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintelual marched off their followers in regular array, and proceeded homewards followed by many of the Tehuelches, the great races which it had been settled to hold being abandoned in consequence of the uneasy state of feeling and the consequent fears of a quarrel: the fight in that case would have been an obstinate one, as Chocoque's forces would not have been much too strong for their opponents, although outnumbering them. We had been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to receive us, as we only counted ninety horses, but it transpired that some were concealed in the woods by the side of the river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred men had gone to Patagones to obtain their chief's ration of cattle, but 200 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had turned back on hearing of the attack made by Chocoque's party on their friends, my cousins. Whether they remained away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their kinsmen did not appear, but Foyel had frequently boasted that 200 of Chocoque's followers would oppose his quarrel. The Fernandez were the original cause of the feud. This 619
tribe, asserted by Antonio Guslin, who gave them the name 579
of Guslin, to be a branch of the Araucanians, are under Chocoque's dominion, though governed by local caciques. As already mentioned, they live near the passes of the Cordillera and plunder all travellers. They had not respected Foyel's messenger bringing him stores from Valdivia, and at last forcibly removed two sheepskins of rum, on which

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Pampas

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Chuequpe a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had forgotten how to ride and use his bows. All this was sub-
619 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by
● 579 right under the rule of Chuequpe, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[579] alleged by him was that although Chuequpe received large relays of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[584] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Pirunches and their subjection to Chuequpe, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was fall late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
159 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. Apropos of this
619 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
[579] way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Pirunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Lac Nacuenan, but it was abandoned, owing to the intense of the season and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

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drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an dhumbugged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintubual, Orkoke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintubual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north.

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Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the T 133
shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm our-
selves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly T A
soaked its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and 579
making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a 698
messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the
effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All
crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed
us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the
previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor.
A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a
man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the
body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so
exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to
Chocoque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief
at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins
and demand payment for the death. This they refused to
give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five
brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts
all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or some-
body else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who
tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from
Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound
to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians.
A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal
dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addi-
tion to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager
for the fray; the Tehuelchen, however, having an eye to
business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had
brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of
these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Mean-
while guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party
were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *affair* and
pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from T A
Chocoque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the 698
relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Pehuenches

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had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my
cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief
and Quintabual to the south, and all the Araucanos of their
following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible
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Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed
themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintabual marched off their
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been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to
receive us, as we only counted ninety horses, but it transpired
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river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred
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of cattle, but 200 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who
were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had
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away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their
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The Pinnahues were the original cause of the feud. This 579
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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Picanches

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[577] Chocoque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Chocoque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[579] alleged by him was that although Chocoque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[580] How far those stories were true I cannot say; as to the Pinnaches and their subjection to Chocoque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and so far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
158 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
937 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
[580] way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Pinnaches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the intensity of the season and

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Collaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called kufun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Collaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

7

Courtship and Marriage

58 Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the
[85] elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of
85 children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

58 Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understand-
[86] ing, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

128 This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
581 riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
495 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
622 on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some 836
miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother 754
buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward 762
left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and 848
koftun rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a [847]
resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three [754]
women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three [849]
never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a mis- 581
fortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable 848
barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of 584
the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
[583] the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

583 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[584] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the cognatic patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female alloc of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
[583] arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
587 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *cupto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them,

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as a result of cultural conservation but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601 613

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[9] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. [632] [178]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[9] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, [114]
[illegible]. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my estimation that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before reservation life permitted and even to some extent favored the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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583 the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev
[581] writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take
[178] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1953 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1968a).

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and reaffirmed during the several phases of the protractal marriage
[585] ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[834] pre- or extramarital affair. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
684 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by
622 community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Cooper
613 1946: 40), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
582 alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their
(178) influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations
of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is
becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional
congregational membership. This seems to be a phenomenon
related to the maturity of the reservation system and an
indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in
regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed
symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to
obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated
from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of
land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man
looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are
limited by an absence of those very rights and obligations, since
he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are
so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that
might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and
mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral
context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and
obligations, which usually exist between two groups united
through a succession of alliances, alliances over several genera-
tions which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year
of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 numerous) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely selected of these persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
764 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
602 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
613 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
598 by speaking the praises of the dead (*ueupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at
95 the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebounded on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an inviolable part of the ceremony. It is through
602 this communion of guzzlefellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] * This attitude appears to be a latent function of mourn in this context
[598] under consideration: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more usual for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a confirmation of social obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching allied ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, balances both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Tolten region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
•581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[78] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
682 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analysis]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 community are not dealt with more humbly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
613 the entire community.
621

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublin-
578 eages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for discension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and counterchargs of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is polygyny, which was once the accepted rule but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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601 great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l-aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always pre-
796 cedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to
582 marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

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602 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to
●582 find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is
[836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law.
604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents
604 and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16] 602 572

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans. 601

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted 601 582

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else re-
582 ported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter
613 is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

17 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

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595 Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which
[582] strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two
587 women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[8] Another

[8] The man in house No. 10 also acquired his wife by levirate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by 864
older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged 839
in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homo- 838
sexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion ex- [582]
pressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did 839
volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly [831]
attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose [836]
as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but 833
women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629–30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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177 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at
871 the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural read-
562 justment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from popula-
582 tion changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

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chumül chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[26] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[28] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[27]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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koñi anai koñi
müfüchi ñuke
rume piyaimi
welu rüpü kiñe
kiso leimi rume
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me ñuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[28] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their ñuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[26]Tami piuke am means literally, "your heart soul." However, am also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where is the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[27]For the use of papai see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[28]Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[28]Compare footnote 15.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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336 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate
582 cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[20] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put
592 the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds
582 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (*kuki-fuke*) that one may use the term *fuke* for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[20] The fact that most of the religious leaders (*machis*) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*ruca dewache*) has, however, a certain moral ascendancy over the others (*ruca dewache*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*lewufun*), and the payment (*mawun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mawun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kūde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229-41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refūq) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 328, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter fiuke (mother) while she called him pefiefi ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Mossbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [335] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (in Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaqkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*huwa*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chew*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the levirational obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llepu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llepu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dictions in Mamdach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, inasmuch as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*ewen*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880-82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past. [167]

601 591 582 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiBr and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiBr, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pale*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*kilion*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the ceremonially organized Mapuche society.

601 582 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]: 126; Guevara Silva 1913: 40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8; Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiñTu marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiñTu because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interhabitual bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 587

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely sororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [585]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved patriarchal, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha terminology is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fully expressive of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of separating generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forces later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601
611

Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582]

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587]

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

601

Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [593] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencia, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

611 174 421

601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

[582] [591 604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

●582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

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AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Coñaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fëť'an ŋelu (a married one), or fëť'a ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fücha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as tremke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

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595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

587 614 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for 582 marriage."

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a 584 marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle.

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in those days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her home, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long. 177 611 591 [582] [182]

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed. [128]

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized. 128 [611] [591]

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613 [199] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I shows an acual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the 198 613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the processof sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage,* (2) *lineage group,* (3) *localized lineage,* (4) *sublineage,* and (5) *minimal lineage.* The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with [582] [591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who 621 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See CAT. 116, P. 93 -- Analyst]

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613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
62 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
[114] and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
[428] ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[580] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
[583] the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[572] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
[583] arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
583 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional mat- [584] rilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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8

The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly. 128

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951. [127]

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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:98n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *kifeche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

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589 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

587 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu-
[587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche
[197] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system *itself*. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 604 613

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not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1954) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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MODEL SYSTEMS

There are, I may say, two model systems of Mapuche matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. One is that seen by the Mapuche; [3] the other is one I will present shortly. Both are abstractions which serve analytic purposes. First we will discuss the Mapuche model. 582

As already indicated, the Mapuche think in terms of closeness and distance of relationships and have their own reasons for this. They think, however, that marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother is an ideal relationship. Yet this is thought of as an old ideal, one no longer strictly adhered to, although almost universal in the past. Mother's brother's daughter marriage is said to have been "almost obligatory" (*casi obligatorio*), having almost the force of "law" (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. If this is true, why, then, is so much importance attached to courtship, and why the numerous stories about elopement today and in the past?

A superficial examination of the situation would suggest that courtship has increased in importance in proportion to the decline of mother's brother's daughter marriages, and that this situation results from the breakdown of parochial aspects of reservation life and the establishment of wider interpersonal and intergroup contacts in the indigenous zone. This is a somewhat seductive hypothesis, since it seems partly borne out by observation and is rather readily acknowledged by the Mapuche themselves. 582 178

The older people, especially, speak rather righteously about marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (father's sister's son) and tend to bemoan its passing as evidence of a general decline in Mapuche cultural integrity. Younger people say that things are changing and many of the traditional ways are being abandoned. These are the kinds of statements with which all field workers are familiar.

Genealogical reconstruction shows the persistence of matrilateral marriage into the present on a large scale, but seems to indicate that *admapu* is and has been for several generations shamefully disregarded since in only a small portion of the genealogies is marriage with a "real" mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son revealed. When this is pointed out to people in general they explain such situations as departures from the ideal form. When they realize that their own marriage conflicts with the notion of mother's brother's

[3] The brief analysis of marriage presented in my 1956 paper was made with this model in mind.

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582 178 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of [613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of [613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

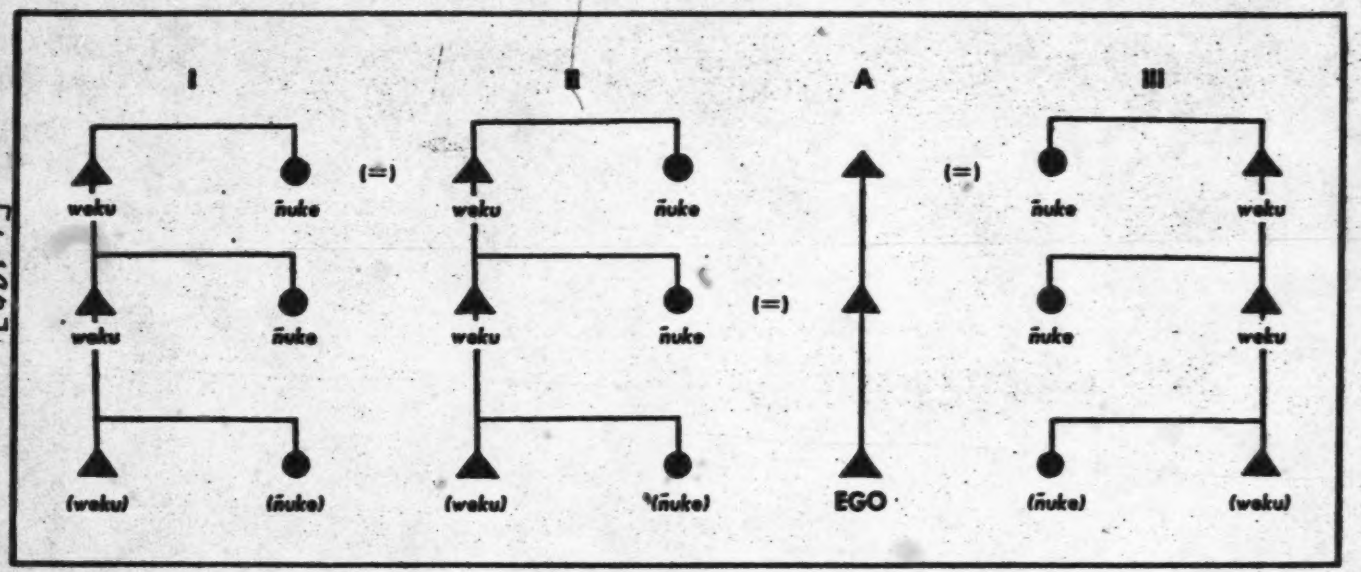

DIAGRAM II

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cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *fuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships *within a matrilateral system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered. 582 613

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from I, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere. 582 [602]

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

582 601

[7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[7] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others [114]

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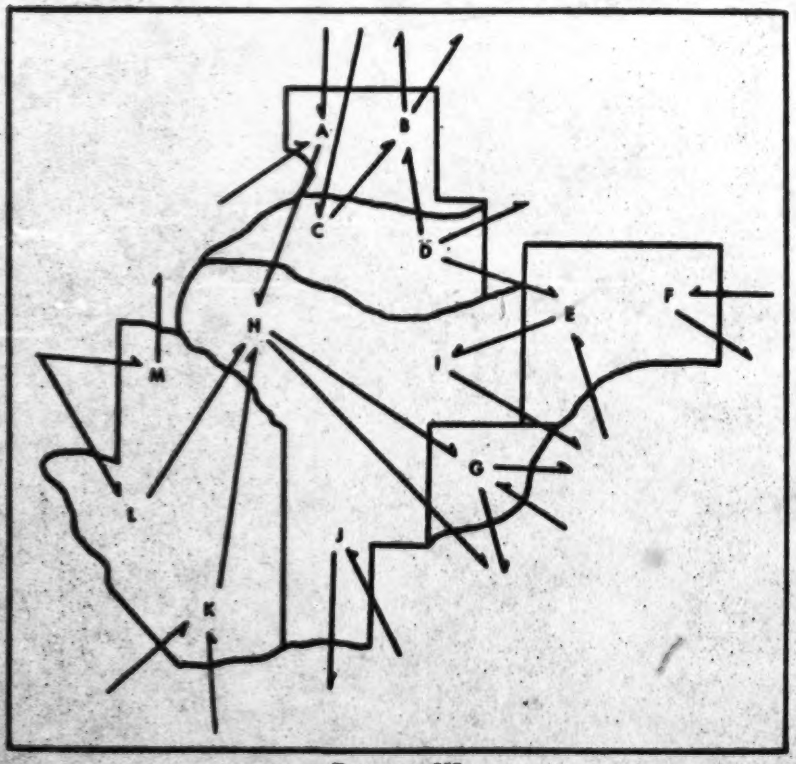

DIAGRAM III

7 [See CAT. 116, P.6 --ANALYST]

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582 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance
613 involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200
614 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency
[621] for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the
613 diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional
621 marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart. 582 613 [602]

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system. [217]

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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582 613 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[596] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in [885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 601 613 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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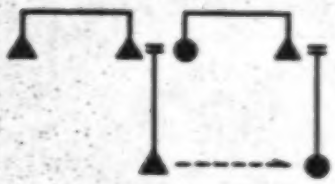

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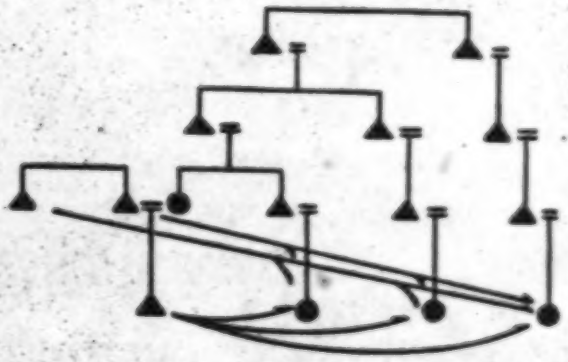

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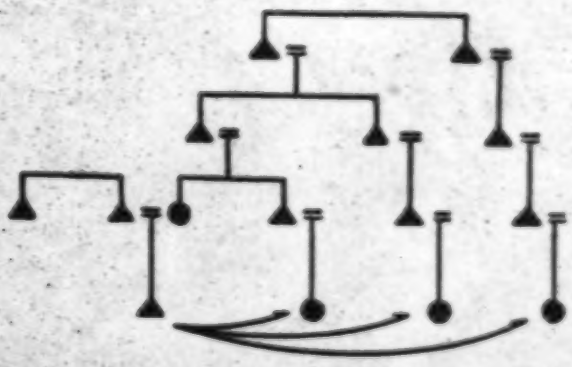

[p.203]

DIAGRAM IV

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582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late preservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline
in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men
[598] increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [632] [198]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:90. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). [582] [523] [167] [589]

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. [595] [578] [601] [121]

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [613] [584] [622]

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24 794 628 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *fillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral [595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-[413] receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 613 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious [582] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche [178] became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in [154] placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super-[153] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than [154] to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed *by considerations of morality*. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
626 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur 613
under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only 582
regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matri- 613
lateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does 582
not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witch- 754
craft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche [609]
distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which 613
regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, 583
pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of 554
cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving 602
group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during 613
the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on 583
other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority 571
and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when dis- [195]
cussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *weltakun* is generally [601]
used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *weltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
[166] these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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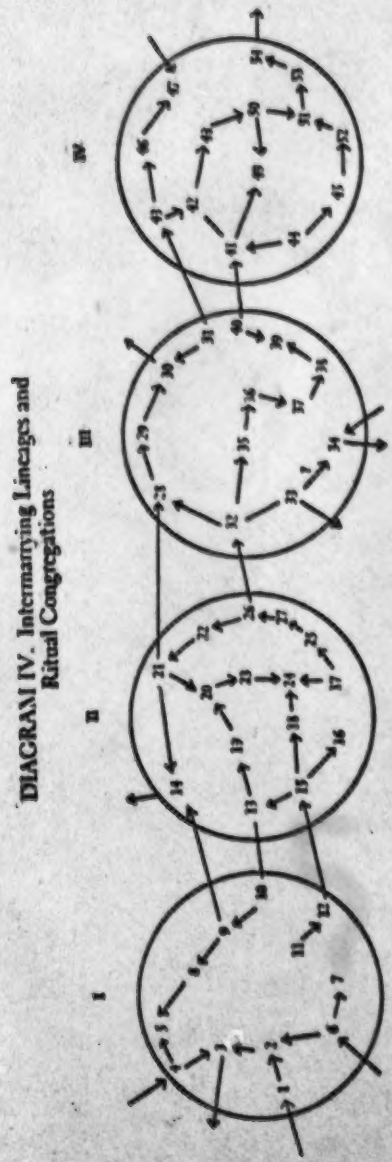

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives. 794 582 178 [595]

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category. 621 613 794

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth- 178 621 794

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
62 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
•582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[178] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

12 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections --
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of 121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention 772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in 582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association 121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an 182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For 772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly 121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make 582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in 571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal [577] descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
hal hal	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other. [601]

582 [671] Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-reservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
619 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
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DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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794 wife-receivers (*ñillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *fillatun* and *cwn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inabudun*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ñaun domo* ("loose woman"). 584 836

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakelun*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakelchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakelchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss. 584 [583]

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakelchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *nwmun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. As the festiv- 584 574

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Munduruku, 1950, pp. 131–63; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SG4 SB7

ities proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayükuiew*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected to parry.[9] "*C'est de bon ton*," as Hounse expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

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When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rafiñelue*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rafiñelue* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the *ñillanentue*, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Hounse, 1936, p. 142.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "mock rape." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word rapto, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-llandomo*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price." 583

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment. [554 595]

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal. [727]

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[11] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[11] Titiev, 1943, p. 517, footnote 30.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*ouen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendancy over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*lesentun*), and the payment (*mawun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mawun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relatives under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the river, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (llaykas), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Mossbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:639).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kapam [dress], a trarülonka [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelakucha [silver ornament with long danglers, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and mudai had been prepared for us there, also."

●583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called ŋapitun) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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will set her into the saddle and tie her feet to the stirrups or her legs to the horse so she cannot dismount to run away. Sometimes the girl yells and weeps out loud. Often a girl does not know whose wife she is to be. The man who carried her out of the ruka rides on her horse, back of the saddle, to prevent her escape. In this manner they bring her to the man's home. They guard her here for two or three nights. The man's father, and maybe several other men, will sleep alongside of each other across the door so that she cannot escape. In the daytime the man and one of the women accompany her if she leaves the ruka. I know one woman that was taken that way; they lived near here until a year ago. This woman resisted until she realized that it was of no avail. She then went willingly but asked that the women in the man's home would not maltreat her—women sometimes beat an unwilling girl. My mother told me that three of her friends died of heartache and grief because they were taken that way. One of them ran back to her family but her parents forced her to return to her husband. She ran away again, but hid in the woods, somewhere. Her parents found her there, and again forced her to return. When they heard some months later that she was dying of grief, they wanted her to come to her home to die; but she refused. She said that she would now sooner die among strangers than in the home in which she had been so badly treated." 583

Elopements occurred when a man selected his own wife and courted her secretly and, fearing interference from parents on either side, arranged with the girl to meet him at night to go to his home with him. Sometimes the woman told her parents beforehand; usually she did not since she feared their anger. In the case of an elopement, the man's father paid the girl's father for the "damage" within a month or at least within a year. Quoting a 40-year-old informant: "To steal a wife was a simple affair. I stole mine, but she was willing to go with me. I did so because I did not have enough animals to buy her. I learned to know her the same year I stole her. I met her secretly and talked it over with her. A man found opportunities to talk to the woman he wished to marry. It had to be done secretly, never publicly, for men and women were not allowed to speak to each other openly or in public. She met me near a certain tree where I had tied my horse, the one I had brought for her to ride. I told her to meet me there when the moon was at zenith, and she did. Then we rode to my home." At this point the interpreter (non-Araucanian) asked the informant why he had been so surprised then when his daughter eloped with a young man recently, since he himself had stolen his own wife. To which he replied: "I have told my children

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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583 that they should not follow my example in things that I have done badly; that now I am giving them a good example and that they should follow it." He added with emphasis: "I still maintain it was a disgraceful thing for my daughter to run away the way she did! I sent her to school for four years, yes, longer than that. The longer children attend school the worse they are!"

Occasionally a woman was—and still is—forced into marriage entirely against her will. Old women who had lived forced marriages spoke of them with visible emotions of bitterness toward parents, and often toward the husband. None would relate her experience. A non-Araucanian interpreter later related the following which she said was not unlike situations described to her on occasions by old women: "Seven years ago (1940) an 18-year-old girl ran into our house, breathless, about 7 o'clock one morning, saying she had run away from home, that a young man had just been at their house and that she was going to be sold to him; that he was to return one of the following days to get her. She begged to stay with us for protection. We gave her breakfast, and tried to calm and comfort her. She was not here an hour when her mother and younger sister were rapping at the door. The mother asked if her older daughter was with us, and if so, she wished to speak with her. The daughter said that she was filled with fear and did not wish to speak with her mother. But the mother would not relent. So we told the girl that we would stay with her while she talked to her mother, which we did. The mother was very angry. She scolded the girl in the Mapuche language for running away, and raised her hand to strike her. She promised me that she would not force the girl to marry, if she came home with her then. The girl said, 'This is not the truth; my mother is only saying it,' and would not leave. The mother and the younger sister then walked to one of our Mapuche neighbors and asked the man there to help them force the girl to return home (the girl's father had died some years before). But the neighbor said he refrained always from getting mixed up with other people's troubles. The mother, in a rage of anger, now yelled at both the neighbor and me that if the girl did not return to her home, she would fetch her relatives and they would break all the windows of our house. She continued threatening. She walked around the outside of our house, yelling in anger. She would not leave the place. I encouraged the girl then to return home with her mother, telling her that I would go with her to talk to her brothers. When we arrived near her home, I saw her two brothers plowing nearby. I walked to them and explained that their sister had left home because she was being forced into a marriage; that this was not the

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proper thing to do to a sister; brothers should protect a sister. They 583
replied that the matter was all arranged, that she had been promised in marriage, and that she had nothing to say about it. I saw one of them push the girl into the ruka. Their relatives told me later that the girl was whipped after I left. A few days later we heard that the man had come and taken her away. I met the girl a few weeks ago, and she told me that she has suffered much, but that she is more contented now. She has four little boys."

Present-day marriages rarely follow the proper traditional pattern. If arrangements are made between the parents of a couple, "the young man usually pays for his wife with an ox or a horse"; but today a young man often does not have the means to pay the bride price, or he sees no necessity for doing so. Not infrequently his father agrees with him in this. So, a marriage is discussed secretly by the man and the woman. Usually the man's parents know about their son's plans, but the woman's parents do not. When an agreement has been reached between the man and the woman, the woman leaves her home for the man's home at night, unbeknown to her parents. Her parents generally resent this procedure. If they have not been asked about the bride price and no arrangement has been made regarding it, they will be angry and will not allow the girl's personal things and her animals to be transferred to the man's place. They will insist that the bride price be paid. In due time, then, but often not until after the birth of the first child, the man will pay the bride price, and then the woman's parents relent, and will send the woman's belongings and property to her, and will also invite her and her husband for a visit.

A non-Araucanian teacher related the following regarding present-day marriages: "Any marriage that is not an elopement, at the present time, is an exception. Here is a sample: Two weeks ago, the children in school seemed very depressed. I asked several of them if something had happened, and each time the answer was 'No; nothing.' Later I noticed that two of the older girls who were dusting a hallway and room together did so in silence, an unusual thing. When they had finished, they walked outdoors and sat on a woodpile, again in silence. I walked up to them, and asked, 'What has happened? Why is the entire school so silent and depressed? Why does no one tell me?' One of them then wept loud, while the other told me that they had both had a sister stolen by a lover the night before; that they had both slept with their sisters and that neither one had noticed the sister leave the bed or go away; their absence was noticed only in the morning when everybody got up. Neither girl had spoken to her parents about marrying, and consequently their parents felt very

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583 bad about it. The two young men were not related, but they must have agreed to get the girls at the same time. According to one girl's father the plans must have been made at a recent ŋillatun. He reasoned: 'It was the only opportunity that I know of that they had to do so.' Each girl had gone to the home of the man's parents. Enmity exists nearly always then between the girl's family and the man's family. Children of the families will quarrel on the way to and from school. When it is reported to me and I reprimand them for it, one group will say, 'Their family stole my sister.' Generally after a child is born to the young couple, or about to be born, the girl's mother relents; the girl may even be taken into her paternal home for delivery. Everyone gradually becomes reconciled. Before long the girl will ask for her property which usually consists of farm animals. When she receives it, some sort of feast is celebrated."

According to a non-Araucanian herbalist who had been in most of the Araucanian homes in the area, and who was a listener-in to the above, the girl's parents were not always annoyed with an elopement. She related the following as having been true on several occasions: "A young man and young woman agree to marry. Some night the man comes to get the woman. The woman leaves the ruka quietly and finds the place where the man with his horses is in hiding. She mounts a horse and the two ride to the man's home. Her parents, when they awake, act surprised and hurt, but this is merely a pretense. They do not go out to look for their daughter, for they know where she is. They show no friendliness toward the man, however, for they want him to pay the bride price. The couple lives as married. After some days, maybe two weeks, the young man goes to the home of the woman's parents to find out what payment is expected. Whatever her father demands, he must pay. The payment is always in animals. If the young man is rich, he may have to pay several animals, maybe a horse, an ox, a cow, and some sheep. After the payment is made, the woman sends word that she will visit her home. Her parents then prepare for her coming and invite relatives to a plentiful meal. In one locality in Coñaripe area a horse provided by the woman's parents must be consumed at this meal. After this the marriage is recognized as completed. The girl can now visit home as before."

Sometimes the girl, too, makes pretenses. To give the impression that she was being kidnaped but resisted, she bites the man's upper back and shoulders. The impressions of her teeth are pointed out as the result of her resistance. "Older people do not believe her; they recognize a sham when they see one."

An occasional girl goes of her own volition to the home of an un-

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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, 583
she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home.

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful 832
that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on 278
volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will [756]
cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pollpoll were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wodawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenaqwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wołółkinturwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257).

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [66] [578] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships — that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, 595
and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of [178]
polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called [601]
inan θomo, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher 595
bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but 583
since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in [589]
all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her 595
own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [583] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
[571] riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
423 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
[622] on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 196
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [551]

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
583 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

583 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
[582] attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:700). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

583 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
[587] drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them.

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. 583

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. 583 584

Kurreyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken obscurely of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily great. 583 [illegible]

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583 great. The conjuials needed by the young couple to be relatively
self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and
the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth,
figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The
most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel
[583] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride
exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the
next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called
nakulikawgawg, the beginning of formal discussion in which the
amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively
set. This is sometimes called *dillwellawgawg*, a term perhaps more
suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional mat-
[584] rilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal rela-
tives through former marriages.

583 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of
584 the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the
young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is
ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat under-
emphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth,
so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But
they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being
made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling
about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long
as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are found by his
sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the
families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often
has to pay an additional amount at the last moment – a matter of a
few pesos – on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is in-
consistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable
once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really
makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any
gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride.
This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment
of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many
relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house,
which is an another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-
price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and dis-
tributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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575 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of
several marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background
of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved
classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does
pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup
and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillawtkungung* held at the bride's
sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift
or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held
for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the
bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and
relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is
over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial ar-
rangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[563] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at
least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to
the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family
hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue
to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate
family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered
the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of
talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a
further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the
girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep
[564] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at
the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of
his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but
is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The
visit is called *rakuf napitun*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

179 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred
formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the
bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, al-
though they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Now-
adays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[565] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are mini-
mal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable items

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [584] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [632] [198]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special 'continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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583 the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev
[581] writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take
[198] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1955 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.) [583]

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage. [837] [423]

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings — and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land. [822]

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families, [822] [584]

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, *pay brideprice (mafun: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain* his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations with "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[5] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*fillan*: to
purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
583 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
571 those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *fillan* and wife-givers as *weku*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[6] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [5] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *fillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[6] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron 1961a:207).

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of bridepriice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 629 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important movable items of bridepriice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ceremonious exchange is made, since part of the bridepriice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of movable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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583 423 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 602 583 571 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a loan which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 431 602 571 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun*: brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites. 772 554 613 602 578

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *honchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewu* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers. 772 431 554 571

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The 583* 613 602 554 [514]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriceis symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative *inferiority* of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñañu*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñañu* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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582 691 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*ñamapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, c; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
● 583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[627] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the table; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagonia. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [584] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kafun*.[4] *Kafun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kafun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 723.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

548 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting
829 with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

● 584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lekko* supervised negotiations with the *lekko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach
836 an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inebuden*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ñawn domo* ("loose women").

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MARRIAGE[1]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakuhuu*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakuhafe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakuhafe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of conjugal bliss.

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If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the engagement arrangements, the *dakuhafe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. At the festiv-

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[1] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Mandach, 1950, pp. 131-63; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719-20.

SG4 SE7 tion proceed, people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayékulu*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who she sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected to parry.[9] "C'est de bon ton," as Hoane expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

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When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rukíñelur*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rukíñelur* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the dishonour, which is the honour of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlywed, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Hoane, 1939, p. 141.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "north rape." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

12 SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE

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kuche pile mitten
fenguechi pennan
taki ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[21] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my ñadu ("husband's sister").

539 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenañ-
542 kun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[22] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[23]

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kiñe nguet meu
eile lelfen feichi
ela ad laen
ruewe kutranian
tami fem fiel
ze kura pinke
ñtruf niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[21] De Augusta, op. cit., I, 122, identified meliñdu as la tortola, the turtledove (Zenaida auriculata).

[22] Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law made into her household.

[23] "Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dakelfun ñi ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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Why must you ever show me nothing but a heart of stone?

Interpretation.—A boy sings in this fashion to his sweetheart, either during a family visit to her home or at an assembly where members of both families are present. It reveals the fact that he has failed to win the girl of his choice, and it also serves to test her reaction. In accordance with Mapuche conventions it is not proper for a young woman to accept a proposal too quickly or too directly. Hence, she answers in the manner of the reply given below. If the affair reaches a stalemate the suitor's father, confident of the singer's sincerity, may take steps leading to a formal betrothal.

Woman's Reply

müna koila wentru
piuke meu feipilai
re mellfu-un meu
müten feipi kei
angue ta pengue
küle kei müten
piuke elika lei.

Free translation.—Men are all liars, they speak only with the lips, not with the heart. They show their faces uncovered, but not their hearts.

Interpretation.—By singing in such a vein, a girl who is being courted makes it clear that she is not to be taken lightly. The implication is that she may consider a serious offer of marriage but that she is unwilling to take part in a mere flirtation.

Man's Song No. 2

chumül anchi
inche kimun
tami piuke
ni inchü ngueael
feipi keeli
feichi dungu
alikutu anai
küme pichi ñuke.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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Free translation.—When will the time come when I shall know what is in your heart? Why don't you say the word that will allow us to be united? Please listen to me, my little cousin.

Interpretation.—A lover will sing in this way if a sweetheart continues to show reluctance even after some of the preliminaries to marriage have been carried out. The intent is to persuade the girl to set a wedding date.

Woman's Reply

prolei ñi piuke
fetpi keeli arol
piuke ta pekan
fam tuku keel
troki kifilngue
rulpa fingue
amulechi antu
fei ula kimaimin.

Free translation.—At this moment my heart is tied in a knot, so I cannot reply. The heart is not a toy to be lightly given away. Please do not hurry me. Let the ever-moving sun go on, then you will learn what is best.

Interpretation.—In these words a girl expresses her unwillingness to set a definite wedding date. Her song implies that she may yet be willing to marry her suitor, but is not interested in a casual love affair.

Man's Song No. 3*

lmalta rakuida
amulerpu fun
wala pela eyu ñuke
chew antu müilei
tami piuke am
ñuche kutran piuke
eimi ayume-em
pepai anai pepai

*Strictly speaking this song is not rendered in public. It deals with a request for a private love affair and is addressed only to the girl concerned. Nevertheless, the lover may make his plea during the course of a large assembly.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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chumñi chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[28] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[29] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[30]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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kofi anai kofi
mifichi fuke
ruma piyainai
wein rüpü kilke
kiso lelmi ruma
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me fuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[31] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their fuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[28] Tuani piuke can means literally, "your heart soul." However, can also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where in the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[29] For the use of ruma see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[30] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[31] Compare footnote 18.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coerulea*) at one point and letting it smoulder (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 89). Lighted bundles of Chaqueo were used as torches (kbde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwa), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (rufle) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for further details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on Mapuche-Huilliche incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 220, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking spree. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him pulcó ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Cuta, in Mooshbock, 1935, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Colihé Huaiquillaf is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 46). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's oldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [35] 575 581

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatical capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-between entered into negotiations with the father or older relative 584

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (lauka), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other older relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1932-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained past factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:[illegible]).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—for the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Abapin man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my oldest sister, and three men relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's house just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for 582
marriage."

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a 584
marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle.

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in these days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her house, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

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584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martin de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counterruggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loco* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as machismo, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to lesbianism, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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[593] dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [620] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one [614] another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds unifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of responsibility not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with persisting attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [594] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [531] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de- [831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
killetun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances.
Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are al-
ready courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the
parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special
notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually en-
courage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit
from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young
people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents.
Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are
chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close
female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain
girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents
for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming
to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage
will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar
line, but couch their remarks unobtrusively. They characteristically
work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve.
Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially
refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception,
the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair,
and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and an-
swers are generally disembodied by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweet-
heart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
589 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He presents the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
591 riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
425 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
429 on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 433
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land 583
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar-
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way connects relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [607]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 196
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 148
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the conduct he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains sub-
ment and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the re-
servation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [607]
life can be made miserable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [571]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such compensation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary considerations in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The question of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean persons share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the use of killing unidentified lovers, especially men who had bewitched their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually sought through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now ascertainable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent capital and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
585 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

586 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
587 attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are institutified links of friendship; and friendship is strongest
588 when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the compound patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage — that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

589 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

590 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Mordoch, 1948:231-63). Secondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have
591 tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

592 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:730). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional feasts. Its occurrence is rare.

593 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
594 puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

595 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow
596 a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. SG3

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. SG3 SG4

Everywhere, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nonceremonial marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken obscurely of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily great. SG3 [illegible]

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SE3 gress. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel
[SE3] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

SE4 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called ñeñelkawgwg, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called dillowkawgwg, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages.

[SE3] After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal dishonestly with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are found by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment -- a matter of a few pesos -- on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

SE5 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *kilianthuwgung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *uwupüfe* or *uwupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *ewfutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes several rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep
[262] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

178 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
● 584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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584 583 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [592] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly
601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's
[584] sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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Mapuche

[523] ambiance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719-20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for pre-reservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242-70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an [527] amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's parents. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the pre-reservation period, it is likely that [528] land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the [522] last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Komes*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings — and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief [521] to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is personal disapproval, the chief may arbitrate [514] the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). [582] [428] [167] [589]

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. [595] [578] 601 121

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, 613 584 [622]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage arrangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
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Mapuche

any given time the family constitutes a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of sanctioned unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a compensational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-congruity, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilineal system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1964a).

554 602 613 583 571 [60]

and the one which must pay for them.' This is expressed in kinship terminology. Most of the wife-giving group refer to wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*filleu* to purchase; *ulu*, used as a kinship term which may be roughly translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call those whom they pay for wives *weqlin*, maternal uncle). These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *filleu* and wife-givers as *weqlin*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and finally solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.* The bridegroom payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

- 634 584 613

A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them to his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[378] [754]

* I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to associate *filleu* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter sense, is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*filleu*).

* In speaking of bridegroom and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, wearing items, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-conversion phenomenon which took the place of an earlier land equivalent in present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ceremonious exchange is necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron 1960:20).

Ia: Faron E-4, 9 (1952-1954) 1964
S64 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the 584
groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of 613
the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal ex- 583
change of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to 114
gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual
entertainment" (1951: 101) is an unreliable observation. In the
absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances
it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants'
statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious 583
informants were very interested in convincing the outsider that 829
Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local [115]
Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal
expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever
gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the
Mapuche marriage negotiations show any conception of equal-
ity, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the
negotiations and capital acts reveals that the exchange of
wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance
of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage
could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result 583
that the economic value of the most important moveable items [437]
of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In
this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even
with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial
ceremonious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice
animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests.
The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father
controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is 583
the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both 423
parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That
of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The
bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her
husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-
use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional
marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the
groom, marriage tends to involve statistical uxorilocal residence or

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 585 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 787 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to each of his relatives as happens to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[illegible]

574 575 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness [762] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[illegible] The rarity of divorce is also 586 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his 595 previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[illegible] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[illegible] Cf. Hunse, 1939, p. 240.

9.Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SGI Arawaconians SGI

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (feathers), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1923-24, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained past factum and the bride-price
[762] given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused past factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1663, 2:630).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

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other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the drink was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polygamy is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives, wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with considered cases of 18 (Martin de Leonza, 1904, p. 124), 20 (Swanton, 1931, p. 441), Romans, 1962, p. 61), or even 30 (Sam, 1931, 20-40, 20-180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Morgan (1868, p. 350), if the husband were wealthy her own dwelling hut, and, according to Cotte (in Mooney, 1904, p. 102), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marital inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or she she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, widely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bourdon, 1893, p. 322; Romans, 1877–78, 1:166). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of lances (lances) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

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CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—for the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Alepke man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my oldest sister, and three men relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's home just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

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585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kapam [dress], a trarilopin [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelaiuchu [silver ornament with long dangles, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and muhui had been prepared for us there, also."

583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called yapitun) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they

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584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martin de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fɔta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋɔnechén; at the

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
[583] the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[572] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
[583] arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
000 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional mat- [584] rilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment – a matter of a few pesos – on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep
[262] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

179 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
602 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
583 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
571 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun:* brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and
naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of [585].
ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This
is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage
ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent
congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth,
death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of
matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of
life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west
and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the
vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—
hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to
Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neg-
lected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent
ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be
otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of
the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in
contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in
the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are
numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

511 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[10]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

●586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer [762] suicide to any other arrangement.[11] The rarity of divorce is also 584 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his 585 previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[10] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[11] Cf. Hunt, 1939, p. 240.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[18] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[19]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[18] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[19] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and House, 1939, pp. 217–21.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Panguipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Coñaripe area, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepúe and Panguipulli informants, including several older than 80,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver 535
things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripa by the men, and chamall and chull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kobapan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today.

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part 526
would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today's woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family."

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the [689]
paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed.

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives 577
paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for 585
her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high- [574]
pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!"

H:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original redondos, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and thumbandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intervene and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuken* (*moyo*, breast; *puken*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

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584 583 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [586] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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587 595 Filial inheritance of views[1] is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps [167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

1. [possibly "wives" is meant. – Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [837]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 428 [586] [618] [464] [167]

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
582 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG11

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintuhual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

T A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A T A 586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 587 *ñuke* to him. A similar tendency to use the same term for wife and mother appears in the generation above that of *ego*, since maternal uncle's wife and mother are both called *chuchu*.

Levirate and sororate were voluntarily invoked by some informants to explain other aspects of terminology. Thus, it was pointed out that *malle* conveyed the meaning of potential stepfather. Through the levirate, father's brother (*malle*) would become *ego's* father; and through the sororate, the husband of *ego's* mother's sister (*malle*) might likewise become *ego's* father. It follows logically that the offspring of these men, *ego's* parallel cousins, should be regarded as siblings.

In a society where the filial inheritance of wives is a common practice, it is not unexpected to find that the nomenclature occasionally disregards generation lines. The Araucanian system has an additional feature of this kind, since certain relatives in alternate generations employ reciprocal terms for each other. In the case of men (Fig. 2), father's father and son's son are *l·aku*. When *ego* is female (Fig. 3), father's mother and son's daughter are known as *kuku*, mother's mother and daughter's daughter are *chuchu* or *llalla*, and father's sister and brother's daughter are *pal·u*.

601 Another noteworthy aspect of Araucanian kinship terminology is that a number of terms convey sex distinctions at one generation level but do not serve that purpose at another. For example, *l·aku* (Fig. 2) means father's father, and *kuku* refers to father's mother; but when a man applies these terms to the grandchildren's generation there is no distinction of sex. *L·aku* refers to *ego's* brother's son's son or daughter, and *kuku* designates either *ego's* sister's son's son or daughter.

Still another noteworthy feature is the use of specific terms for certain relatives within a general category that is designated by a classificatory term. For instance, a man calls a male relative-in-law in his own generation *ñillan*, but he uses *kenpu* when referring to his own sister's husband.[3]

[3] Other examples, which are not shown because they were reported by only a single informant (J. M. Collío), are: *dea* applied by a man to his own sister, whereas *lamñen* is the classificatory term for sister or female parallel

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly to-
[578] ward the father's sister's husband, *kachū*, whose marriage de-
prives the natal unit of a member. *Kachū* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of
[609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor
[587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun*
572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

595 [582] Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 ●587 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[5] Another

[5] The man in house No. 16 also acquired his wife by levirate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
● 587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kūde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refūy) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

768 father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygymous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

787 Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

606 Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

836 Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporradic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pelpel, weñáywe, wedawe.

[548] [837] [832]

KINSHIP

611 **The kuga.**—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cùga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

 174

Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5] 595 601 611

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946: 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurwe*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 595

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chew*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the levirational obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*mama*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal
178 terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transi-
[167] tion during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more
591 intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same
582 term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain
177 this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pala*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*tillon*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminol-
582 ogy, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate,
●587 the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]: 124; Guevara Silva 1913: 40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946: 719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 588

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [595]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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611

Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bilocrate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febres.

[582]

Levirate and Sororate

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than simultaneous sororal marriage was practiced.

[587]

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

601

Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 [64] [58] 601

ation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Cooke, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Rose Gifford showed that, in the case of the Mbwiá, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Mbwiá case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship pattern are the following:

In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (in both a male and a female) are *nehe* = mother's brother) and *ñhe* (= colloquial term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-chem*, "woman" or *-ten*, "almost, close to,"). This "nephehip" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *nehe* are always *ñhe*. The children of a *ñhe*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*ñhe*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*ñehen*; no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*kutú*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kuche* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kuche* by a man is *Mwpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kuche* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lowie, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The word kiñe, my informants said, referred to lineage. Kiñe persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not related to him.'" 613

The sororate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was older than his wife. "These I call ñiñandomo; those younger than my wife, I call kawan. I may marry all those called kawan, but I may not marry one called ñiñandomo. I respect every ñiñandomo as if she were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today this is seldom done." 587

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protection for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén (near Collurique) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in Alepín three men were married that way within the last 10 years. Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took his wife and his four children into my house with my own family. Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that, for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our house with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry, either the man leaves home or she does so and marries. It seems that the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of as kawan. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my children."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guarani, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

[587 614] Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships — that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, 595
and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of [178]
polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called [601]
inan θomo, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher 595
bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but 583
since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in [589]
all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her 595
own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous ar-
[583] rangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives
[587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and
[754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
768 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as
[837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more
[594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[612] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[1] [i.e.-children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather-- Analyst]

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
[583] the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted *only* with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[584] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage – that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

[583] Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
585 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
587 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the
[583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep
[262] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

178 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's
[583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either
[586] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to
[595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will
[591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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587 595 Filial inheritance of views is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps [167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

[possibly "wives" is meant. - Analyst]

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 587

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587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu-
[587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche
[197] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo*

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa: (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592
After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II. He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1917.

* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [see cat. 116 p. 93 – ANALYST]

[p. 228 is blank] [see cat. 116 p. 32 – ANALYST.]

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridepriceе was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonquen: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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562 423 199 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 435 562 199 [552] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In preservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo division, a woman, as original radicada or as heir of a male radicado, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

567 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

[428] [423]

613 521 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (loco, *wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to [158] periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684] been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [624] in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE [4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually
sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in
any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of
the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend
to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may
assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities,
although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not
characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do
not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The
widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and
leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household
duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this
involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's
authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself
and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual
complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by
her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with,
even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to
gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize
this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic struc-
ture with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricul-
tural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche
and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation
has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority.
Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and
it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the
times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the
views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or
else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often [589] returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between them- 593 selves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous 595
households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies [853] [846]
in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the 595
care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the 854
household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and [601]
"other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and 595
daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left [167]
the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that [589]
none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- [768]

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
768 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
428 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[612] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion 836
over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual 835
relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the
exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these
limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not [171]
feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the
degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and
woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's
father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's
daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young 835
man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age
who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone
to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the [589]
young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and
assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years,
during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either
[586] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to
[595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will
[591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the mar-
[198] riage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration 582
is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The [423]
emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, [167]
many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number [589]
of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the [595]
previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational com- [578]
petition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be re- 601
flected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the 121
Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in 613
marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the mar- 584
riage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [622]

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(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *titulo de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

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Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died. 592 621 589

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuntru.[b]

(1910) Troilan.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

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591 Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "neolocality." Under present-day conditions, neolocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal roof after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of neolocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by reservation.

• 59 If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as neolocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or some of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint-extended family (*lofche*). It is similar to the polygynous family (and indeed may have a polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more nucleated, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the type of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the budding of houses from the parental house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their grown sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of virilocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to the same extent in the

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridepriсe was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

• 59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally santioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1964a).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is •[591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukeuta*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest taboo applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they
592 spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group
of relatives. These are brought together through the workings
of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost with-
out exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a
young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might
find himself in the center of five generations which would in-
clude his father's father and his spouses, father and father's
brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their
wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their
wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. With-
in such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the
members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father,
and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his
father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal
conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal
(paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with
his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society,
since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy ap-
plied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very
likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be in-
herited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her
marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
596 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under
a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been main-
tained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to
have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on
women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[23] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[24] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[25] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[26]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[23] Latcham, 1924, pp. 355-356, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, I: 261 ff.
[24] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.
[25] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206-7.
[26] *Ibid.*

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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174 kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-
611 cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

174 There still remains for consideration the question of whether
613 the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

174 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

174 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following
● 891 other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kuga* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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nuclear family."[30] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[31] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[32] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[33]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[34]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[30] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[32] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[33] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[34] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol. 621 [131] 133 [245] [491]

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

[8] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[13]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness [762] that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[14] The rarity of divorce is also 586 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his 595 previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[13] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[14] Cf. Housse, 1939, p. 240.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 621 [574] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

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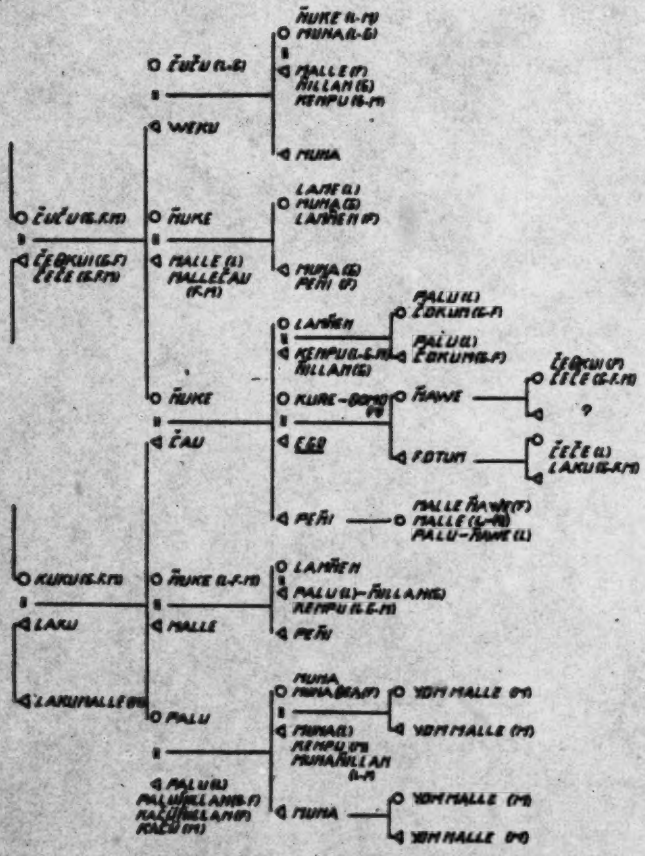

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautin Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124; Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and
601 daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi folum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi folum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle folum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-
601 speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used
611 between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He
114 believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first
591 diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence
601 prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no
[476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in
601 with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this
604 proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal
178 terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting
[167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more
● 591 intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same
582 term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain
177 this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*pale*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*ñillan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminol-
582 ogy, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate,
587 the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for 582
marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and 835
WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the [578]
cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there 174
is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a
"local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely 582
that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the 601
board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large 591
households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained amongthem.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the 611
point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the 174
social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognisant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

[582] [591 604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piñen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fɔta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋɔnechén; at the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult 311
Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of
land.[1] Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so- 423
and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the
latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by
not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell
their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly sup- 622
port their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, al-
though it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from
the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully
with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has re-
cently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings 423
in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since
the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over
their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reserva- [648]
tion land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a [563]
section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded
ocupante status by the Chilean government, which carries the right
to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential
ocupantes on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of
división will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have
improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number 162
of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, how-
ever, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*.
In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total [592]
number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is [591]
eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmen- [423]
tation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite
high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," 241
there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly [133]
precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills.
However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of
the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding
oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year.
Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[1] [i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere. [591] [182] [594]

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 62 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their preservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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613 peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The po-
[199] litical and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 1 shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the
198 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation sys-
613 tem, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because fe-
[199] males of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with
[199] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who
613 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See Cat. 116, p. 95—Analysis]

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.* Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature. 613 621 618

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality — neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucania, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case. 591 613 621

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this 613 621 592 [114] [618]

* Murdock's criteria (1949:88) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, [556] [591] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de- [423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent ambilocal relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

§[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group– ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [613] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, [584] when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan ßomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*fillatufe*) at the *fillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the pre-war decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into ownerships has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmonously

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may 613
be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the 182
reservation community. In the many books written about the [114]
Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to
the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to
the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not
at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only
imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or 114
theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and
dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and
the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to
perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residen-
tial principles of social integration, some having emphasized
lineal over residential principles and others having stressed
membership in a residential group without considering vital
principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have
been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into
Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the
investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest
shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion
of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods in-
vestigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and 613
residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned [627]
with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation
and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life
crises, among other things, and that it was the main group
involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal
group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-
money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of 613
the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several 591
reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of 618
economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activi-
ties, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the
integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members at-
tached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured 613
through males, membership in the patrilineage being deter- 611
mined by birth.

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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591 Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "neolocality." Under present-day conditions, neolocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal roof after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of neolocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by reservation.

59 If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as neolocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or some of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint-extended family (*lofche*). It is similar to the polygynous family (and indeed may have a polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more nucleated, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the type of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the budding of houses from the parental house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their grown sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of virilocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to the same extent in the

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591• [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member, or more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 662 591 523 [648]

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no bridepric has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup* In es-
621 sence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilocally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intercommunitional economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapuchland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
615 the original kahuin on the reservation, who were of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in times of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fixation of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-
[178] residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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which is described as a hagshrine den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *reto*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku*
are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches,
corporeal and incorporeal, make incantations over dead dogs,
frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *reto* with impunity. If a *machi* or
anyone else stumbled upon the *reto*, they would be captured
and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted
into a familiar, or else penned into the interhood as a corporeal
witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were
kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible.
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have [521]
been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events
are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually,
some person might be associated with these strange happenings,
either because of an accumulation of witchcraft made previously or
because *her activities were odd to her neighbors. She is watched*
for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a
sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is
brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the
level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for curacies. She will be shunned and will
be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community
continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may
be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the
hands of the community, *or if counterwitchcraft is being*
practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a
good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted
from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living
in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have
been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation.
This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who
try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because
they have no choice to adequate land on their natal reservation,
also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live unofficially (even for obvious eco-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

633 economic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
• 591 social communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of
them in whispers as "men having been a witch," the implication
being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
954 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to
578 make the most of merchant residence—an unstable condition in
591 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married
men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in
hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
752 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:732), again following Mi-
randa, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his
silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of
witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring machi were
secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated
"into the profession" according to secret ritual, which included
animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of
unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be
called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a
life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of
[772] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's
thoughts and its effect of social action, and it serves to comple-
ment that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of
good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this
structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the
dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 Kallas are believed to gather in nets, where they conduct their
evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to
their underworld, frequently as chucuhues, when the occasion
demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature
of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches'
fabbatoirs," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though
it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition
[784] of 'witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they
●592 spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group
of relatives. These are brought together through the workings
of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost with-
out exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a
young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might
find himself in the center of five generations which would in-
clude his father's father and his spouses, father and father's
brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their
wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their
wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. With-
in such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the
members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father,
and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his
father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal
conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal
(paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with
his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society,
since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy ap-
plied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very
likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be in-
herited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her
marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under
a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been main-
tained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to
have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on
women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their 562
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[11] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606]
father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [432]
that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607
regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592
who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *mudomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[12]

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[12] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
●592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
[578] siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachã*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachã* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of
[609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor
[587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *kowchotun*
572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *kowchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
592 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[40] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lue*, *lof*, or *lafche*,[41] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *lekko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the [421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[42] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llekkas*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llekkas* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
681

[40] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[41] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lue* for these groups of structures.

[42] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llakhan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death. 622 592 627 681

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *lakko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kow-as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[28] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[29] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man. 622 [623] [537] [556]

If a chief died or if his *kow-as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *lakko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life. 622 623

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *ulmal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *ulmal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *almeces*.[30] Several early sources re- 631

[28] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 240–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[29] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 727.

[30] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that 58 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That ex- [515] plains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin can be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Hosne, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

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In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[3]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

[3] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees. 621 162 592

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES 621 162

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Custche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women. 595

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *kiñhai* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Trumenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [592] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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TABLE V

Distribution of Carrasco's Population

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	9
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	9
Total	264

1: Titiev E-3 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

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Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Tenque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villagra with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster.

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Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

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About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

533 The term for a song is ñi, and the verb "to sing" is ñiñantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naive and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 ● 582 [756] During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciones. Each of these communities comprises a varying

[4]Best known in this category are machi ñi, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5]For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as palivu ñi ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6]The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), II, 718.

number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof,[3] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [59]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[4] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 62 [57] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[5] Whatever their particular aims 796

[3] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kinship," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-26.

[4] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[5] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously applied by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, show so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulogio Robles R., "Costumbres i

539 dirt make mud, and that is far from good.

Interpretation.—A wife sings in this vein to make it known that she is maltreated by her husband's family, with whom she has to live according to the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence. On hearing such a complaint people speak to the singer's parents-in-law, urging them to be more considerate of their daughter-in-law.

[542]

Woman's Song No. 6

weda lerbei pulma
dungu allkutun
fotum mitten mitlai
dumu ngueche lai.

Free translation.—Things are very bad with me. My father-in-law pays attention only to his son, while I am dismissed as if I were dead.

Interpretation.—Once again the strain put on a woman by the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence is brought out. A wife is a newcomer to her husband's household and is very much subject to her father-in-law throughout his lifetime.[*]

[542]

Woman's Song No. 7

weda pesmun
trofin mitten
ñi fillko dumu
mu pesmun mitten.

Free translation.—I had a bad dream just last night. On account of my brother-in-law [illegible] I dreamed of nothing but dung.

Interpretation.—This song expresses unhappiness because a woman's brother-in-law is about to marry. Through the workings of the custom of unilocal patrilocal residence his marriage means that another woman will come to live in the singer's household and will share in the conduct of its affairs. Women who are married to brothers often are so hostile that

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[*]There is reason to believe that in former times a mature man exhibited strong control over the members of his household. Normally, these consisted of his wives and unmarried offspring and his married sons and their wives and young children.

they call each other *machunes* ["loose women"].* 539

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law. 539 592

Woman's Song No. 8 539

ve kechil dungu
piyenlugu wela
ellechelu kechilkun
fei ula fre lefel
tami dungun
ellaka felgi fell.

Free translation.--At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.--Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Cotillo expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing to this guy unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household. 539 593

Woman's Song No. 9 539

mainlu hentrel
inalul lache ewe
pin-qula lillel

*MS. Do Augusto, [illegible] - 1. [illegible]

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inche pile mliten
fenguechi peuman
tañi ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[21] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my nadu ("husband's sister").

539 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenan-
●592 kun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[22] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[23]

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kiñe ngue meu
elle lelien feichi
ñiu ad laen
rume kutrandun
tañi fem ñel
re kura piuke
ñtrul niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[21]De Augusto, op. cit., I. 128, identified ñuñuke as la tortola, the turtledove (female ourlin).

[22]Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law moved into her household.

[23]"Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dakelun ñi ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 536 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [542] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[20] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to each of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 592 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuki-fuke) that one may use the term fuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[20] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Arsenicism SG4
Chile

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Family groups: 1. An Atacan family and the children's maternal grandmother. The daughters, in plaid dress (second to Chilean home in Valdivia), brought her sister (at her left) the dress she holds in morning. (Note charcoal wall of cabin, and fish drying on line in the background.) 2. The Colorado [illegible]'s family. 3. The Chon Chon [illegible]'s family. (Atacan area.)

[R 76 U]

augmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to amass extremely large holdings, as on Alonquen, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to possess their landed incomes.

Smaller holdings overview with a tendency toward "nuclear" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonquen has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an impoverished (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of comparative agricultural activities (and nuclear mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various reliondos makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonquen, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and owns, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about ten per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 469 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonquen are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llaimamon: Palabra Region

In the Palabra region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llaimamon. Of a total of 299 hectares, approximately 180 are

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 5 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants — people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

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Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Lumaco (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

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The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward nuclearity and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

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The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding corn, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

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[I.E. ON RESERVATION HUICAN--ANALYSIS]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. 127

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The 177
political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought [191]
some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion [197]
to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this [592]
isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which [183]
are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this [433]
represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

●592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

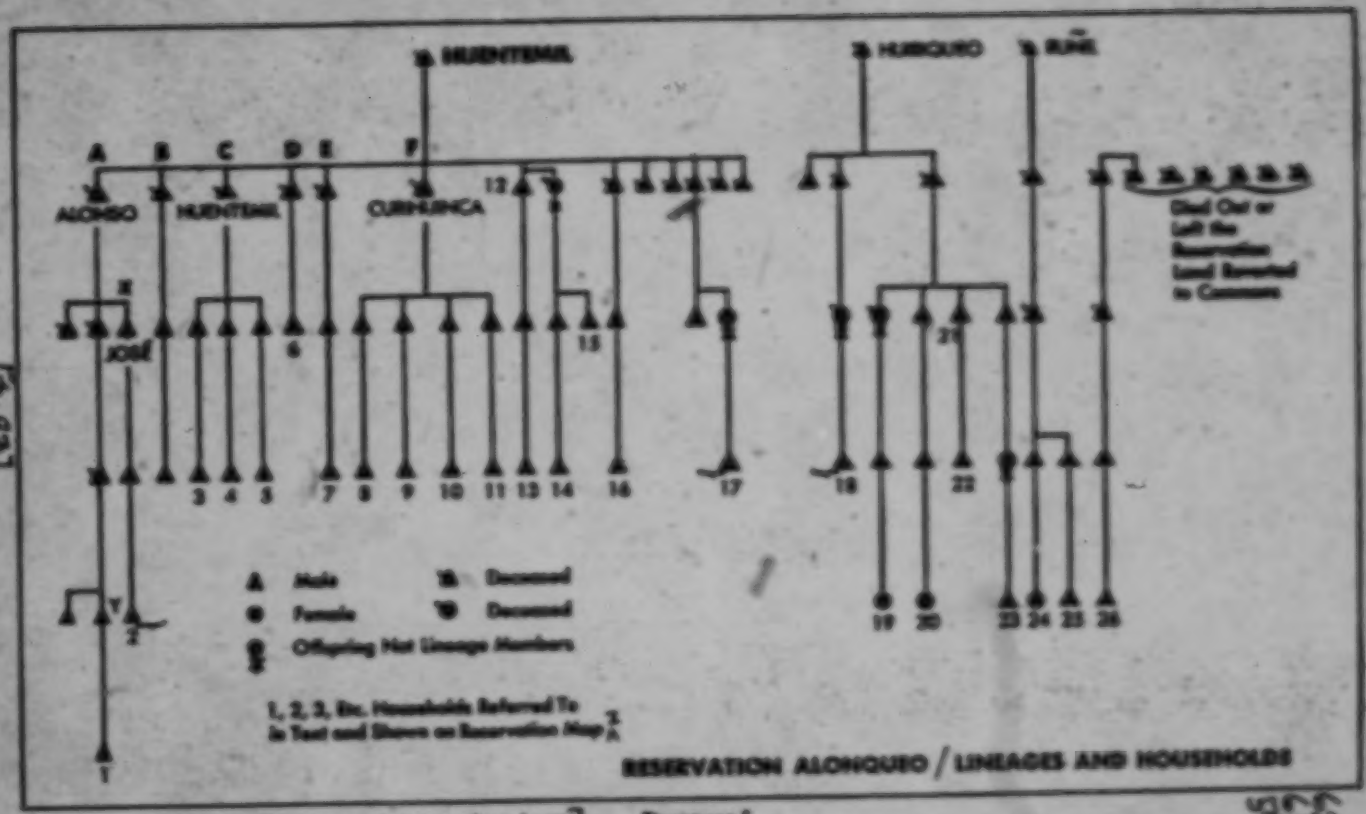
Il:Farco E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpu is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpu*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal



[See Cat. 116, p. 32 ~ Anal 197]

DIAGRAM I

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II:Farms E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II). Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [49]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[See Cat. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is *now in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were established on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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198 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
194 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
196 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to [29] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1955.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words ruka or rukaŭma, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting 597 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary 594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. 595 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been 174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Forest' (1959a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

Ur:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)[9-1 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the 591
greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the 592
era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household 621
units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final paci- 174
cation the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to hived off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *rukn*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family house- 178
hold in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, 594
must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, 596
at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units hived off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact – that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons – than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup – with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements – is a

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
584 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive seeds seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by
[114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,* which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

* [See CAT 116, pp. 229 – 233 -- Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1955	c. 1900	1955	c. 1900	1955
	EXTENDED*		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonquco	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	8	8	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucui	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

11:Farom E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [598]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*adwapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, be-
[105] [197] [19] [54] coming known. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1883.[1]

[197] [192] [105] A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social groupings are not short-lived. Subjected to the centripetal force of warfare, the Mapuche wandered in for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjust-
[54] [59] [193] ments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the
[192] [43] ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[193] [1] It might be argued that 1883 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and mounted a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo*

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa: (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592
After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II. He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his eldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [see cat. 116 p. 93 – ANALYST]

[p. 228 is blank] [see cat. 116 p. 32 – ANALYST.]

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592 [2] From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihuenque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihuenque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1900) Juan Pablo Huenumil/on Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the radicación. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

[595] Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1950, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.
Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 3 years).
Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.
(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1910) Minchiqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiqueo was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchiqueo had two more sons after radicación, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1910) Widow of Marin, 2 sons (one married with no children); a BrSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Marin.

Marin, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 7. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Marin has no direct descendants. His BrSo, Lepin, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of ruka 7, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepin, 2 Br, 2 Si.

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(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

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(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruka* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *titulo de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petron's son, Curileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Curileo, Si, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilla and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

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Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Carihuntru.[b]

(1910) Trolian.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

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Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[423] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by [342] household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of [231] adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See Cat. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
[1] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	162 592 423 422 231 427 648
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M *	0	6M	0	x	x	
2)	11	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x	
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	[illegible]	0	0	0			
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	[illegible]	0	0			
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C *	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	2	0	(0)	2	7	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?			
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	53	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34			

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32) -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

162
592
423
422
427
231
698

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	20	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(6)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	[illegible]	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	[illegible]		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	48	(19)	82	181	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100		

162
592
423
422
427
231
648

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
622 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
476 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
464 changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacique* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[178] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
• [592] seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
622 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
178 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
by the chief, but actually [illegible]ing from father to son, free from
[428] infringement by kinsme[illegible] are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere ti[illegible]r head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

● 593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter nto intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

7 539

Man's Reply

ñuke anai ñuke
ñochi müten kimei
mute dungulmi
ñillatu piuke nguea fun
piukeye niye eli
fele kayu müten
tayu poyen külen
inchiu meu ta
dungu kilpe che
inchiu müten kisu.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor (literally, piuke, "heart"). If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

koñi anai koñi
müna küme küllüi
tami feipi fiel
ruf künu lan tatei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke. 539 593

[15]Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart." 601

[16]A woman calls her husband koñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG: Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539

Woman's Song No. 3

ngüru peuman
ni wesayauan meu
chum ngüea afui
femgüei felesel.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a fox. It was bad for me, but there is no help for it now, since that is the way it turned out to be.

Interpretation.—After having been married for two years or so, a wife has come to realize that her husband is like a fox, in the sense that he is given to thieving and wrongdoing.[17] Interested auditors, acting on this hint, make it a point to advise the husband to mend his ways. They also remind him that he has now been married long enough to realize that he ought to settle down and accept the responsibilities of a married man.

Man's Reply

müna wesa pimi
nai pichi nuke
femkefuli ofpe
fachi antü kimgue
eimi meu müten
pusi ñi lelilen
wesa dungu afai.

Free translation.—Things are not as bad as you have said, my little cousin (wife). If I have done anything wrong, it's all over now. Only on you do my eyes gaze. Let everything bad be ended.

Interpretation.—The husband expresses remorse for his errors and promises to mend his ways at once and henceforth to keep his mind only on his wife.

593

[17]It is a Mapuche convention that a man whose faults are publicized in an assembly song must neither show anger nor seek to punish his wife. Nevertheless, an ominous tone runs through the husband's reply to Woman's Song No. 2; and the wife's counterreply is distinctly conciliatory.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539

Woman's Counterreply

feula anai kofi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femlil mi kimel
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme ñiña.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

539
593
825
787

Woman's Song No. 5[18]

539

rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed pikmal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him. [626]

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they call each other medomo ("feces woman").* 539

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law. 592

Woman's Song No. 8 539

re kochũ dungu
piyeninga welu
afkerkelu kochütun
fei ula fre letui
tami dungun
ellaka feipi feli.

Free translation.—At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.—Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Collío expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing in this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household. 539 593

Woman's Song No. 9 539

maicoño kuntrul
inaful inche meu
pũn-pũn kũlei

*Cf. De Augusta, op. cit., I, 133.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 tired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195"
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cañaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Cañaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. 145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 153 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cañaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alapite boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of cows and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted.

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own rukas. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers.

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash.

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay.

19: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Lareydos (sighing of the hearth). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pinero because he was a domineering person; another was called Minor because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called The Dancer because she was lame while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

559 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous.
[918] (Pls. 10; 21, 1; 22, 1.)

● 593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
602 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
593 rake, land, cows, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man have [Cacique] is rich if he has go to do sheep and more land than he needs for

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pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated 554
there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 593
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help [736]
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented [736]
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

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[761]

head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.' "

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

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should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so. 593 562

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then." 593 578 [626]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen 593

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593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had been in all rukas in Alepúe area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 758 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast. All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

593 Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her much." Informants were not acquainted with the Ilopu, a special [604] relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chau within the family circle. In general conversation

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a man or woman may address as chau a man from whom assistance is sought. 593

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help whenever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by laying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The fathers of families." A Coñaripe father told of a discussion held by "The fathers of families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and noted that he expected to be given a piece. "I must see to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family. [558]

According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least 20 years younger than the old Coñaripe man—had not heard of the custom. Two Alepúe women, one 80 years of age, the other 46, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Araucanians today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for reciprocal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a 22-year-old man brought his 19-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolonged headache, to an herbalist. After stating that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a ruka a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Araucanian herbalist heard an eldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman as a second wife. Most boys in an Alepúe school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

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●593 14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 [854] A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

302 Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rəna) from calle calle or from rūna (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, rəna were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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593 [855] of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother–sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

515 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [428] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship [596] overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [460] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [629]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents. 846 593 [854]

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand. 854 [855] [861]

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs. 593 [154] [854] [851] [832]

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and 593 861

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593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is
[844] a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
756 *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
844 seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery
[178] as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages
[735] accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[782] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[769] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[928] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often 868
acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of 593
the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the 593
situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is re- 574
placed by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are [273]
served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and [431]
husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between 868
mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early [593]
years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although [883]
this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they 868
are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older 857
sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This 233
is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact [885]
and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work.

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868 work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been
[39] conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

[845] Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches
[24] the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms,
[883] seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, how-
[152] ever, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

593 Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learn-
[868] ing process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today.
[861] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [67]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community. [594]

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage. [589]

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die. 834 593

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system. 596

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
ñillatun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances.
Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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836 835 the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

[592] There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—[illegible]ke three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action. 613 182

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities. 59 178

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply. 59

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild. [613]

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons. 593 613 428

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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
[178] community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
622 seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
178 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
421 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

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867 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowl-
603 edge from one adult generation to another, this situation
• 593 provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life
829 experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent
603 that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and
613 grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary
[769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his
[601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun*
[553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family
182 confines, the household or group of most closely related house-
867 holds, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of
[603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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[756] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most
[554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

754 578 593. [521] [756]

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

754 613 621

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere. [591] [182] [594]

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

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177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This [124] book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

177 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that 182 economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

594 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents 182 of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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ment, the maximal lineage, the residential kingroup, the multilineage reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage and ritual congregationalism. Behind the façade of rational economic judgment, the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationships which constitute reservation social structure.

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit 596
consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies [594]
to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat differ- [595]
ent composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are [178] [594]

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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
63 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognised that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility — the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other — is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the
[114] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,* which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

* [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [408] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually
sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in
any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of
the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend
to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may
assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities,
although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not
characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do
not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The
widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and
leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household
duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this
involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's
authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself
and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual
complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by
her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with,
even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to
gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize
this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic struc-
ture with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricul-
tural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche
and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation
has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority.
Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and
it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the
times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the
views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or
else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [613] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship [596] overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal [618] group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [462] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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868 work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been
[89] conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

865 Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches
[24] the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms,
[883] seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, how-
[152] ever, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

593 Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learn-
[868] ing process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today.
[861] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [587] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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596 rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
423 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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595 589 768 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the [554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are 418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along [613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of [618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance [587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[432] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the mar-
[198] riage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

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KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no ● 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

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631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that 592 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [62] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That ex- [595] plains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

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Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal *household system*. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees. 621 162 592

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES 621 162

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women. 595

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *loñkos* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

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595 [582] Of these, only three were from Cautinche (Table III), which strongly suggests that at Cautinche reservation exogamy is the rule. The men do not seem to have ranged too far afield in the quest for mates, for all of the reservations listed in Table III are close together (see Fig. 1). Nearly half of the wives, sixteen out of thirty-four, came either from the parent reduction of Carrarriñe or from the intervening communities of Chivilcoyam and Boldoche (see Fig. 1). This seems to indicate a preference for making marital arrangements among a restricted number of social units.

A review of the past and present polygynous matings also throws light on the operation of the social system. Thus, Juan Llancanao Antinao, of house No. 4 (Fig. 4), was first married to a Carrarriñe woman and about seven years later he took a second wife from the same reservation. The original occupant of house No. 5, Huenchual Huenupi, married a woman from Romulwe, by whom he had seven children. He also took another mate from Romulwe, by whom he begot three children. On the death of his first wife Huenchual Huenupi went to Argentina, but his second spouse remained in Cautinche with a lover. On Huenchual's return home his wife and her lover moved to Argentina. Huenchual never remarried.

Millan Lincopan, of house No. 7, married his first wife some forty-five years ago, took a second mate about five years later, and a third after the lapse of a similar period. All three women shared the same *ruka* for many years. They are said to have quarreled in the beginning, but to have lived in harmony after a time. The first and third spouses were distant relatives from Denencuhue, but the second woman was unrelated to them and was from Romulwe. Millan Lincopan had offspring by all three wives. After their death he married a widow from Boldoche, by whom he had one son.

595 587 Householder No. 10, Antonio Huircapan, was married to two women through the levirate, as each of them was the widow of an older brother. Moreover, in accord with traditional usage, they were cross-cousins (*ñuke*) of their husbands.[8] Another

[8] The man in house No. 16 also acquired his wife by levirate.

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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[8] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[8] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the
162 pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are
592 fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1.....	1	1	4	6
2.....	1	1	6	8
3.....	1	1	5	7
4.....	1	1	2	4
5.....	3	1	2	6
6.....	3	3	1	7
7.....	2	2	2	6
8.....	1	1	3	5
9.....	2	3	2	7
Totals.....	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Tenque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daugh-
592 ters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one
621 is a bachelor and one a spinster.

162 Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The
595 chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes. 621 162 592 595

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered. 621 174

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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INFANCY

853 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collio in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l-aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l-akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hosse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L-aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chachu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l-aku*.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick [578 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-* [776]
mallen, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-llandomo*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price." 583

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment. [554 595]

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal. [727]

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[11] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[11] Titiev, 1943, p. 517, footnote 30.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[33]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer [762] suicide to any other arrangement.[34] The rarity of divorce is also 58 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his 595 previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[33] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[34] Cf. Hoxie, 1939, p. 240.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[18] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[19]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[18] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[19] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and Hosne, 1939, pp. 217–21.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huen.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyion.*
" sister, *nyudu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *keruu.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelruchao.*
Stepmother, *ngenye.*
Stepson, *malyi nutem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi mialue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pingem.*
Mistress, *unpum.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
815 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents.
Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*leventun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (kūde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refūɣ) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter fiuke (mother) while she called him peñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, *in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaqkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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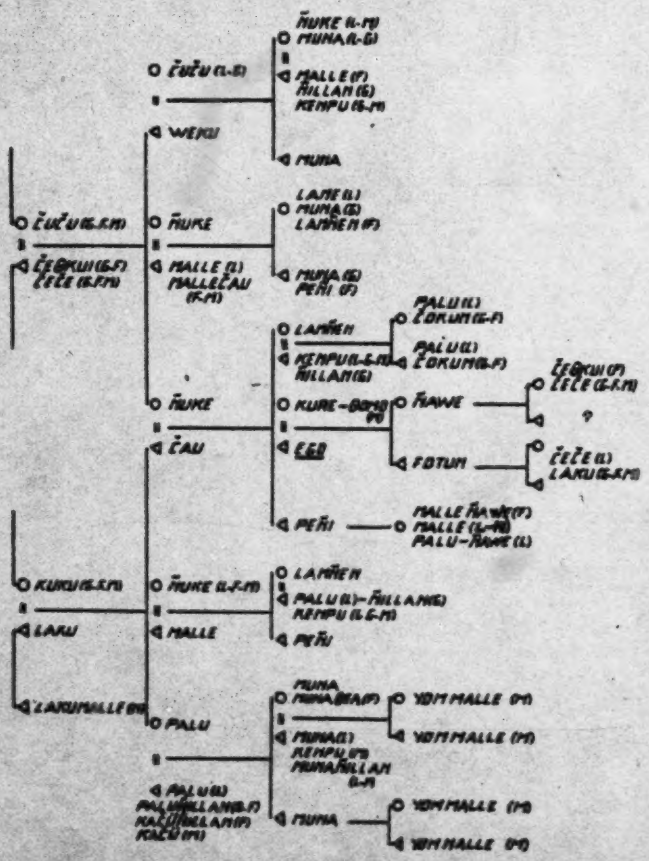

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautin Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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[59]

There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurun*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate.

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 587

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [595]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous
[595] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
622 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
593 ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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No case of psychosis existed in Panguipulli area while I was there. 158
There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alepúe area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Araucanian herbalist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 10 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Coñaripe area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a ruka close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly boisterous in his own ruka. "He is scolding," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his ruka and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the campo. He used to go to the mission to talk nonsense to the Sisters. They listened to him, gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no plans for caring for him beyond keeping him in his ruka and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Boros area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have seen all four persons. One man leaves home and wanders about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies nude in his bed on the floor covered with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises abruptly and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he seems not to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks nonsensically and incoherently; the other sits in melancholy fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Until recent years polygynous marriages were customary. Informants recalled men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing number was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygynists were usually caciques, the sons of caciques, the machi, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married successive wives when each one failed to bear him children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's sources wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 10 wives; an occasional one had 18, 20, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were 595 [554]

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595 not able to pay the bride price, maintained a monogamous marriage (1946, p. 721).

Occasionally a woman resented her husband's marrying a second wife, either because she had a personal dislike for the other woman or was jealous of her, or because her husband neglected her, or it reflected on her capabilities. An instance was related where a man announced to his wife, who had borne him six children, that he was bringing home a second wife, a young woman. The young woman was brought in, and the neighborhood was feasted for a week. The two wives lived in separate ruka. The man ignored the first wife, and forbade her the customary jurisdiction over the second one. The non-Araucanian interpreter added: "The older one told me of her intense inner suffering because of this. When at the point of death, the husband came near her and immediately her resentment was roused, and she kept calling him, 'You devil.' The woman often said to me, 'I have suffered terribly.'" Instances were known where a woman found the situation of simultaneous wives exceedingly trying; sometimes so unbearable that she committed suicide by hanging herself. Usually, however, there was no difficulty about this.

Although at present monogamous marriages prevail, there were polygynous marriages in each area I visited. They are prohibited by Chilean law and are looked at askance by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. "Any man who has two wives today," said a 45-year-old Alepúe man, "is spoken of in derision as a cacique; to have two wives today is considered a disgrace." South of Boroa (Licán area) many men today have two wives; one has four.

Formerly, simultaneous wives were often sisters, possibly because of the custom of the sororate which was institutional but not obligatory. Today simultaneous wives in Licán are usually not sisters; no two of the Licán wives were. In Alepúe, they were: "Down near the Pacific lives a man, now older than 100 years, whose two wives were sisters; one is still living, the other died not long ago. A machi in Mehuín has three wives, two of whom are sisters." Many times wives were more distantly related. It was known that, in general, wives that were related lived more agreeably together than did others; exceptions, however, were spoken of.

Usually there is a considerable difference in the ages of the wives. The second wife of the 100-year-old man was younger than the children of his first wife.

More often than not each wife occupied—as they do today—a separate ruka; ruka in such cases were usually not far apart. If two or more lived in one, its fireplace was either shared by them or each

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had her own. A Boroa cacique's three wives lived in one long ruka and each had her own fireplace. In another Boroa ruka each of two wives occupied one-half of a long ruka, but used a common fireplace which was located in the middle of the ruka. Ruka were not divided by partitions—the fireplace was the dividing line. 595

Wives shared the household duties to a large extent, with consideration being shown to the one first married. It was she who acted as head wife, making all household arrangements and giving orders to the other wives. She had priority over them all in all things. In case of an argument, the younger ones were expected to keep still. "My grandfather used to say that his second and third wives were like maids to the first one." This did not mean, however, that the first wife did not participate in household duties.

Cooking was done by each wife in turn, if it was done for all families together—"that is, if it was done in one kettle. One wife prepared the forenoon meal and another the afternoon meal—we had only two meals each day formerly." Sometimes wives took turns by days. In some households each wife cooked for her own children—"it depended on what the oldest wife ordered." In such cases the husband took turns eating with his several wives and their children.

Each wife tended to her own children. She and her children were at home in the section of the ruka assigned to her. She kept this section clean and had all her belongings there. She did not feel at home in the sections occupied by the other wives, and would not take things from there for her use without the permission of the woman to whom they belonged. "If each wife feels at home only in her own section, fewer unpleasant happenings occur."

Polyandry, according to present informants, was never a part of the Araucanian culture. No instance was reported by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 721). Although Cooper's sources recorded it (1946, p. 722), my Araucanian informants emphatically denied that wife lending ever was practiced. The fact that the Araucanian language has no word for wife lending leads me to believe my informants. Two non-Araucanian women who know Araucanian family life intimately did not believe that wife or daughter lending to guests was practiced. "Hearing you say it is the first time I have heard it said about the Mapuche," said one. "I do not believe either that girls have sexual relationship with several men before they marry; an occasional one does, yes." Again this is not in agreement with Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722). The other non-Araucanian continued: "I am certain that these are not customs of the Mapuche. The marital life of married couples is very fine. Exceptions such as Cooper's sources give

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595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

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or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautin, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepúe man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Coñaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Liñaco." 342 595

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

553 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

575 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one tolda, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 583 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather of the present cacique in Quilaquina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one. 545 [22]

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate toldo, in one of several attached toldos, or in a section of one large toldo. Attached toldos had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called fuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called kake fuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chau chau. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peni; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them lamgen or dea."

When Kilapan married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her,

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595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

[587 614] Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for house hold is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in po- 613
lygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which [595]
still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically [596] in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of 613
Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to [596] refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, al- [592] though reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned – and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only 611
with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance – for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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C13 1978 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed – that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 613 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[1] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [49]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 36

1 [See CAT. 116, P. 32 — Analyst]

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The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

596 [594] [595]

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are [118] [594]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [595] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that *he* was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish 837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865]
grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595]
nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. *But in the time of family vigor,* households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are [182] forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the 613 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be- [609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [824] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar- [595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [969] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [613]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [66] [575] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single [583] man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights [178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. [169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or [581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships — that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *mum domo*, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unum domo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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[595] active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [593] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *machwno* (fierce woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *machwno* is used more often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage-sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man pays a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilocally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [714] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization. 595

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir. [853] [845]

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment. 595 854 [601]

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- 595 [667] [889] [968]

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[83] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as
[83] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more
[594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
425 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[413] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[164] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[6] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[6] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[a] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

[a] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather — Analyst]

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§33 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the
next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
§34 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the
sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put
straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after
prolonged teasing.

§3 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Cour-
[§34] ship itself is called *thengen* or *kiielun*, words which connote sexual
[§94] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality
among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[§35] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human
and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[§95] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a
wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally
associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[§3] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[§34] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the de-
liberation of sexual matters which offers a reluctance to talk openly
about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be
maintained toward members of the preceiment ascending generation.

§3 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
§34 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[§34] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent
sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the ownership of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de-
[§31] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[§36] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents re-
strict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within reasonable bounds.

§35 The incest barrier is theoretically immovable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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SG4 SG3 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union. [582]

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife. [585] [586]

588 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young. [591]

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan ßomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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587 595 Filial inheritance of views is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

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[possibly "wives" in mss. – Analyst]

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 587 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 587 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonquen, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonquen men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this combined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consistent with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patrilineal organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on local aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *weku*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The raison d'être of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all events, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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592 L21 From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihuenque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried daughter, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daughters, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihuenque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1900) Juan Pablo Huenumill/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daughters.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the título de merced, but moved back in time for the radicación. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

595 Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Tránsito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1920, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Tránsito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Tránsito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Tránsito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.

Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 0 sons (under 3 years).

Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried daughter.

(There more of Juan Pablo's sons not longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1900) Minchilquen/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daughters, SiDa.

Minchilquen was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchilquen had two more sons after radicación, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiDa) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1900) Widow of Martín, 2 sons (one married with no children), 2 Bros, his wife, 4 sons, 1 daughter; 2 Sibs of Martín.

Martín, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1900. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 3. All those mentioned in the título de merced are now dead. Martín has no direct descendants. His Bro Lepín, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of ruka 3, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepín, 2 Br, 2 Si.

HsFaron E-5 (1952-1954)[96] SG4 Araucanians SG4
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(F) (1900) Curihuinca/W, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—ruka 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of ruka 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1918. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present ruka, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in ruka 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Sr.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/W, 4 daus.

(1900) Llancamil/2 W (also four children), 3 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, so which time he occupied a ruka near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in ruka 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's ruka and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 18, Juan Millaquen, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 13 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonso, where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in ruka 14. His wife is descended from Cayupuen, an original *reducido* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/W, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Sr.
Household 14: Domingo/W, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 nephews.
Household 15: Segundo, Sr., 1 Sr.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational membership. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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held in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this seems to be the sanction of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F$_1$-F$_2$, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clearly done, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the multilateral marriage system which generally tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

significantly high correlation among the eighteen conversions indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the inconsistency of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolhuin region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent conversions is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-giver outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and enemy, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1964, 1964) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, on a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sets short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of enemy and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

A.I [Source: see category 136, p. 135, for corrections -- Analyst]

18: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SCA Araucanians SCA
Mapuche

(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ritualism. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A Reche's children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never considered that their mother was a witch and, if their grievances were peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No causes of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a machi to perform a machitun (or machiguerra), had at considerable expense since several machi and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The Reche was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into ownership and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was divided, and leave away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

Where feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch controls rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not an effective mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households women have very little charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between husbands' wives, most usually when the women are not related consanguineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within such emotionally

are obliged to recognize a certain category of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same subkinship, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among unrelated women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is acquaintance of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather unstable.

Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in antagonisms over money. Men tend to avoid such embarrassments by downplaying the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingship, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinsmen, explain the accusation and have in psychological terms of misdiagnosis, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed implications of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the man almost invariably does something or argue. Instead, one finds that there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation, since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since sorcery is not involved.

While though there are more accusations of sorcery among polygynous women, there is rarely fear of sorcery or actual illness. Co-wives might work hard magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might work to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Magwebe land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

523 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[illegible] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
593 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughter. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
142 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagonia. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE PATRILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
592 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might
594 find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouse, father and father's brothers and their respective wives, ego's brothers and their wives, ego's sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and ego's sons' children. Within such a group, ego would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[593] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
594 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
593 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

574 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence -- at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships -- and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word familia is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is -- at least during one or more phases of its development -- always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the more common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is ruka (house), and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, ruka is never used in the sense of lineage, although in the recent past, when large uniloral households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past ruka commonly designated extended and/or compound-family households, which again suggests that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

C13 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of rukas (households) which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps VI and VII). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the nucleus of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen -- father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Tilore a linguistic reflection of the breakup of a once strictly uniloral (household) residence pattern. Since *lofe* means "no hedge" or "no fall sport," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to know when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of small-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.* Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature. 613 621 618

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality — neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucania, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case. 591 613 621

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilineal rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this 613 621 592 [114] [818]

*Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilineal rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the deceased ancestor must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
62 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
[618] dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[114] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
[428] cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
218 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[580] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

6

The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies to some extent as long as it exists as a unit – that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1955.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4. It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukaima*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household had been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *grupo* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[113] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the fragile nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility — the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other — is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and
[192] elementary *household* units (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[129] ent areas of Araucania. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the
[114] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,* which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households might be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

* [See CET 116, pp. 229 – 233 — Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

GENERATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED *		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucul	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelquen	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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594 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely
178 to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in
[613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re-
[596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society.
[591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation)
[618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens
[465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which
[422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community. [594]

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage. [595]

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die. 834 593

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system. 596

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Eco-
[182] nomic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are powerful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the
613 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority
621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among
[606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be-
[609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In
[329] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar-
[595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in
[182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the
[169] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large.

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house.

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not so great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpulon* (*moyo*, breast; *pulon*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere.

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of

R:Faron E-5 (955-1974)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[S4L] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

[S4K]

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[S4B]

[S4C]

[S4D]

On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are resive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[S4E]

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

[S4L]

[S4K]

[S4B]

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of [178] polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single [583] man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights [178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. [169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[28] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

• 596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or [581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships — that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

B:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

[575] [575] [575] [

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[illegible] thus developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[illegible] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today appeared. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

[illegible] Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the age chart (e.g. Titiev, [illegible], pp. 79, 98, or passim). We have seen that this combined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic preservation found in the literature.

[illegible] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation covariates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

[illegible] There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

14. Form E-6.1 (1952-1956) 1964
BGE Accession 504
Magwabe

000 ons. It is directly from the father that all men acquire lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These include the right to land and house site, the right to participate in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the community. Today, these rights are most immediately invested in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they were in days long in the recent past. A few generations ago, the chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the appurtenance of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such powers, his children taken as a whole have ceased to have a direct part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, to the two-generational or, at most, the three-generational boundary. In many cases, there are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called the lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
422 man's wife. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[421] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from disengagement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this de facto condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the most tender head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[421] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in ensuring independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Magwabe morality,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ceremony. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipuwun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into *reducciones* and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter nto intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. 145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepue boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 597 593

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 597

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 357

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand while cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

727 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people.
597 A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me come to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 12 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and liked it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (piche wentru); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Salustiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Traipe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

591 emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxori-
613 local residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these
[68] in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to
[609] put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship
[599] can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial
[608] bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

613 The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where
603 views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

613 In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

613 A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's
423 groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family)
621 on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be at- 582 tributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[836] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

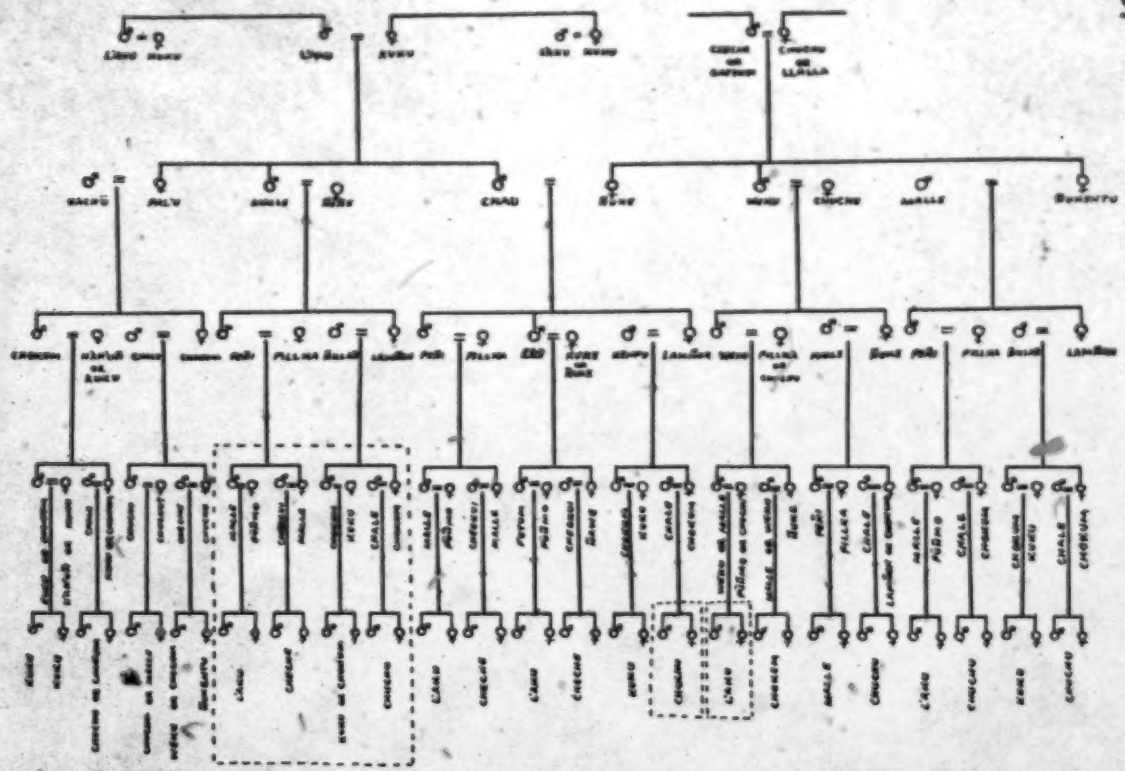

FIG. 2. The Araucanian kinship system, male speaking. For the terms inclosed by broken lines, which should be regarded as tentative, informants failed to reach close agreement.

●601

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 587 *ñuke* to him. A similar tendency to use the same term for wife and mother appears in the generation above that of *ego*, since maternal uncle's wife and mother are both called *chuchu*.

Levirate and sororate were voluntarily invoked by some informants to explain other aspects of terminology. Thus, it was pointed out that *malle* conveyed the meaning of potential stepfather. Through the levirate, father's brother (*malle*) would become *ego's* father; and through the sororate, the husband of *ego's* mother's sister (*malle*) might likewise become *ego's* father. It follows logically that the offspring of these men, *ego's* parallel cousins, should be regarded as siblings.

In a society where the filial inheritance of wives is a common practice, it is not unexpected to find that the nomenclature occasionally disregards generation lines. The Araucanian system has an additional feature of this kind, since certain relatives in alternate generations employ reciprocal terms for each other. In the case of men (Fig. 2), father's father and son's son are *l-aku*. When *ego* is female (Fig. 3), father's mother and son's daughter are known as *kuku*, mother's mother and daughter's daughter are *chuchu* or *llalla*, and father's sister and brother's daughter are *pal-u*.

601 Another noteworthy aspect of Araucanian kinship terminology is that a number of terms convey sex distinctions at one generation level but do not serve that purpose at another. For example, *l-aku* (Fig. 2) means father's father, and *kuku* refers to father's mother; but when a man applies these terms to the grandchildren's generation there is no distinction of sex. *L-aku* refers to *ego's* brother's son's son or daughter, and *kuku* designates either *ego's* sister's son's son or daughter.

Still another noteworthy feature is the use of specific terms for certain relatives within a general category that is designated by a classificatory term. For instance, a man calls a male relative-in-law in his own generation *ñillan*, but he uses *kenpu* when referring to his own sister's husband.[3]

[3] Other examples, which are not shown because they were reported by only a single informant (J. M. Collío), are: *des* applied by a man to his own sister, whereas *lamñen* is the classificatory term for sister or female parallel

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Kinship terms are widely employed for direct address in ordinary social intercourse. Whenever a specific relationship exists between speakers, teknonymy is utilized. If there is no close relationship, terms of address[4] are used as listed in Table I. 601 [55]

Araucanian kinship terminology recognizes only five generations, two above and two below *ego*. If it is found necessary to extend terms to higher or lower generations, the Mapuche do not use new words, but employ numerical prefixes as needed.

TABLE I

TERMS OF DIRECT ADDRESS

Male Speaker	Person Addressed	Female Speaker
*fücha*chau.....	Very old man	*chachai*
kuzepapai.....	Very old woman	*ñaña*
chau or *chachai*....	Older man than *ego*	*chau*
papai[5].....	Older woman than *ego*	*papai*
peñi.....	Man of *ego's* age	*lamñen*
lamñen.....	Woman of *ego's* age	*lamñen*
fotum or *fochum*....	Younger man	*weiche*
lamñen.....	Younger woman	*pailiao*
fochumtu.....	Very young man	*chachaiñu*
lamñentu.....	Very young woman	*ñañaitu*

For instance, a man calls his paternal grandfather *laku*. Hence, great-grandfather is *epuchi* ("twice") *laku*, great-

cousin; *chaikui*, used by a male to indicate his actual father-in-law, whereas *weiu* applies to any one of his mother's brothers or potential fathers-in-law; and *kañi*, a term of affection used by a woman toward a favored father's sister's son, whereas other cross-cousins of this kind are generally called either *chau* ("father") or *fotum* ("son").

[4] Terms of direct address are almost invariably preceded by the Mapuche greeting, "*Mari, mari*," which means "ten, ten," and has the connotation of a hundred greetings or welcomes.

There are so many alternate usages possible for terms of direct address that the data given in Table I require confirmation and further study.

[5] *Papai* is the most common respectful term of direct address used by either sex when speaking to an adult woman.

601 great-grandfather is *kilachi* ("thrice") *laku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kilachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance
796 with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always precedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

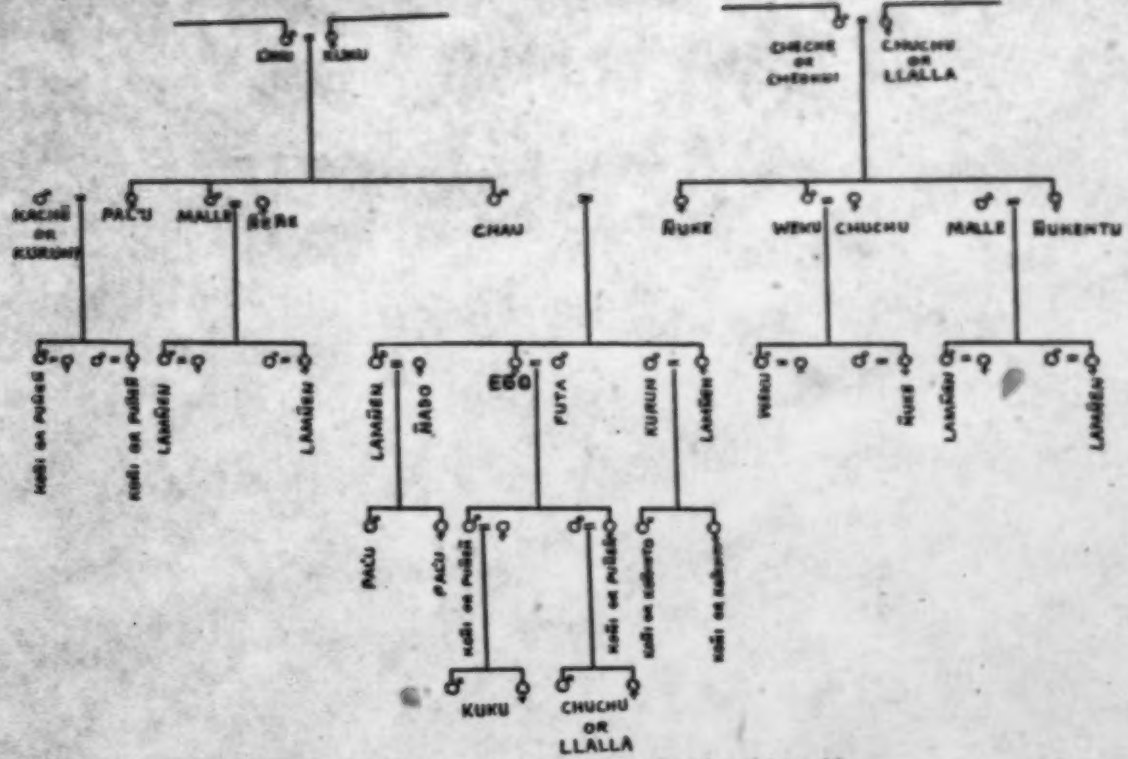

FIG. 3. The Araucanian kinship system, female speaking.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16] 602 572

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans. 601

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collio to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted 601 582

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lowie, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else re-
582 ported.[8] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collio in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collio denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *fuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collio sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter
613 is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

080 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[9] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

178 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[8] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[9] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

ASSEMBLY SONGS

T 539

Man's Reply

Ñuke ñuai ñuke
Ñuchi mülen kimai
mule dangolmi
Ñillatu pinke ngüen fun
pinkeye niye eli
fele kayu müllen
tayu payen kilen
tachiu mew ta
dungu kilpe che
tachiu müllen kien.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor [literally, pinke, "heart"]. If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

Woman's Counterreply

ñuñi ñuai ñuñi
mülen kimu kiñiki
tami felpi fiel
ñuñi kimu lan tatei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke.

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[15] Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or also somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart."

601

[16] A woman calls her husband ñuñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llaneas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delictu* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 621 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 [62]

number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised :—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*

Father's father, *lacu.*

Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.

Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.

Father's mother, *cucu.*

Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*

Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*

Mother, *niuke* or *papat* (*pa-pie*).

Mother's father, *chedchi.*

Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*

Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*

Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.

Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*

Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*

Son, *votem.*

Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.

Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*

Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*

Daughter, *niahue.*

Daughter's son, *chedchi.*

Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*

Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla*, etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *panyi.*

Brother's son, *malyi.*

Brother's grandson, *lacu.*

Brother's daughter, *malyi niahue.*

Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*

Sister, *langen.*

Sister's son, *choquem.*

Sister's grandson, *chale choquem.*

Sister's daughter, *malen choquem.*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents.
Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapúche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90). 114

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today. 114 184

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned: 121 114 611

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev). [601]

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913,
114 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of
611 Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
●601 time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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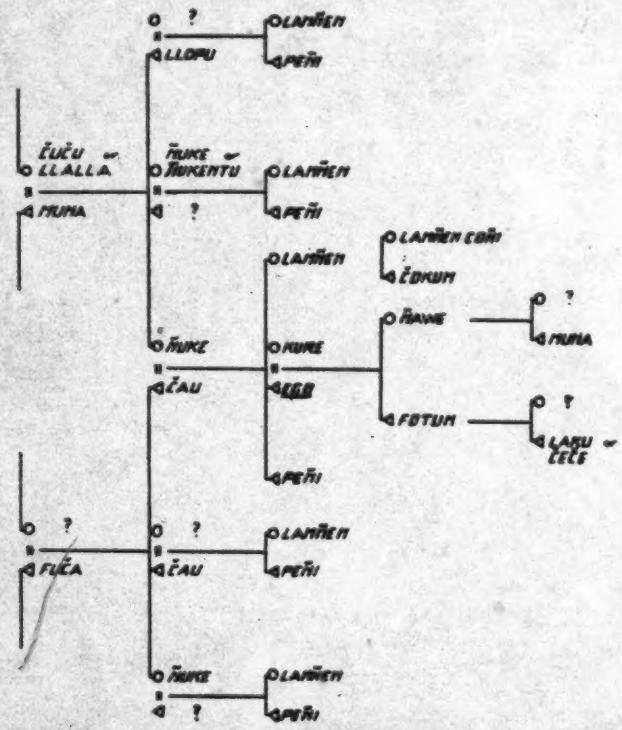

DIAGRAM 1. Mapuche kinship terminology as collected by Valdivia (1606).

tion are listed, and five generations in all are represented. The close agreement of these three lists represented in Diagrams 1 and 2 has been noted by Cooper (1946:724). Nevertheless, a few significant terminological changes were important and will be discussed below. The kinship data, as well as other descriptive material, show that certain aspects of kinship associated with patrilineal organization were in evidence at least as early as Luis de Valdivia's recording of them, that is, before 1606.

On Ego's generation parallel- and cross-cousins are classed with siblings in Diagrams 1 and 2. Modifiers were used (as they are today) to differentiate "cousins" from Ego's siblings when specificity was desired. A similar device served to distinguish own father and mother from FaBr, MoSi, and stepparents (who seem often to have been FaBr or MoSi).[2] Prefixes were employed to differentiate older and younger brothers and sisters: e.g., *yunan* and *ynan peñi/lamñen*. This is also encountered today. Another manner of more descriptive expression was circumlocution.[3]

It is evident from Diagrams 1 and 2 that in the handling of cousin terms the system does not yet show Omaha features. MoBrCh are not called "uncle"

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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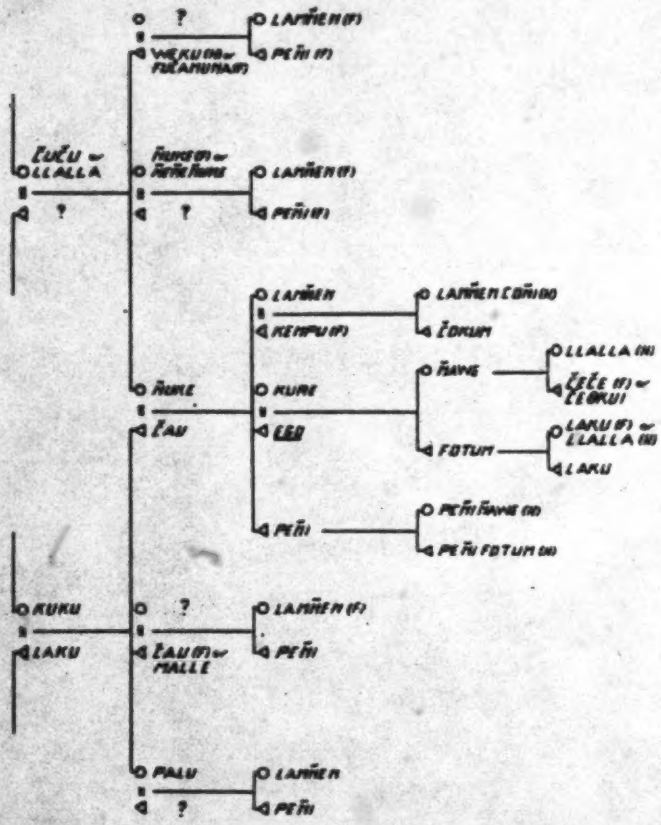

DIAGRAM 2. Composite kinship terminology of Mapuche, based upon Febrés (F) and Havestadt (H). Unmarked terms from both sources.

and "mother," for example. There is no break in the generation principle on Ego's age level. The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations (Diagram 2) is, however, a departure from this principle and remains a special feature of the system today. However, judging from in-law terms recorded by Febrés, generation was terminologically disregarded between Ego and his wife's siblings and parents after marriage. Ego called WiSi and WiFaSi by a wife derivative (*kurun*); and WiFa, WiFaBr, and WiBr by an identical term (*kenpu*). There seems to be no description of such cross-generational marriages having taken place. However, because of the vagueness of chronicle reports regarding marriage and incest, the possibility, as reflected in the kinship terms, is not excluded.

On the first ascending generation the merging tendency apparent in

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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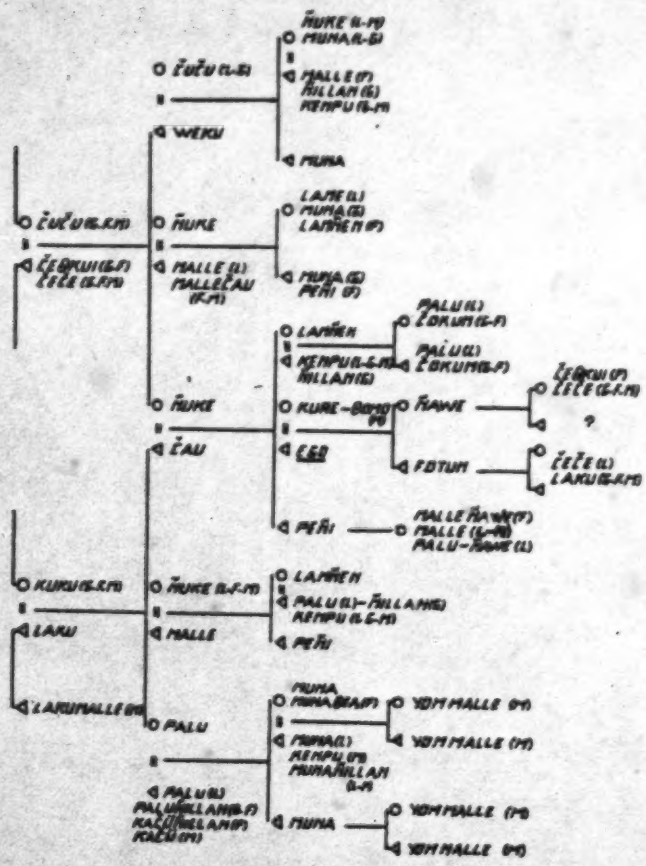

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as step-mother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

595 There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal
601 organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately dis-
611 cernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identi-
174 fication on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the
[591] descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

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Brouwer 1892:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5]

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurun*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 595

Fa and FaBr were identified. The patemal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

174 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times. [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

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601 dications in Moesbach that there were corresponding changes in this descendency, insofar as MoBrDaCh were called "brother" and "sister." However, Latcham and Guevara recorded a cousin term (*muna*) for MoBrDa, again suggesting an unevenness in the pattern of distribution of cross-generation marriage.

601 178 Though there are still many terms lacking in this diagram, the affinal terms on Ego's generation are now fairly complete and, interestingly, display considerable variation. It is uncertain whether the "alternate" terms were distinctive localized ones or were in direct competition over a wide area, but this may be resolved by assuming a differential change in rate from region to region, with contemporaneous differences acting as steps in a general transition during a time of considerable flux. Warfare, population loss, the splitting [167] up of settlements because of migration (to Argentina and to the less disturbed regions south of Cautín Province), and the imposition of reservations after the rebellion of 1880–82, all contributed to further reshuffling of the social aggregates. Many of the social differences in Araucanía today seem to have their roots in the recent past.

601 591 582 177 The social alignments which developed out of the break-up of the earlier exogamous settlements during the colonial period (when warfare was more intensive) affected residence rules and marriage practices. In line with this change, we see that FaSiHu and FaBrDaHu were at first called by the same term as their spouses. There is no descriptive historic material to help explain this phenomenon in terms of marriage regulations. However, it seems that these males were really outsiders who generally had no close ties with their wives' kin groups. This situation would be consistent with the development of a pattern of patrilocal residence and its strengthening, which accompanied the splitting up of the former multilineage settlements that had an endogamous bias. The change in the terms of the affinals in question reflect the new situation. In the case of FaSiHu, there was a change from a term which identified him as the husband of the paternal aunt (*palu*) to a term which may be loosely translated as "one who has purchased" (*ñillan*). As a possible intermediate step there seems to have been a combination of the two terms, a circumlocution, "the one who has purchased the maternal aunt," indicating the pattern of wife purchase which was an integral part of the exogamously organized Mapuche society.

601 582 587 Judging from recorded marriage practice as well as from kinship terminology, there is little doubt that MoSiHu and MoBrDaHu could have been the same person as either Fa or FaBr. The operation of the levirate, the sororate, the fact that it was common for brothers to marry sisters from another household, and the cross-generational marriage with WiBrDa account for this equation.

The levirate and sororate are known historically (see e.g. Mariño de Lovera 1865 [ca 1594]:124; Guevara Silva 1913:40), and WiBrDa marriage is part of oral history. Even if WiBrDa marriage is not described in chronicle material (Cooper 1946:719), it is nevertheless reflected in the female-speaking

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terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 587

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [595]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

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Merging

From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582]

In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practiceseems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587]

The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a resultof warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

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Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184]

The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

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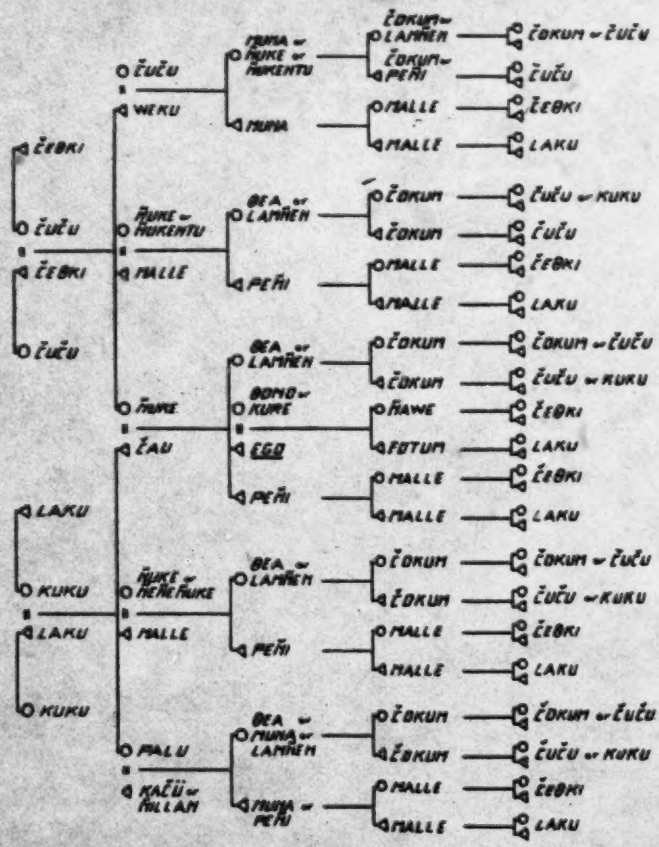

DIAGRAM 4. Araucanian kinship terminology from Cautín Province, Chile, 1953. Field data.

terms obtained in 1953 in the provinces of Cautín and Malleco, in the following regions: (1) southeast of Temuco, (2) west of Quepe, (3) the general region around Toltén, (4) south of Villarrica, (5) Lonquimay, and (6) Isla Huapi, Lago Budi.

The results, as recorded in the diagram, are fairly uniform. Wherever more than one term is listed for the same relative they are alternates in common use.

On Ego's generation we see that parallel-cousins are classed with siblings and that cross-cousins are still differentiated by the *muna* term. *Muna*, however, is sometimes used in combination with a brother or sister term, indicating the closeness felt in this relationship. Older and younger siblings and cousins are differentiated by using the qualifiers *unan* or *inan* when specificity is de-

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601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [593] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

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arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kurustukui* (i.e. taking *kurus*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matrilineality, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

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174 611 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880-82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

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601 582 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *ñomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 114 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

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the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 601 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. 174 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [177]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pero-

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

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[3] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonomy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonomy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which bore a superficial resemblance to teknonomy. 601 [551]

[4] *Ñuñu* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *ñoño* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *ñoño* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fuchai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[5] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientes." Given the Araucanian kinship designations there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamañen*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[6] MoSi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ka ñuhu*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 102–111, Latcham 1924).

[7] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persistía la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 zation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who
[611] is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the
[587] problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wéko* (= mother's brother) and *ñáke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-ntu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wéko* are always *ñáke*. The children of a *ñáke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*pálu*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*kóhum;* no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*hotés*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kurúu* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kurúu* by a man is *kémpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kurúu* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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AGE AND QUALITIES OF PARTNERS

582 Generally a man is older by several years than the woman he marries. In only 7 percent of the 116 families recorded in the census taken in Alepúe in 1940 (Censo de Alepúe de Noviembre de 1940) was the wife older than her husband. The second and subsequent wives were usually much younger than the man. The youngest of three wives of a Coñaripe man—the man was 80 years old in 1947—was 40 years younger than he when he married her. He had three children in 1947 younger than 10 years of age.

Both men and women were considered of marriageable age when in the twenties; however, a man was often in his early thirties before he married. Ages of parents and their children taken at random from the 1940 census of Alepúe follow: Husband, 46; wife, 36; children, 17, 15, 14, 13, 8, 7, 5. Husband, 38; wife, 35; child, 2. Husband, 41; wife, 38; children, 18, 15, 14 and 14 (twins), 12, 9, 4, 2. Husband, 53; wife, 55; children, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 8.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman, namely, care for children, plant a garden, prepare and cook all foods; and she should know all things regarding the preparation and use of wool, such as washing it, spinning and weaving it into chamall, choapino, blankets, and other useful articles. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to cultivate the soil, raise cattle and sheep, and has acquired both land and animals. Formerly, a man had also to be able to fight in war before he was allowed to marry. When the father thought that his son was ready for marriage, he suggested to him that he marry. Occasionally a man decided for himself that he was ready. "Today no one asks about any qualities any more," said a 70-year-old man. "As long as they are married—that is all that counts!"

601 From the day of marriage the man is spoken of as kure ŋen wentru, or kuri ŋelu, or kure ŋechi wentru (married man, or man having a spouse), or merely wentru (man); the woman, as fẽt'an ŋelu (a married one), or fẽt'a ŋechi (married woman), or merely domo (woman).

A man after the birth of his first child, and any old man, is called fũcha (old man); a woman, after her first delivery, and any old woman, is called kuʃe (old woman). Such men and such women may also be spoken of as tremke che (the eldest ones). There is no change of appellation when a man becomes a grandfather, or a woman, a grandmother.

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648 animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since
868 the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

195 Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Arauca-
601 nian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fiuke; his brother and sister each as piñe; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'om, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as poñeñ.

212 The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in
172 many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [52] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [408] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually
sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in
any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of
the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend
to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may
assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities,
although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not
characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do
not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The
widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and
leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household
duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this
involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's
authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself
and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual
complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by
her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with,
even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to
gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize
this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 678
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic struc-
ture with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricul-
tural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche
and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation
has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority.
Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and
it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the
times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the
views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or
else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, 595
and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of [178]
polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called [601]
inan θomo, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher 595
bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but 583
since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in [589]
all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her 595
own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous ar-
[583] rangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives
[587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and
[754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous 595
households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies [853] in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives [846] will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the 595
care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the 854
household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care — again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and [601] ●
"other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and 595
daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left [167]
the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that [589]
none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- [768]

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582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly
601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[2]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness."
[584] A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [2] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

582 601 [7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

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582 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships
613 between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[594] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in
[885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminolo-
●601 gy which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-
613 organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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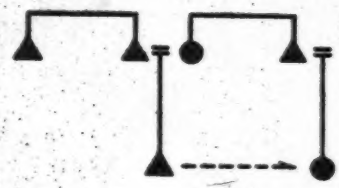

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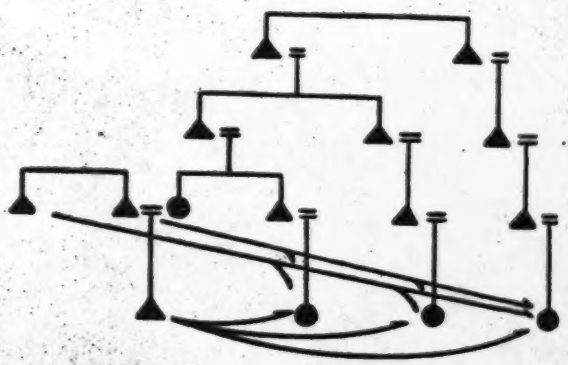

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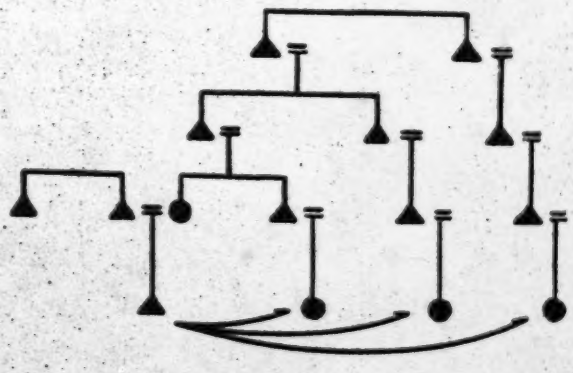

[p. 203]

DIAGRAM IV

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline
[598] in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [622] [178]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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DIAGRAM I. Model of Maximal Lineage

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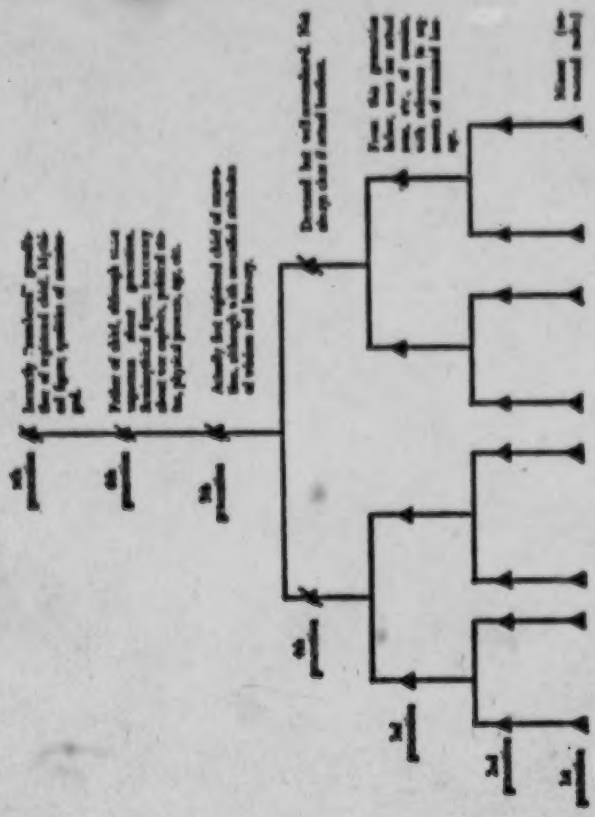

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613 greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining domi- 621 nant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of 178 lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578] lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601] lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there [578] by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

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Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]

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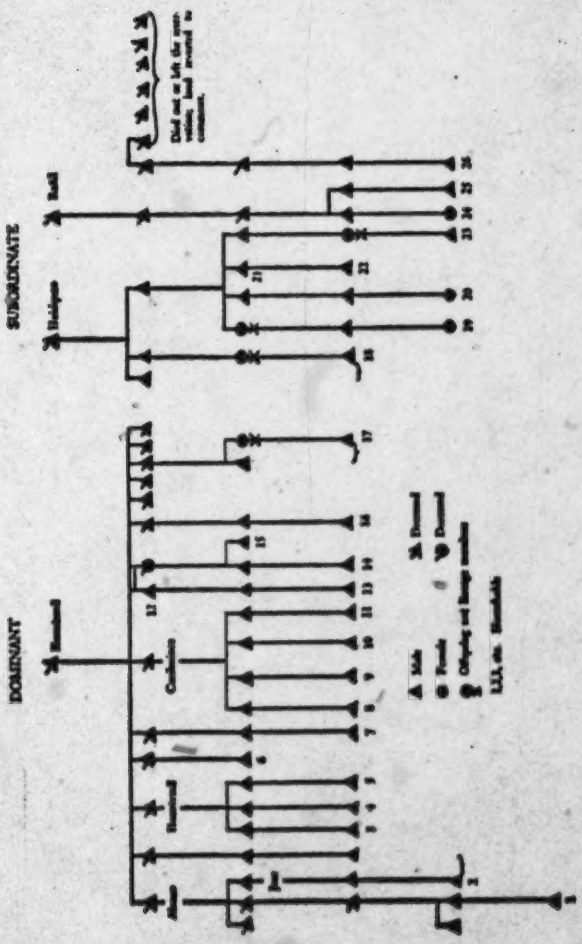
DIAGRAM II. Dominant and Subordinate Lineages



12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [607]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

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Kona and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

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Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility" with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48). These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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583 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a
613 number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than
602 being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obliga-
554 tory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of
613 women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of
602 generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminol-
[601] ogy, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan:* the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

582 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that
[671] marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l·aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
● 602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always pre-
796 cedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latcham, 1909, p. 357.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter nto intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
[578] siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachū*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachū* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of
[609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor
[587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun*
572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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than a declaration of friendship between two men, each of whom in turn provided a beast every other year.[16] 602 572

THE OMAHA SYSTEM: AN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

At the beginning of this chapter attention was drawn to the need for a dynamic approach to the study of Mapuche kinship. The necessity for an evolutionary analysis, which attempts to trace changes of form through the course of time, is nowhere more strikingly evident than when one tries to determine the presence or absence of Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal clans. 601

Ever since Hallowell tentatively identified Araucanian kinship terminology as Omaha,[17] many anthropologists have wanted to know whether his postulate is correct.[18] Anyone who studies the terms published by him and compares them with Figure 2 will soon find that Mapuche nomenclature is unquestionably Omaha. The following traits, male speaking, which are regarded as typical or diagnostic,[19] occur: parallel cousins are classed with siblings, father's sister's children are equated with sister's children, mother's brother's son is termed mother's brother or "uncle," and mother's brother's daughter is called mother.

As far as these essential features go, the Araucanians conform to Omaha usage. Much uncertainty has arisen, however, in regard to another trait which is commonly but not invariably associated with the Omaha system. The trait in dispute is marriage of a man with his wife's brother's daughter. Hallowell cited J. M. Collío to the effect that such marriages occur among the Araucanians, yet Hallowell stated that he failed to find confirmation of this fact in the literature;[20] and Cooper also noted 601 582

[16] Augusta, 1916, I: 93; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 389–91; and Housse, 1939, pp. 207–8.

[17] Hallowell, 1943.

[18] Hallowell's suggestion will be found to have been accepted by Cooper 1946, p. 724; and Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[19] Lesser, 1929.

[20] Hallowell, 1943, p. 490.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Each kuga had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillán (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grove, likan pebble, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, rhea, tiger, paŋke, llaŋka, condor, snake, mountain ridge, bone, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 311). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kuga name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the llama kuga, he would call his sons according to circumstances, "white llama," "black llama," "running llama," "woodland shade" (where llamas rest in summer), etc. (Havestadt, 1883, 2:641). 611 553 551

According to Havestadt (1883, 2:641), sons derived their kuga name from their father's kuga. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same cúnga [=kuga]. Latcham, however, (1922 b. pp. 323–25) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kuga element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kuga. According to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 139), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kuga name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 38) and Guevara Silva (1929, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Havestadt, 1883, 2:641—neither very clear on this point.) 611 551

Members of a given kuga had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and sided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kuga eponym to the kuga members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877–78, 1:5), many "linages" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Falkner, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the cast went to live with its eponym (1935, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord- 602

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED [a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [595] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that he was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish
837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart. 587 613 [602]

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system. [217]

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[763] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602.
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of 796
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (ñekurewen) connected with their own "society."

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has
602 been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inherit- 621
ance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
602 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
583 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
571 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun:* brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wrupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[637] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as
he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not
wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to
approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be
closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and
other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the
deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—
is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the
surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects
were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for
the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small
pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this
manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the
dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until
the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin
was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily
cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and
its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral
ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the
immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There
is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
602
262

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *duke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1961), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for bowmanit does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Aswa

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which usually through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (one member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is focused in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although unpalatable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maternal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an *in-married* woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential lineagroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu ewe, pu lakin, huilliche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *huilliche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *ewe*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral sense of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between the regional congregational expression of *ewn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *ewn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
598 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] * This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[597] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

761 602 613 761 613 602 182 783 578

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

761 769 602 613 578

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [583] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, *vis-à-vis* the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
• 602 believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
62 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[178] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

[Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analyst]

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *tillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
578 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapuchelard, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *kamhotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ngen* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokin*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokin* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*fillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *fillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

[601]

582 [671] Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *fiuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[14] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. There seems to be more more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[15] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[14] In a patrilineal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[15] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 704.

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hillside, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lekatun*, during the course of which the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often [illegible] declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the ruka, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other material duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[596] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
423 reservation of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if *he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him.* His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of longer-folkore and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, our ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral law from their parents. This knowledge is acquired indirectly, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *lake*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being unleaped continually as his child 867 [865]

12: Faron K-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

869 knows. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation
• 603 provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however,
593 when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is withdrawn at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

869 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life
869 experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent
869 that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and
603 grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and
613 don'ts of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a common phenomenon among contemporary
[769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his
[601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *lahu* term between alternate generations, in the *lahutun*
[558] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *huwe lahu pu ewe*, which may be translated as "the benefacent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapuchemu. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite continuum, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more salutary structures.

99 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family
187 circle, the household or group of most closely related house-
869 holds, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of
[603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *huwe lahu pu ewe*, and are truly cosmic in origin. As

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

608 fake, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to
582 find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *fake* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is
[836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *fakes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chacha*, as a potential mother-in-law.
604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law taboo. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents
604 and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1944, pp. 14-16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law taboo with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and 593
when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a 604
sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with 604
father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents 603
and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as 602
a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of 357
this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly 597
made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] 602
It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys 593
were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the Ilopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1912, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 619 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapúche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and
601 daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-
601 speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in
611 view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used
114 between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first
591 diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term
601 for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no
[476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in
601 with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this
●604 proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Choichol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 587

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and Mofi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely numerical in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [585]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lowie concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lowie's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1932) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collin Hampsfield, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[1] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which clarified or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in regard to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her own nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father clans.

114 Since obtaining the data from Collin, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the checklists of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[2] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the existence of a totemic clan organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[1] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 18, pp. 1-285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[2] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334-370, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had been in all rukas in Alepée area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast. All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her much." Informants were not acquainted with the llope, a special relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chau within the family circle. In general conversation

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 609 613

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[9]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[9] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's [604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain [606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

613 582 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:33, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the arrows are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weke* in lineage III would read *koke*. Similarly, *koke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *koke*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1968:[illegible]).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships within a matrilateral system, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

llt:Farom E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
Ñillatun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in close thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally discredited by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their 542
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[10] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606] father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [438] that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607 regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592 who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term machuno, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[11]

[10] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Mandrach (1950, p. 140) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[11] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9-11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his sons or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Moyanke*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1932–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1904, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lollichon, pailawe, pelpel, wetkawe, wedewe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Moyanke-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, ciga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. ciga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:106; Febres, 1882, s.v. ciga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyenechea, 1875, p. 139); gente, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:277, 289, 2:640–41); cuet (not cuete), family (Faulmer, 1835, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of newborn into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:289; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1865, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

older children, too—who come to the window to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whose medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the rules of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a hayapiyun with his father-in-law; this is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A hayapiyun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the gilatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 579 [539]

A surprise courtesy, called ceremonia, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An ceremonia is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 180, 183). During a finite Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 579

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized virtue in states (1946, pp. 709, 717). In nearly every rules visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba mate. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for fear of making the other in hurt dignity. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 709). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her rules and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young boys came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons unrelated by darkness or rain are always welcome in a rules and are invited to spend the night there. 579 [539]

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 579 [539]

10: Bilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

58. Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, one of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred living with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

59. 1957 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Pangipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's breasts, something informants in other areas had not heard of. His informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people avoided them."

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]

60. 1957 In Cautiqui area, mother-in-law—son-in-law and father-in-law—daughter-in-law taboos existed. A ninety-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alegria and Pangipulli informants, including several older than 80,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

606
[184]

insisted that no in-law taboos ever existed among them. "These are not our customs; they are not now, and never were."

According to Coñuripe informants the mother-in-law and son-in-law were not allowed to speak to each other after the marriage ceremonial; neither were the father-in-law and daughter-in-law. "These could all talk to each other freely for the last time at the marriage feast." The father-in-law-daughter-in-law taboo, however, was not so severe as the mother-in-law-son-in-law taboo. "A father-in-law will speak to his daughter-in-law and she with him, but with a certain degree of reserve; I know my wife talks that way to my father. It would be difficult if they could not speak together at all, for a man takes his wife to his father's ruka and they live there until he builds his own; a man never lives in his mother-in-law's ruka." A listening-in woman interjected, "The father-in-law bought the woman for his son. He, therefore, certainly has a right to talk to her; even to command her." "Whenever I went to the ruka of my parents-in-law, my mother-in-law did not leave the ruka—after all there was no place else for her to go—but I could not talk to her. If I had anything to transact with her, I had one of her sons or her daughter do the talking. But I really seldom have anything to talk about with my mother-in-law."

A 60-year-old Coñuripe area woman told of a screen of quila that a woman erected near her fireplace so as to have a place behind which to sit during her son-in-law's visits: "The mother-in-law does not look at him; she does not want to look at him; it embarrasses her to do so. She has erected for herself a row of quila sticks near the fireplace, that is, near the place where she customarily sits. Here she sits when her son-in-law visits her ruka. If other visitors come, she sits there too, but at the edge of the screen, from where she can visit." She added, with much emphasis and some anger, "It is a shocking thing to see a Chilean mother-in-law shake hands with her son-in-law. There is no respect in the world today!"

No reason for the custom of in-law taboos was known "unless it was that these persons had great respect for each other. But, in general, it has always been our custom for men to talk to men and women to women."

An occasional man or woman of the present generation pays no attention to these taboos. "There seems no sense in them," said a 50-year-old woman. "Certainly, my husband talks to my mother." She herself talked to her father-in-law in my presence.

Joking relationships were probably not institutional. Persons with whom one might joke were not necessarily persons with whom one was expected to joke. It seems more likely that certain relatives were ex-

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

606 chided from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Cotapuje area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you out looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad rearing. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, HIS AIDES

776 The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (pachamapin) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (pachalon). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 740-743, and Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 38, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to pachalon for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, pachalon, who are in the middle of heaven and are mighty, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." Pachamapin was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as *chau* (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 740). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "Pachalon sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

584 585 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai, Chachai, Chachai, Eini, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

[195] 606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolquen, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Gun, here, in pilten.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone she not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the house of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law. Living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

[191] In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE GENERAL GOD AND HIS AIDES, SACRED PLACES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as Ixta chau or my chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as guardian; as the

sion between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

I have opposed the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be somewhat louder as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements evaporate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," tenures of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the patrifamilies, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the patrifamilies dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the oldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 595 586

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuiien* (*moyo*, breast; *puiien*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. 601 595

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother-daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

596 rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
413 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

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[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and mined through the marriages shown, then weku in lineages I and II would read *chechki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, weku in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *fuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:443).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships within a matrilateral system, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
789 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into sevenalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

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754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
62 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, 592
and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their 562
own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[10] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's [606]
father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked defer-
ence to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and
father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted [438]
that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had
married into the same household. Particularly significant in this 607
regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women 592
who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *mudome*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[11]

[10] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 140) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[11] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9-11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Eco-
[182] nomic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the
619 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority
621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among
[604] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be-
[209] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In
[120] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar-
[595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in
[182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the
[169] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to the community at large. 596

In extended-family arrangements brothers need to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in-law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his wife, who will then return to her own parent's house. 596 607 [595] [586]

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not as great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; *puñen*, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere. [601] [595]

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also members of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of 596 606

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

596 rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[609] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
413 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ceremony. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *Lelfu*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

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§ Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and unique, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term Indahuain, "la mitad de una cosa," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (*lonche*), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. *lonche*; Mosbach, 1936, pp. 189–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:491; Smith, 1855, pp. 239–42.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1787, pp. 122, 140; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 18, 20; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Mosbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 208–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of due land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Aldea, 1902, p. 20; cf. Mosbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinmen (*trafkin*, *misha*, or *koscho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

476 [613] [608] [571] [572] [628]

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

464 [29] [197] [465] [556] [156]

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually [648]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

59 613 emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxori-local residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these [581] in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to [609] put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful co-residence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial [599] bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) [608] and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

613 The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where 623 views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

613 In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

613 A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's 423 groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) 621 on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

second in-place dance is performed to the composals of the *wegamch*, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast handfuls of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *muday* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *pawun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the *wegamch* signal that the *pawun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *ñillatuchen* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the dancers are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *pawun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

12: Farron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SO4 Arauceniana SO4
Mapuche

over well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the singing of some ceremony, their obligation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song over or near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presages ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral support are general to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the curse of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During ablution the ritual priest (*ollatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ollatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *kowkoton* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, twin-born, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned criteria would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Aranucanos 564

T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 183 On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two entire days being the continued sickness of Crimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T 184 wild cats, one of which my dog attached and killed, and the other fell a victim to my holas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos already pitched, literally 'cub tagnice fagh.' During this A 608 day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Aruucanillas, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintrihual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Engel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 78.

Tehuelche friends

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

602 572 [578] The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachá*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachá* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of [609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor [587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 572 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [736]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. [736]
The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony."

[609]

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it."

[184]

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following:

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Coñaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura. "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Coñaripe grounds (fig. 2), four colihüe are placed in the ground; in Alepúe, one naqui tree. This place is called porufe (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the colihüe, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last ñillatun the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with mudai, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the colihüe are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. 32, *1*). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one in which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pucura had one trutruka in December, and Llancahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the porufe. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her kultrun (pl. 30, *1*), "sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her kultrun, and together they sing (informant sang in Aranca-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she 613
was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, 562
since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and 589
many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to [434]
earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manu- [437]
factured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she [434]
would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxori- 591
local residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held 114
by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today—in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized 591
by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups mi- [361]
grated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chil- [613]
ean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. [66]
Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger [182]
residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of simi- [175]
lar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and regis- 591
tration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reserva- 613
tion land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for [423]
emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often [609]
as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be [66]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent military relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.
[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613
After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423
her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621
more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation. [622]

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected [609] of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and work- [464]
ing as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 564 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[622] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[994] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[994] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[982] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[996] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
661 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

994 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
648 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [182] [621]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 177 613 [948] [923]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
.61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *fillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else re-
582 ported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify
613 the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

000 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

174 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
● 611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[33] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be labored, but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[34] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[35] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[36]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[33] Latcham, 1924, pp. 295–356, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1929, I: 261 ff.

[34] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.

[35] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206–7.

[36] *Ibid.*

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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174 kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-
611 cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

174 There still remains for consideration the question of whether
613 the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

174 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

174 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following
591 other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kage* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father in damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

685 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (malones) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 835 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the *Araucanos*, and during their feasts the most unbridled license prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lands.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telwun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Pun-pinn-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SO4 Araucanians SO4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brothers or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 722).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:106). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelicuhen, pailawe, pelpel, wehlawe, wulawe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, ciga, cunga; also ciga) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. ciga; Gonzalez de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:106; Febrés, 1882, s.v. ciga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyenechea, 1876, p. 139); gente, progenie, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 398, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:390; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–63) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Each kuga had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillán (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grove, likan pebble, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, rhea, tiger, paṇke, llaṇka, condor, snake, mountain ridge, bone, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 311). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kuga name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kuga name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the llama kuga, he would call his sons according to circumstances, "white llama," "black llama," "running llama," "woodland shade" (where llamas rest in summer), etc. (Havestadt, 1883, 2:641). 611 553 551

According to Havestadt (1883, 2:641), sons derived their kuga name from their father's kuga. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same cúnga [=kuga]. Latcham, however, (1922 b. pp. 323–25) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kuga element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kuga. According to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 139), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kuga name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 38) and Guevara Silva (1929, 1:340) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Havestadt, 1883, 2:641—neither very clear on this point.) 611 551

Members of a given kuga had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and sided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kuga eponym to the kuga members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877–78, 1:5), many "linages" had the names of whales, etc., from sexual commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Falkner, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the cast went to live with its eponym (1935, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord- 602

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:489–90). 114

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Cholchol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Cholchol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the grosser divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:49ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today. 114 184

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned: 121 114 611

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev). [601]

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Have-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913,
114 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of
Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal
611 promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951:
601 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change. 601 611 178

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century). 601 184

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day. 114

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century. 601 174

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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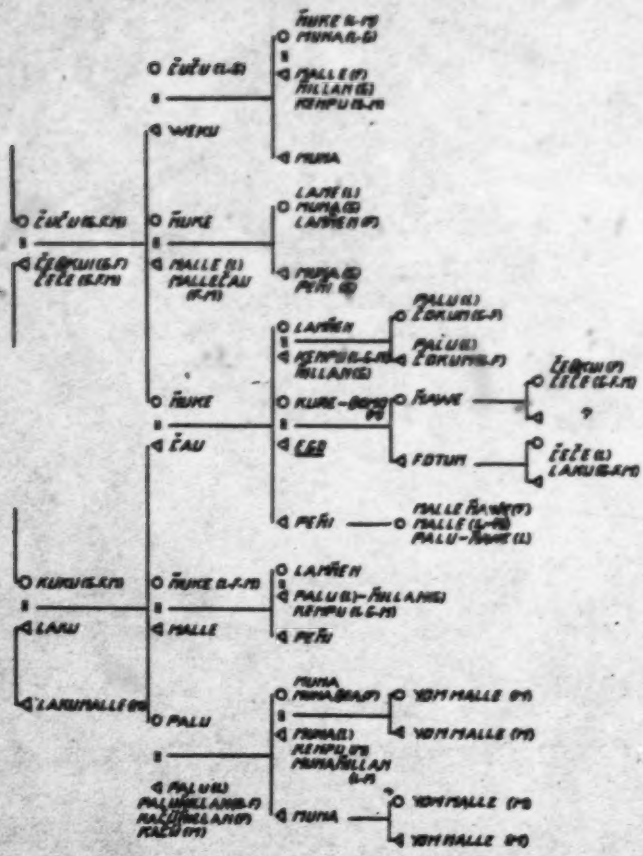

DIAGRAM 3. Composite kinship systems from Cautín Province, Chile, by Latcham (L), Guevara (G), Félix José (F) and Moesbach (M). Unmarked terms from all four sources.

Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) seems to have given way to bifurcate-merging, as seen in the terms of Febrés and Havestadt (Diagram 2). According to Valdivia, Fa and FaBr were called "father"; Mo and FaSi were called "mother," and a mother derivative was used for MoSi (referred to as stepmother).[4] Affinal terms are missing.

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[594]

There appears to be no terminological support for a theory of matrilineal organization. On the contrary, although no rule of descent is immediately discernible, bilocality or patrilocality are suggested by the terminological identification on the parental generation, and patrilineality is attested to in the descriptive references regarding descent and widespread polygyny in the historical material (Mariño de Lovera 1864:124: Bascuñan 1863:453 et passim;

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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Brouwer 1852:81). In the sixteenth century polygyny involved many wives, more for example than could easily be associated with sororal polygyny in a matrilineally organized society.[5] 595 601 611

Polygyny prevailed despite innumerable attempts by Spanish officials and clerics to discourage it. Its tenacity, its early mention in the sources, and its fairly elaborate status-structuring (Cooper 1946; 721, citing Marcgrav 1648: 285) indicate that its roots may lie deeper in Araucanian history than the coming of the Spaniards.

The sororate is seemingly reflected in the use of a mother derivative for MoSi. The practice receives some confirmation by Valdivia and Febrés in their remarks about the role of the MoSi as stepmother, and in their recording of a derivative wife term (*kurun*) for WiSi. Latcham, however, mentioned that it was common for two brothers to marry sisters from another household. This practice seems to be the key to understanding the relationship of the sororate, sororal polygyny, and the levirate. 174 601 587 595

Fa and FaBr were identified. The paternal uncle was and still is sometimes referred to by a combination of the two terms: *malle chau*. If they generally lived in the same household or if the families were in regular day-to-day association, Ego might tend to call FaBrWi "mother" simply because of the role she would customarily play. This would hold regardless of whether the two women were sisters. However, in view of Latcham's observation, sororal marriage very likely came at the death of a man's brother (e.g., Fa married FaBr widow—sister to his own wife) and was polygynous, rather than coming after the death of own wife and being monogamous.

If sororal polygyny was at all a common marriage practice in early times, it seems probable that it was a secondary marriage in the sense that a man married his WiSi upon the death of her husband (who could traditionally have been his brother) and also secondary in the sense that nonsororal polygyny prevailed over the sororal form. Indeed, sororal polygyny appears to be an outgrowth of the leviratical obligation and, for historical reasons to be discussed later, the levirate itself seems to have emerged strongly as a postcontact development.

Of significance, insofar as cross-cousin marriage and generation-breaking tendencies are concerned, is the term *llopu* (MoBr) which appears in Valdivia's nomenclature (Diagram 1) and is not recorded thereafter for the maternal uncle, except for Havestadt's mention of it as an "ancient" designation for the mother's brother. Febrés, however, reported its use, by a female, for the paternal uncle. Havestadt noted that the *llopu* relationship was an avuncular one, and entailed unilateral preferential marriage of Ego and his maternal cross-cousin. This practice may well have antedated Valdivia's recording of the term. At any rate, the indication is that MoBrDa marriage existed in early Conquest times, if not as a pre-Spanish custom. Although there is no descriptive evidence that the avuncular role was inherited and there is no terminological equation of MoBr and MoBrSo, this generation-breaking aspect of the Omaha system is foreshadowed. 174 582 601

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilized residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times. [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

terms collected by Valdivia. Present-day informants sometimes remark that age differences between spouses in the WiBrDa marriage are not always taken into consideration in contracting the marriage. When age is not considered, the marriage is usually viewed in the light of moral obligation. The obligation is either to take care of the WiBrDa because she cannot support herself, or for the purpose of cementing interfamilial bonds. Both of these reasons are possible outgrowths of the break-up of former well-knit settlements due to unsuccessful warfare and contingent social and economic disorders. 601 582 587

The change from merging to bifurcate-merging on the parental generation is apparent by 1765 (Diagram 2), when Febrés recorded a difference in terms used for paternal aunt on the one hand, and Mo and MoSi on the other. It is highly probable that the terminological change reflects the establishment of exogamous patrilineal organization, as suggested above. It is also likely that the levirate became surrounded with strong moral obligations which did not exist formerly, due largely to the insecurity entailed in the loss of adult males through death and slave raids. Sororal polygyny, if not occasioned by this turn of events, was surely strengthened and became more widespread. It seems, therefore, that these secondary forms of marriage, under the new conditions engendered by socially and economically disruptive warfare, became important enough and of high enough incidence to have affected the structure of the system. 601 587

In summarizing the implications of the kinship diagrams in this section and the relevant historical material of the period, it seems that there are several traits in negative association with matri-organization and in positive association with patri-organization. The latter tend toward the emergence of the Omaha pattern. 601 611

Polygyny

Apparently polygyny was widespread, and involved a system of wife-grading in which some wives had separate dwellings and special prerogatives. In view of the many wives sometimes held, the practice seems to have been largely nonsororal in type. The sororal type seems to have been a special feature which depended on the levirate and the fact that two brothers married sisters from another household. [595]

Avunculate

There was a close relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle which involved preferential, unilateral cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is still practiced and was almost obligatory a generation ago. In the region where Omaha nomenclature is presently found there is a terminological identification of MoBr and MoBrSo, which implies inheritance of certain rights and obligations irrespective of generation. This disregard of generation, apparently a step toward a fuller expression of the Omaha system, seems to have been incipient as early as Valdivia's time. [582 604]

Reciprocity

The use of reciprocal terms on alternate generations is a departure from the principle of regarding generation in reckoning kin. As such, this principle seems another trend toward the stronger patri-forms later embodied in the Omaha pattern.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 *Merging*

●611 From a pattern in which Mo, FaSi, and, probably, MoSi were identified—a pattern suggesting settlement endogamy—there developed a system of bifurcate-merging which, in the light of descriptive accounts, indicates the establishment of exogamous groups which were patrilocal and patrilineal.

Cross-generation Marriage

[582] In Diagram 3 there appears a break in the generation principle in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. The identification with Ego's mother indicates that the father (or FaBr) married his WiBrDa. This marriage practice seems to have been in competition with MoBrDa marriage (the unilateral cross-cousin type), perhaps throughout recorded Araucanian history. Female-speaking terminology supports the existence of WiBrDa marriage in that Ego, the FaSi, and the BrDa marriage are identified. There also appears to be some indication of this in the in-law terms recorded by Febrés.

Levirate and Sororate

[587] The kinship terminology in Diagrams 1 and 2 reflects the marriage of two brothers with women from another household under patrilocal residence. The levirate appears to have become widespread only in postcontact times. There is no indication in the literature that the sororate was at all widely practiced until the moral obligations centering around the levirate became strong as a result of warfare and contingent socioeconomic instability, and it seems that sororal polygyny rather than monogamous sororal marriage was practiced.

RECENT FIELD MATERIAL

601 Hallowell suggested that Araucanians now have the Omaha kinship system, and Titiev confirmed its existence in the vicinity of Cholchol. The following diagnostic traits were listed: (1) parallel-cousins classed with siblings, (2) FaSiCh classed with SiCh, (3) MoBrSo called "maternal uncle", and (4) MoBrDa called "mother."

[184] The present writer worked briefly around Nueva Imperial, Galvarino, and just south of Angol in an attempt to determine the extent of the Omaha pattern, after failing to find it in other parts of Araucanía. It is fairly certain that the Omaha type ends, in the south, in a zone of mixture a few kilometers wide on either side of the Imperial River, at least from Boroa to Carahue.

The Galvarino data were inconclusive and the kin terms obtained from three informants near Angol did not satisfactorily cover the diagnostic areas of the system. It seems, however, that the Omaha pattern, insofar as the handling of FaSiCh is concerned, does not extend into the coastal range in the west, but only two informants from this region were questioned. East of Cholchol there seems to be another mixed zone running approximately parallel to the highway and railroad route which cuts through the Central Valley. However, there are small, scattered groups of Mapuche throughout the entire region, and more detailed field work is needed to establish reasonably certain boundaries.

Diagram 4 does not include terminology collected in this fringe zone or in the northern and western parts of the northwest sector of Araucanía, but

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kurintukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowel 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

174 Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which
●611 derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

[167] Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén
611 region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and
174 Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in
421 males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

601 In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that
582 "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *kure* or *θomo*, and from *kure* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *kurun*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke kure*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke kure* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *kurun* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

601 The study of Anselmo Raguileo (1953) should be mentioned because of
114 the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 601 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. 174 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [177]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "pseu-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

114 sation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who
● [611] is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the
[587] problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wéke* = mother's brother) and *ñúke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-mu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wéke* are always *ñúke*. The children of a *ñúke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*ñólu*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*ichóhan;* no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*hotót*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kardn* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kardn* by a man is *hómpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kardn* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in po- 613
lygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which [595]
still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically [976] in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of 613
Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to [976] refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, al- [592] though reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only 611
with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[787] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
648 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the [789] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613 *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
• [611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[591] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

601 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else re-
582 ported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify
613 the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

000 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete."[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

174 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis
611 with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.
[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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174 kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the socio-
611 cultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

174 There still remains for consideration the question of whether
613 the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

174 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

174 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following
591 other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kuga* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The word küŋa, my informants said, referred to lineage. Küŋa 613
persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not related to him.'"

The sororate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously 587
stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was older than his wife. "These I call ŋillandomo; those younger than my wife, I call kərum. I may marry all those called kərum, but I may not marry one called ŋillandomo. I respect every ŋillandomo as if she were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today this is seldom done."

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protection for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén (near Coñaripe) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in Alepúe three men were married that way within the last 10 years. Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took his wife and his four children into my house with my own family. Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that, for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our home with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry, either the sons leave home or she does so and marries. It seems that the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of as ünwe. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my children."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco,* and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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476 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other
613 tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal
335 labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings
476 by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural
613 alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricul-
[241] tural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how- [613]
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 24
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [177]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for house hold is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the 613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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592
lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in po- 613
lygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which [595]
still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically [976] in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of 613
Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to [976] refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, al- [592] though reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned – and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only 611
with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance – for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Nillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 179

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [182] [621]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 179 613 [648] [923]

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613 [179] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the 198 613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage,* (2) *lineage group,* (3) *localized lineage,* (4) *sublineage,* and (5) *minimal lineage.* The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with [582] [591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who 621 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See Cat. 116, P. 93 -- Analyst]

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [622]

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613 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for
621 distinguishing lineal and residential units.
[622] It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's
[114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called
[614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.
613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
621 of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage.
618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this
[622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.
Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[3] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature. 613 621 618

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality — neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case. 591 613 621

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this 613 621 596 [114] [618]

[3] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
62 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
[114] and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
[428] ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche so-
cial structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[589] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 177
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 [556] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property – at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] [423] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured – that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to [158] periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684] been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized. [626]

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613 562 589 Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[3] might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

613 562 589 [434] [437] [434]

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

591 114

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

591 [361] [613] [166] [182]

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

[175]

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

591 613 [423] [609] [166]

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[3] [i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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562 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
62 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or agaipst any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[572] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses. 613 562 [572]

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup. 613 178

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth. [621] [166] [169]

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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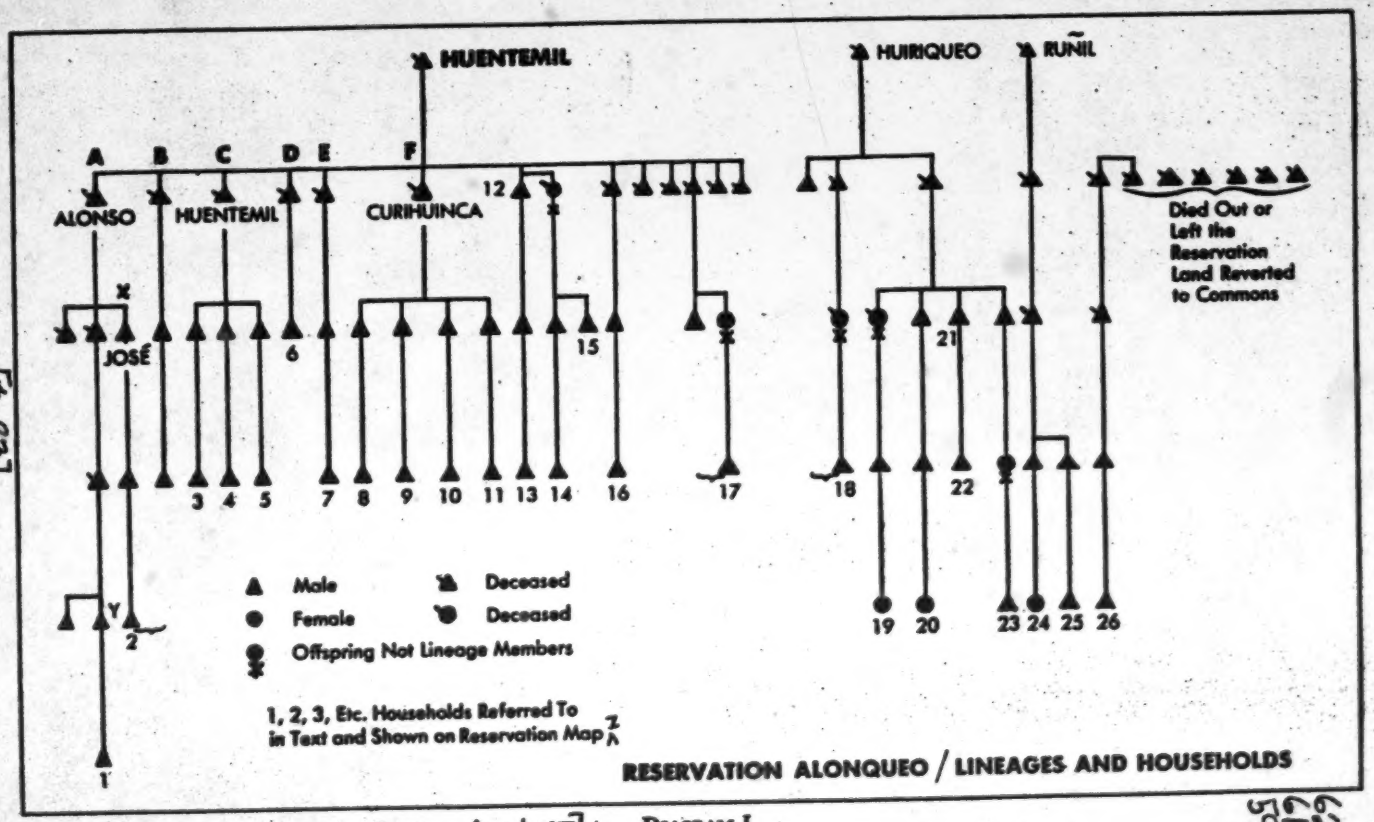
613 178 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed — that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 613 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.



[See cat. 116, p.32 -- Analyst]

DIAGRAM I

[p. 92]

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Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huentemil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced*. From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huentemil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huentemil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of *radicación*. Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huentemil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huentemil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente will marry, if she does at all, uxorilocally—that is, bring her husband to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 50-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population—that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members—as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II). Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [CAR]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

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been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied politically (that is, belongs to the same *indígenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since Juan, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the 613
oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings.

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is un- 613
likely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and 621
socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have 178
developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which [648]

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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
648 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years — the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses — size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.* They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

* [See Cat. 116, P. 93 -- ANALYST]

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tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter.

613
62
178
[167]

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175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

647 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

[643] [613] [622]

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175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
621 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[701] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
621 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
178 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
622 [423] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[491] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

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666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being
[613] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which
621 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the
622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It
578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original
[428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These
[671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested
[648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by
[114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[2] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[2] [See Cat. 116, pp. 229 – 233 -- Analyst]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED *		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father [613] in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal [618] group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[244] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [583]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. 613
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such 627
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The [527]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [167]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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596 rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are
[606] changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime
[603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her
[606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible
[607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

Within three generations a family may change from an elementary
[594] unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need
596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the
423 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup,
[613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children. [592] [178] [428] [583] [213]

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement. [428]

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [154] [166] [578] [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the 595

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
438 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

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[1] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. 583

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. 583 584

Kureyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken abstractly of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily great. 583 [613]

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [837]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 428 [586] [618] [464] [167]

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The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for superfamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 604 613

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not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories — and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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582 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place
178 emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of
[613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of
[613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

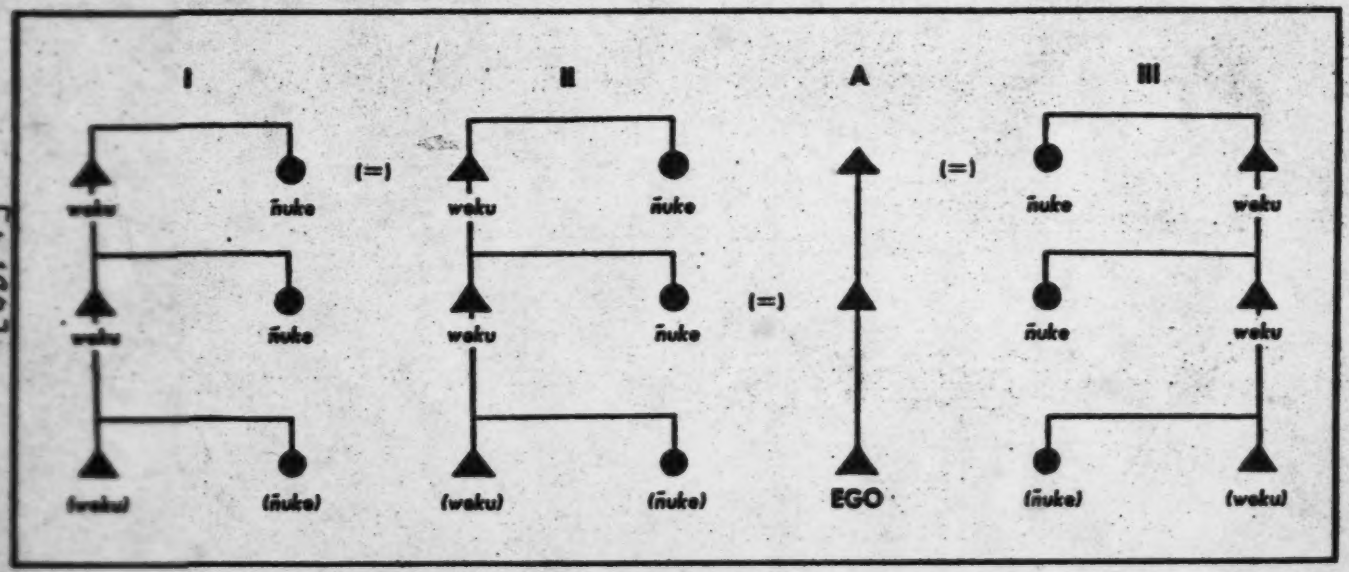

DIAGRAM II

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582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's [604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain [606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

613 582 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

[4] Guevara, 1908:37, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, their *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *kuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships within a matrilateral system, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

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relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical *grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations.* However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model,* the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

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insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [82]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

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582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds on the side of their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonquen, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[1] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

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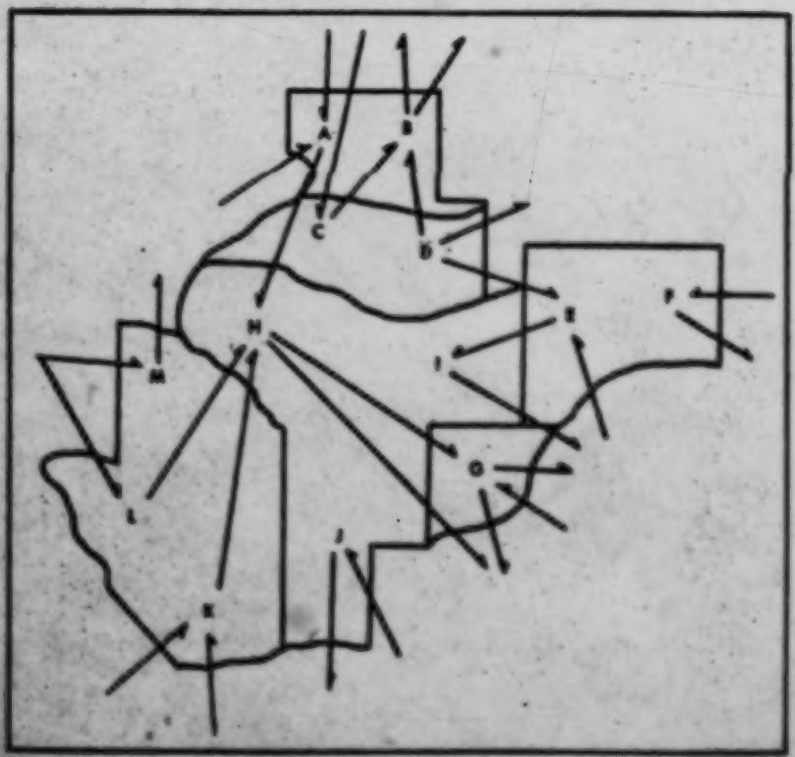

DIAGRAM III

1 [SEE CHT. 1K, P.6 --ANALYST]

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582 613 614 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency [621] for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 613 621 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *fuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart. 582 613 [602]

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system. [27]

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

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than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, *however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements* would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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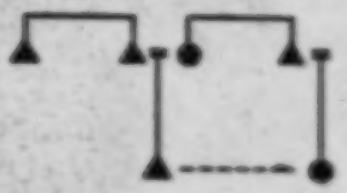

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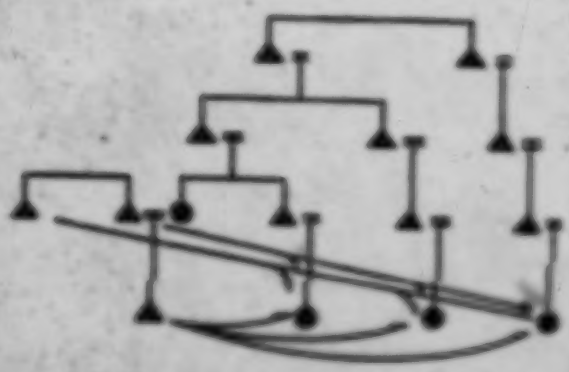
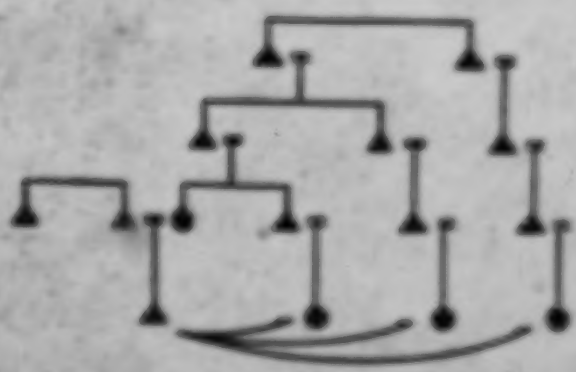


3



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582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men
[598] increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to ego's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimised by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [697] [198]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, op. cit. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before reservation life permitted and even to some extent fostered the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] [439] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [587] [613] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 582 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other [198] goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilineal marriage system, [613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). [582] [528] [567] [589]

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point. (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby 'waiving' that debt open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of two general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. [595] [578] [601] [121]

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [613] [584] [622]

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it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage arrangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [164]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and [341]
agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *küllatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment. 794 613 754

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility. 241 535 [978] [534] [993] [982] 241 991

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Aiwe* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring 764 [991] [994] [995]

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[772] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap-
[759] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *werapin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *werapin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
638 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes-
[754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change—the economy—and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[1]

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, *vis-à-vis* the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *fojche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[1] It might be argued that 1880 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche waged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and manifested a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually repel off from Chilean acquisitive of their land.
177 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
[648] economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[433] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[241] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[643] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based patrilateral alliance and ritual exogamy/endogamy which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche sociality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
192 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[921] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—ceremonies, dedications, exorcisms, dedications (see below)—bind together

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000 (*nekuwewe*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*nillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
797 the large, public *nillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
768 patrilineal community and head of the dominant lineage
therein; but a smaller family group may also hold a *nillatun*
-613 (which I regard as a preconversion practice) in which prayers
[622] are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a
household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a
subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *nillatufe*.
996 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently
willing to continue making accommodations in their approach
to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dremati*
persons of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless
visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and
curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and
need.

II

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the
examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality
in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what
extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the
cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures
and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist
demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a
fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values
and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapoche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van
Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and
their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves
with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be
handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships.
On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position
expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political institutions as well as those based on

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(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in pericontact and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
484 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
622 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
476 changes which have taken place over the past few generations,
464 and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[492] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacique* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this residue ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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Mapuche enter into half-short agreements among themselves, while the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Minguero is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. Minguero is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the chief congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, Ildahuen. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Minguero, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances minguero are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this segmental minguero or mulla mulla, some of which involve but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and favors.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although there may be contested succession. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest lineage in residence and, whenever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation con-

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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 appears their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
607 moral considerations which place Ancipis outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these Ancipis are considered to have deserted
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
429 They have abandoned ancestral lands, they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the determined questions raised by the priests (Machuls) at the Mission communities and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the conduct of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for material tranquility, the result of continued and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are local descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subsidiary lineage given asylum during the pastoral decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of Ancipis. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

198 Nor is the problem of division as immediate and weighty as it
423 seem seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into ownership has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a contingent or continental Mapuche mentality.

613 Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups
182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
611 closely related males living together and working harmoniously
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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only superficially understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and diffusists who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized local over residential principles and others having stressed residability to a residential group without considering other principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imperfect translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a purposefulness of intent shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In preliminary discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is associated with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lineal marriages, and the administration of the rites, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating somewhat as the local group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood money. Cognatic residence serves to integrate all members of the community and, in a regional sense, members of several communities, including in marital unions, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, healthy rites, curative rites, and the like. Cognatic residence gave the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all ritual members attached to the sons of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineaties, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The
618 two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational
182 depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between
178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the
177 understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is
621 ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been strong

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traced along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that patrically related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chilenos. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is most possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is generally necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as segmented at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are segmented at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

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613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maternal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maternal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maternal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of his characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maternal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and succeeding generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maternal lineage—that is, one in which generations are through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two brothers. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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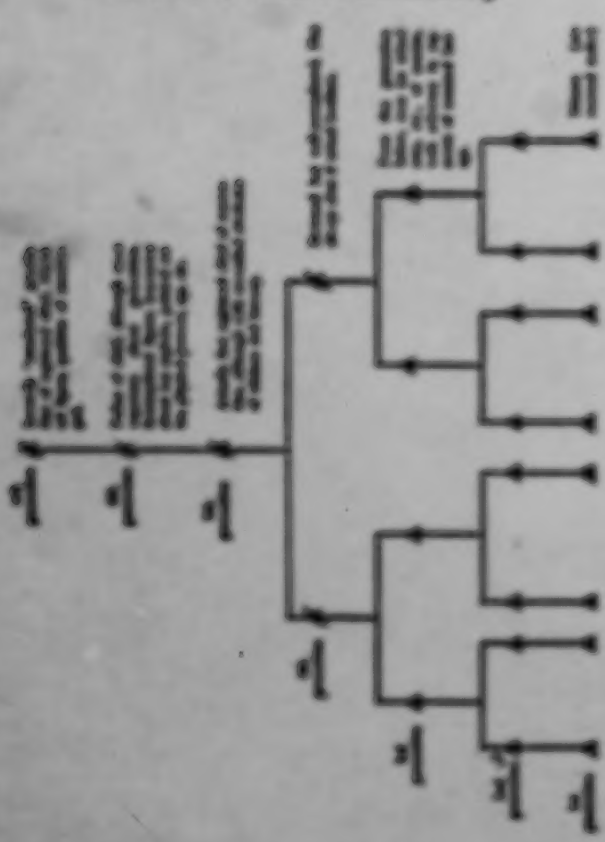
Outline of Mapuche Social Structure

DIAGRAM 1. Model of Maximal Lineage



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component of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the foregoing variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an adequately documented living arrangement, although pathetic and exceptional. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridepriice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute marriage, since no additional bridepriice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights to land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In es-
621 sence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
613 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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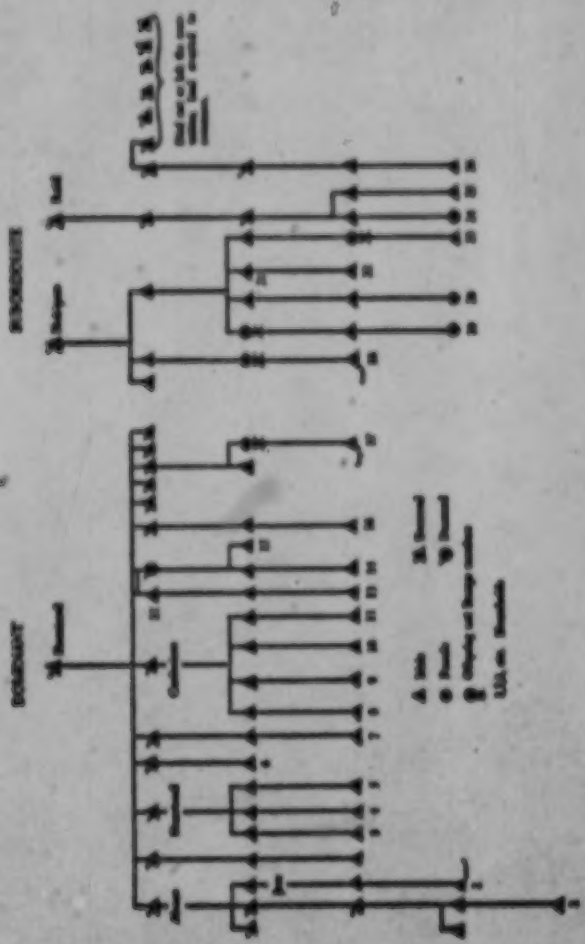
DIAGRAM II. Dominant and Subordinate Lineages



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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be as 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of (602)
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent 621
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious discussion within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

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rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 629 578

These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

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There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
-613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
[178] community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
622 seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
178 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
421 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche reality, however, we shall pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maternal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, not ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more remoted ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral law from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. *nay laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being enhanced continually as his child 867 763 593 [865]

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869 603 593 leave. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is conducted at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

869 593 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don'ts of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a universal phenomenon among contemporary Mapuche. It is intimately related to the perpetuation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *lahu* term between alternate generations, in the *lahuhue* (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual exclamation of the words *huwe lahu pu ene*, which may be translated as "the benefactor spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which was so ignorant about to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or preventing out of sequence the salient events of Mapuchemu. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite continuity, an intellectual gesture which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more salutary structures.

[603] Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *huwe lahu pu ene*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
589 dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage
ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed
by considerations of mortality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche
rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is
considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
834 casual or extramarital affairs. Often casual affairs take place with
839 almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
584 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
582 drunken disorder, and are quickly brought to an end by
community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in
cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual
relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-
linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually,
this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most
cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a prescribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister,
father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by
definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage
could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or,
in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between
persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating
like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably com-
plete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the
marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers'
sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength
of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matri-
laterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework
of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although prefer-
ential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is
highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of
wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of
simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*ednapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[1]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 564 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[1] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallatun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallatun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.' This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
-613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (fillen: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives weku (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as fillen and wife-givers as weku,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and
ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-
receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance,
and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value,
the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride
brings in dowry.[4] The bridepriceprice payments and ceremonial acts
of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-
giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
213 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be
said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the
wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-
given to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they
receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact,
it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate fillen with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this
latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little
means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy
men (ülmen).

[4] In speaking of bridepriceprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to
land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly ñi, and really
signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, to
my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-
reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present
importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is
necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 213 13

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of bridepriice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 129 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important movable items of bridepriice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ceremonious exchange is made, since part of the bridepriice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of movable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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582 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
583 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.
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613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
628 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
629 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
583 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is
571 attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a loan which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-giver, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-giver saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two occasions in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnostics. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of meat of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

Government, Autonomy, and Land Rights

128 648 In Mapuche Social Structure, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total scheme. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the political unit as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. There are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infra-reservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate something of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*, sometimes *kukulfuche*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

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Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates those half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

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The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *ñenechen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipellu*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *awn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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769 of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.
775 When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because
776 of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence
754 of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily
[613] sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in
[784] the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in
776 order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition
769 of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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767 The syringe and the aspirin
755 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
177 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital resi-
591 dence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by [613] his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case [613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the [178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These 764
choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the 57
recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony 602
warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of [262]
a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife- 764
giving group at some future date, they would be properly 57
received and fed well. But they would not be given better 602
treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity 554
of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. 764
They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits 537
and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the 537
genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his 764
patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male mem- 613
bers on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at 537
any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the 764
end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connec- 613
tions, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through 829

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Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

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When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

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The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
177 an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
[166] because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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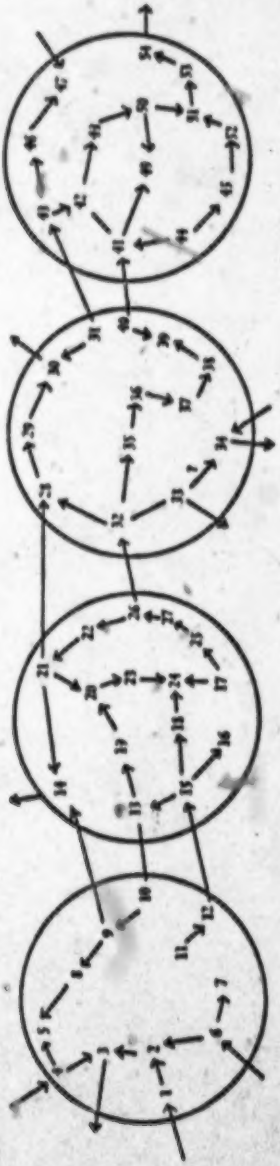

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
178 alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their
influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations
of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is
becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional
congregational membership. This seems to be a phenomenon
related to the maturity of the reservation system and an
indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in
regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed
symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to
obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated
from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of
land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man
looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are
limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since
he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are
so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that
might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and
mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral
context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and
obligations, which usually exist between two groups united
through a succession of alliances, alliances over several genera-
tions which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year
of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives. 794 586 178 [595]

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why those outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category. 621 613. 794

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth- 178 621 794

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178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
62 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of
• [613] localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
178 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
62 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
791 ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate under-
62 standing of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidol mulewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altar sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[9]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[9] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the lack of local ties between reservations comprising the ritual community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

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Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñllatufe*), who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances. Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a *ñllatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to see the chief or *ñllatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

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A significant feature of each reservation having its own priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation as a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who leads assistance to the *ñllatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making entreaties and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñllatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

12. Faron R-4.5 (1952-1954) 1984
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role and at the same relatives (or at least serve to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in Alliance ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a marhi, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a local member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do marhi have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since marhi tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the marhi represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances, or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, therefore, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general Alliance ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled witches.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
[182] chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

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Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

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In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769
ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613
cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764]
the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769
matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* 613
may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562
female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783]
possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754]
by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613
to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602
is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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613 602 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume [764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the [571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a 794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most 613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend 621 to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the 182 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between [764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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Mapuche

I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [597] [571] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the 761
group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from 602
outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was 613
caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The
fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is
mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside 761
the residential group and, finally, determining that the most 613
closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious 602
function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have 182
been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is 783
placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present 578
or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for
several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors 761
were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. 769
Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest— 602
ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able 613
to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a 578
responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in
his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. [783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

• 613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
62 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595 than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[178 tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754 moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

12 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections --
Analyst]

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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756 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not
554 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
754 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
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Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contem-
[692] porary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[648] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of subline-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer. 754 578 593 [521] [756]

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences. 754 613 621

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

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parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

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Kona and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

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Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility" with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48). These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewu* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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583 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriceis symbolized in a
•613 number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than
602 being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obliga-
554 tory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of
613 women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of
602 generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters
[601] marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*fillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *fillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

582 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that
[671] marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *fuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is proscribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction. 582 613 182

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here. 101 186 [619]

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun:* north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli:* south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, Lafkenche (*lafken:* ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the preservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified 101 619 [114]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undiffer-
619 entiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
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DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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794 wife-receivers (*ñillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called fiuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

595 unbeknown to the Argentines. The true wife knew about the other one, and sometimes when she got angry, she threatened to tell the Argentines about her."

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. When Kolupan comprehended the relationship of cross-cousins and parallel cousins, he said with much emphasis: "Those persons that you talk about had great respect for each other, among us. They would never have been allowed to marry each other; least of all would my children have been allowed to marry my brother's children—of all children those had the greatest respect for each other. It was expected among us that a man look for a wife in a family well known to his parents, one that lived under the same cacique. It did happen that a person under one cacique wanted to marry a person under another cacique, but [speaking with much animation] when a man of one cacique asked for a girl in a family under another cacique, it took many, many, many words to get her."

All informants were agreed that preferential marriages were those between persons in the jurisdiction of the same cacique; in fact, this was the proper marriage. Marriage with a non-Araucanian was tolerated but not favored, and the non-Araucanian partner was disliked. Even a Chilean Araucanian mate did not have the same status as an Argentine Araucanian, according to my observations. Intermarriage with neighboring tribes or with Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara, even in days of intimate trade, was exceedingly rare, according to persons acquainted with the literature of early travelers in the Araucanian country.

[587] 644 Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate, or of a sib system. According to Kolupan, a widow never married again. He added, "It is not that way today!"

AGE OF PARTNERS, CHOICE OF MATES, LOVE CHARMS

In general, in the early days, women were older than 25 when spoken for in marriage; men at their first marriage were usually in their thirties. "Formerly, both men and women were expected to have sense before they married." Several men were known to have married a last wife when 80 years or older. Parents complained to me that their teen-age daughters were marrying young men not much older

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613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
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618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

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Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llaŭcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:691; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 308–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruíz Aldea, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche,* a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [622]

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[8] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

[8] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's [582]
sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 177
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by [592]
the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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613 to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives
423 in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reser-
621 vation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members
[167] of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

562 When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the
613 residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her sta-
621 tus changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked
618 to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.
[591]

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses. 562 613 621 618 [496]

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage. [571] [593]

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [535] [564] [567]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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562 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
62 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[512] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re- [596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens [465] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[7] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[7] [i.e.—children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [837]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 428 [586] [618] [464] [167]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 minced by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 177 621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
women standing in such relationship are generally married to
618 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
613 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
182 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common
582 residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous
[178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
619 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapúche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure. 623

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war. 619 631

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of cavi (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mūchulla) or pichicavi (small + cavi). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each cavi in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, cavi, and levo (rewe) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as lonko, toki, rewe, ūl'men—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of lonko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ūl'men means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ūl'mens, and vice versa. 619 631 622

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b, p. 363), no one caví was subject to any other caví; according to Mariño
631 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to
622 the head of the cabí which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cũga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavís respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaŋkas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
175 and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant
● 619 said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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173 619 people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be hümke. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Coñaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Ñamkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefín, and Ñamkeful were Chilean names.

175 A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great malón, a malón being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182 ooo

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

These are the fibers of
619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
191 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[627] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[648] [622] [793] [592] [613]

[175] [2] It might be argued that 1884 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*adinapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is proscribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the preconservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
619 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
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DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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794 wife-receivers (*nillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Picunches

The jealousy existing between Foyel and Cheoeque, which 578
had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief and Quintuhual to the south, and all the Araucanos of their following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible aloof, and abstained from sharing in the jovialities, while the Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintuhual marched off their followers in regular array, and proceeded homewards followed by many of the Tehuelches, the great races which it had been settled to hold being abandoned in consequence of the uneasy state of feeling and the consequent fears of a quarrel: the fight in that case would have been an obstinate one, as Cheoeque's forces would not have been much too strong for their opponents, although outnumbering them. We had been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to receive us, as we only counted ninety lances, but it transpired that some were concealed in the woods by the side of the river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred men had gone to Patagones to obtain their chief's ration of cattle, but 200 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had turned back on hearing of the attack made by Cheoeque's party on their friends, my cousins. Whether they remained away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their kinsmen did not appear, but Foyel had frequently boasted that 200 of Cheoeque's followers would espouse his quarrel. The Picunches were the original cause of the feud. This 619
tribe, asserted by Antonio Guaitu, who gave them the name 579
of Chollo, to be a branch of the Araucanians, are under Cheoeque's dominion, though governed by local caciques. As already mentioned, they live near the passes of the Cordillera and plunder all travellers. They had not respected Foyel's messenger bringing him stores from Valdivia, and at last forcibly annexed two sheepskins of rum, on which

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians S64
Picunches

619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[11] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
● 621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a
493] considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

nuclear family."[20] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[21] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

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UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[22] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[23]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[24]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

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[20] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[22] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[23] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[24] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 626 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 592 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 592 627 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally, one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the [421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his 622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan* 592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution 627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors 681

[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that 592 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [62] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the [595] number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

•62| 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *trokiñche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Cholchol to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *loñko* of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarriñe. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarriñe as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarriñe had important links with Renaco. For that reason we decided to investigate Renaco on the completion of the study of Carrarriñe.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

62| 131 The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by 133
many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very 621
high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and [439]
Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which 621
can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable 484
amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along [491]
a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva [497]
Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members 509
of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air 621
service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

509 minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely
621 looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

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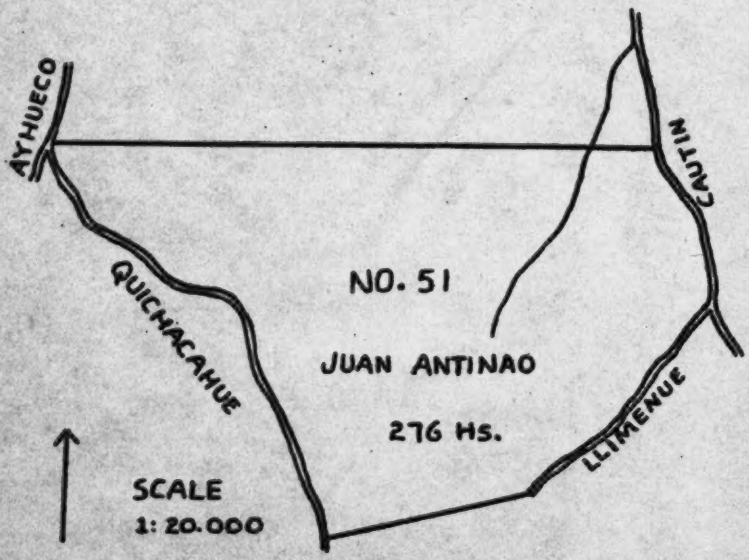

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

175 Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche
621 had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Cautín River, not far from house No. 13 on Figure 4. For this reason the settlement came to be known as Cautinche ("people of Cautín"). There are conflicting stories concerning Antío Paineo's reason for moving away from Carrarriñe. Some say that he was driven out for misconduct, but others claim that he was only an alert pioneer who took advantage of an opportunity to lay claim to a good piece of virgin territory. Cautinche's founder chose wisely, for he picked a spot that was both well watered and well drained and that unquestionably had excellent forest and plant cover in those days.

As the founder of Cautinche, Antío Paineo became its first head man or *loñko*. He had several wives and begot a number of sons who, in keeping with unilocal and patrilocal residence practices, lived with him permanently and served as his followers or *kon·as*. Antío Paineo also had a sister, Jacinta, who had gone to live with her husband near by, but her spouse had several wives and treated them badly. After a time, Jacinta left her husband and came to live with her brother, bringing along a son named Juan Antinao Paineo. Antío Paineo reared his nephew with his own sons and apparently gave him training as a *werken* and a potential heir to the chieftainship. At any rate, when Antío Paineo died, his succession was disputed between his son, Dionisio Paillao and his sister's son, Juan Antinao Paineo. Although the son was traditionally favored to succeed, he was judged in council to lack the force of character and oratorical skill that were highly regarded in a leader, and Juan was elected *loñko*. He proved to be an able leader,[2] and during the period when reservations were being formed he was given an official *título de merced* on December 19, 1893, that entitled him to 276 hectares for the use of forty-four kinfolk (see Fig. 5). One gathers that Dionisio Paillao and some of his brothers were not satisfied to have their late father's prerogatives transferred to a nephew, for they soon began to leave the paternal roof and to build separate homes of their own. Since no one in those days had a precisely defined individual plot of ground, much

[2] While the main facts of the story are doubtless correct, it should be borne in mind that this narrative was told by Juan Antinao Paineo's son.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

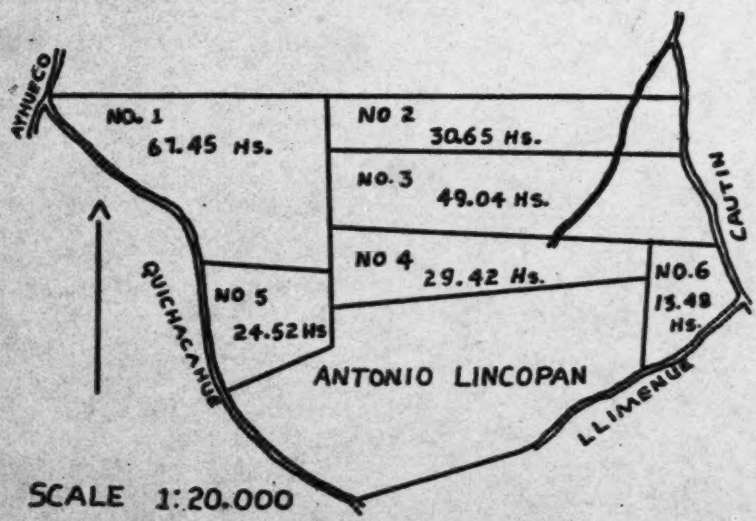

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

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In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[3]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

[3] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees. 621 162 592

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES 621 162

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women. 595

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *lukkas* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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•621 One must not lose sight of the fact that Cautinche was first settled by a unilocal, patrilocal group which retained its essential structure for some time. Even today the reservation may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sort of multilocal, patrilineal kinship group. With a single exception, all the men are related. Occupants of houses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 trace their ancestry back to Juan Antinao Paineo, and the owners of houses Nos. 3, 5, 9, 16, and 17 to his cousin, Dionisio Paillao. Only the occupant of No. 14, Oligario Nankucheyo, is genealogically unconnected with the others. He first came to

TABLE IV

CAUTINCHE SCHOOL ROSTER

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Home Reservation	Boys	Girls	Total
Cautinche	12	9	21
Denencuhue	6	8	14
Curaco	2	2	4
Boldoche	3	0	3
Catrimalal	0	2	2
Ayehueco	0	1	1
Huichicon	0	1	1
Totals[7]	23	23	46

621 Cautinche as a laborer for his wife's uncle, Antonio Huircapan, of house No. 10, and now works for him on half shares. Oligario Nankucheyo moved from the Yauyahuenche subdivision of Malalche, his home reservation, because he had no land of his own. He and his wife may be called the only "immigrants" in Cautinche. They arrived about three years ago and have become so well adjusted that they are liked by all their neighbors.

[7] Although forty-six pupils are shown on the official roster, half of the number generally missed attendance, and some "students" probably never came to class. Since teachers are paid on the basis of enrollments, there is a tendency to exaggerate the size of a school's roster.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community. 591

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial and Cholchol. 621 [3] 133 [245] [491]

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent 621

[8] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 173 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his government connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

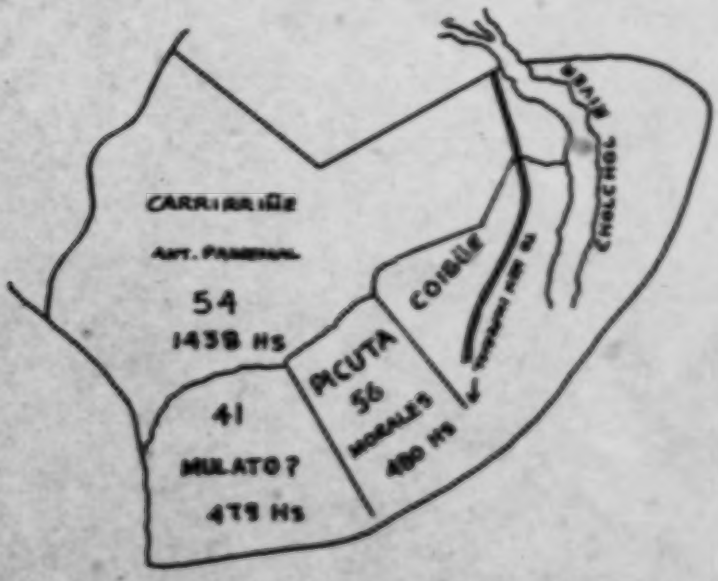

FIG. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarrifie. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarrifie residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarrifie's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Trasalhuilla.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarrifie. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as lonko, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarrifie. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarrifie are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarrifie there are four separate fields. One, associatnd with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 1, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 1, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 1, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 1, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarrifie's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarrifie from Trumenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarrifie. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Dumingbual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Trazahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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TABLE V

Distribution of Carrarriñe's Population

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	224

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The house of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *fillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 162 592 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Teuque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster.

592 621 162 595 Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes. 621 162 592 595

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered. 621 174

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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spring groups became politically, spatially, and economically detached from the parental settlements, but they established sociological links with one another through the agency of cross-cousin marriage.

To venture just one step further into the realm of hypothesis, there is something in the social composition of the reductions that makes them appear like patrilocal units which are dispersed into a number of multilocal residences. If one imagines a vast roof extending over the entire limits of a reservation, each of them could be viewed as an old-fashioned patrilocal, unilocal residence. In other words, a small reduction, such as Cautinche or Renaco, probably contains much the same association of individuals as would have made up the traditional *loñko's* household and following; and a large reservation like Carrarriñe comprises an aggregation of several such households. In some ways the dynamic process by which new Araucanian communities were formed resembles the kind of segmentation which has been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Hopi and other societies.[13]

Great, indeed, is the contrast between the theoretical organization based on the unilocal practices of the past and the actual state of affairs in the present. Each married man usually lives in his own dwelling, which averages six occupants. Few ties hold together the coresidents of a reservation, and divisive tendencies may be noted on each reduction. Relations between communities likewise tend to be slight, but complete isolation is prevented through contacts brought about primarily by reservation exogamy, school attendance at near-by reductions, and participation in *ñillatuns* and the large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun*.

[13] Titiev, 1944, pp. 46–48; 1943, pp. 522–30.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

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[4]Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5]For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6]The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 621 [574] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[229] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *upocha* (*bromelia landbeckii*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[239] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very
286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *aillo-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [514]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *rutromapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the compeer was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the ARAUCANOS began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llancas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delictu* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilean judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them,
621 accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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[62]

number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised :—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*

Father's father, *lacu.*

Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.

Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.

Father's mother, *cucu.*

Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*

Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*

Mother, *niuke* or *papat* (*pa-pie*).

Mother's father, *chedchi.*

Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*

Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*

Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.

Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*

Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*

Son, *vetem.*

Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.

Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*

Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*

Daughter, *niahue.*

Daughter's son, *chedchi.*

Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*

Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla,* etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *pueyi.*

Brother's son, *malyi.*

Brother's grandson, *lacu.*

Brother's daughter, *malyi niahue.*

Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*

Sister, *lemgen.*

Sister's son, *chequem.*

Sister's grandson, *chale chequem.*

Sister's daughter, *malen chequem.*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[317] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) 445 Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more 352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or 712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 619 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
631 p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño
622 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cũga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconosca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

622 In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason.
627 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaqkas, 10 such strings for one death. Márcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 49–59.)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Manzilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1839–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but *not by a stranger*. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the *Argentine Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbard, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1880, p. 30, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 180–82) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 20.
12 Marmolejo, p. 23; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change.

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevertheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

Let us turn now from features related to patrilineal to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Mooshach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Choichol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Mooshach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern.

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in-

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000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding practical affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the lil'ua, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lepin. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgados de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has 648 been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the acquiescence of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as wiñan mapu. A wiñan mapu 423 consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each wiñan mapu has a name. The related families within a wiñan mapu are known as a kompin. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepin gave the following list of wiñan mapu in Alepin area today and the related families in each: Alepin, family Llanlaf; Chan Chan, family Marín; Pellaun, family Inaipi; Malaín, families Huenchuman, Maneipán, and Marilaf; Mainpilldun, family

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Cautín; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepín area, boundaries of wítran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Pangipulli and Cañeripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several wítran mapu united into an organization called allaruwe for such joint activities as the ñiltrun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An allaruwe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the allaruwe. 631

Domingo Huenun of Pangipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his grandmuele, Antolel Huetra, an old man, the wítran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The grandmuele feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The wítran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the grandmuele's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each wítran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his wítran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be called on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." 622 [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his wítran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepín was died (1941), his 43-year-old son, José Manuel Llanlel, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ñiltrun. Huetra, the late cacique of Maloín, had no son to inherit his position, so the eldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Pangipulli was Juan

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TABLE 4.—*Wheno-ranges and their cuelgues in Chile and Argentina from "very, very, very early times," according to Ambrosio Huaiquilaf*

Wheno-range	Cuelgue
CHILE	
Pangipulli	Millanquay
	Allapeque
	Catrilaquin
	Pangulef
	Trafal
	Pellaruca
	Panai
	Kallilleuch
	Rangiaiuan
	Panai
	Huaiura
Cayumapu	Gumapen
	Millaplen
	Cariqueo
	Huaiquipeue
	Maripen
Trokapulli	Huenumal
	Huenulef
	Pinulef
	Panchilo
	Pinulef
	Cuelcuera, son of Llanculi
	Pichiuanlcuera
	Millalumay, and then the son of Quinenuca*
	Trawulef, and then the son of Quintulley*
Pellaupu	Mafquelcuela
	Cullinula
	Millinula
	Cuenqueo
	Rayenqueo
	Cayulef
	Antilinula
Colucipe	Trapulcuera
	Pulquinulli
	Llapilcho
	Tripulcuelli
	Marilcuera
Llanculeu	Cullinillen
	Marilcuera
	Trafulcuera
	Antilcuera

Wheno-range	Cuelgue
	Lonculauco
	Cullilauco
Caririgi	Llayquipir
	Palaquipir
	Chaquelcuenlcuel
	Pichillo
Llapulle	Caullipen
	Pangulef
	Trafilcuch
	Caripen
ARGENTINA	
Rayelmaico	Napiquen
	Kaualauco
	Antilaillo
	Mafquelef
	Pellaruca
	Catrilaillo
	Carinen
Chaquipulu	Llacupen
	Nigilef
	Hallcuera
	Nelcuera
Trafal	Huenchulafquen
	Pulla
	Unelcuenquen
Rucachoroi	Calell
	Millanell
Kallquell	Neculullu, who died in war
	Panai
	Trangalli
Melidaua	Huenquir
	Kalvinquir
	Pacha Trapal
	Fidel Trapal
Cacuqueyen	Huiruca
	Naguelchen
	Llaculiu
	Kaualef
	Yanilcuchlef
Kurlaue	Cullelauca
	Calelelauca
	Lanalef
Angueuco	Relinlli
	Rayelcuenquen

* Indicates same son of direct line of cuelgues, but a choice of the people.

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764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 In the early days, the management of government was in the con-
623 trol of the cacique (lonko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ñillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañüman, Meliñanku, Linkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayán; important, but less influential ones were Trecüll, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

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Each lofche was the recognised legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognised exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel caused between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

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622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 5, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a tolderia; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the tolderia. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfülkura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfülkura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

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lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Colhón Curá. 621

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 621 622 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
45	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curaháuca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Alga
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pichiñín
40	Aucapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shaihuque
45	Colhón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yeguas	Francisco Ancatrez
30	Quilleo	Carrizmill
30	Lago Alumine	Pati
30	Huechulaiquen, Lago Primero and Lago Epulaiquen	Francisco Catriel
30-40	Piedra Fiutada	Pablo Paillal
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Colhón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ñiñatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration. 622

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Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche. 423 [illegible] [illegible]

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands. 648 423 [illegible]

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents 311 423 [illegible]

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Mapuche
Chile SG1

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual – compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province – will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	c. 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	300	101	c. 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	295	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall. 242 433 311 [134] 433 241

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields. 311 [233] [241]

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 135 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. 621 [162] [311] [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people. 311 [361] [262]

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *konu* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konus* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *mawke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household upon request (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of mingaco in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of mingaco hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which mingaco differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a mingaco or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 429 [illegible] result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [illegible] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of division. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of division also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong among the membership. [illegible] [621]

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a 492 further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [illegible] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [illegible] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

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594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house), and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [413] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

C13 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) [521] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and son or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [592] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Tilser a linguistic reflection of the [413] breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. [114] Since *lofe* means "to bridge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [596] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[194] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, as a time when
[194] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[195] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[196] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

194 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
[195] that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in different fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:68).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the local group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and intercecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their preservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se esmeraban extraordinariamente para ir a establecerse a otro lugar" (1929). "Aunque los araucanos vivian aparentemente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estaban entregados, pues antes de nacerse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidas o fraccionadas" (1929). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Choltchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

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peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 5 shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See Cat. 116, p. 95 — Analysis]

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [622]

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613 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for
621 distinguishing lineal and residential units.
[622]

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
621 of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage.
618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.* Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature. 613 621 618

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case. 591 613 621

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this 613 621 596 [114] [618]

*Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilinealty *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief, who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 [552] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In preservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo division, a woman, as original radicado or as heir of a male radicado, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de- [423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses. 562 613 621 618 [496]

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons—and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage. [571] [593]

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [535] [964] [967]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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547 613 613 618 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 562 754 An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 562 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[592] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence.

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses. 613 [502]

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEAGES

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup. 613 178

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth. [621] [166] [169]

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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613 178 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed — that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 613 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

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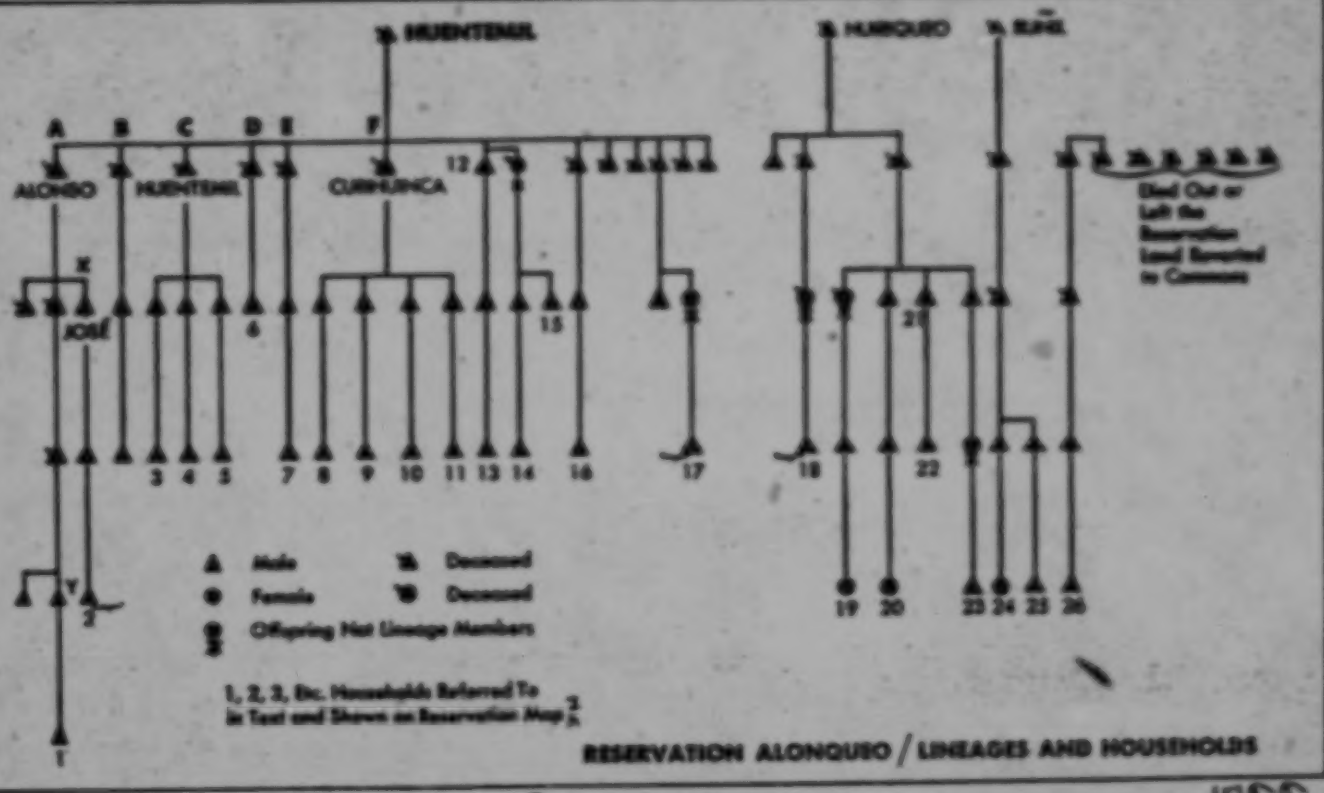

[See cat. 116, p. 32 ~ Analysis]

DIAGRAM I

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Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huenumil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced*. From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huenumil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huenumil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of reducción. Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huenumil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huenumil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente will marry, if she does at all, uxorilocally—that is, bring her husband to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 30-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population—that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members—as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the subhinoqas are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huenumil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no building off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huenumil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[2] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huenumil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huenumil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [148]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[2] [See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

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been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

8 [See CAT. 116, PP. 229-233--- Analyst]

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the majority of the other residents. The Curihuinces are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 10 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings. 413

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which 613 621 178 648

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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
648 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[See Cat. 116, p. 93 -- Analyst]

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tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter.

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The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of [622] political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*Ñillatufe*), under- [128] standable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. [185] Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 621
and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648
under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [692]
backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175
Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648
of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642]
military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701]
were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642]
authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-81 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [161] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [621]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [621]

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175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[701] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
622 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [701] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated. 664 621 622

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder. 578

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family 621 622 578

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heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *división*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

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178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to
[127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
62 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

[182]

596 613 621 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

[606] [609] [329] [595]

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

[182] [169]

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582 613 614 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency [621] for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 613 621 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change—the economy—and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo*

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa: (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592

After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where ruka 2 is situated on Map II. He and his wife died c. 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to ruka 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [See out. 116 p. 98 – ANALYST.]

[p. 228 is blank] [See out. 116 p. 32 – ANALYST.]

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592 L21 From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihuenque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau., 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihuenque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1900) Juan Pablo Huenumil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the *radicación*. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

[975] Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1930, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.

Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 3 years).

Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.

(There more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1900) Minchiquero/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiquero was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchiquero had two more sons after *radicación*, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1900) Widow of Martín, 2 sons (one married with no children); a Bro, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Martín.

Martín, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 3. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Martín has no direct descendants. His BroSo, Lepín, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of ruka 3, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepín, 2 Br, 2 Si.

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(F) (1900) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—rukas 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of reduccion, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of ruka 8, where he lives still is cared for by his eldest sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present ruka, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in ruka 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo/di.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1900) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 3 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a ruka near household 10. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in ruka 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's ruka and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 18, Juan Millaquen, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 13 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonquen where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in ruka 14. His wife is descended from Cayuquen, an original radicado but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 10: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 nephews.
Household 17: Segundo, bro, 1 Si.

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(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruka* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *título de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petron's son, Curileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Curileo, Sl, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilla and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

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Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died. 592 621 589

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuntru.[b]

(1910) Troilan.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

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613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational 182 depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between 178 different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the 177 understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are .621 largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621.
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

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562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In es-
•621 sence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
613 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
178 group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent 621
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

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613 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be
621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
425 number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
627 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
578 is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consid-
182 eration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

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Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

•621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marraige; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory
241 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782 today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for
[198 nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

796 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are
622 scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation
241 provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages,
782 who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable
• [621 combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and *ñenechen* and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*awnkamañ*: guardian of *awn*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated
621 by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

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several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 621.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 756

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom 796 [821] [776]

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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621 613 794 [128] more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly) consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 613 178 [194] It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

621 613 582 178 177 [166]

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *fuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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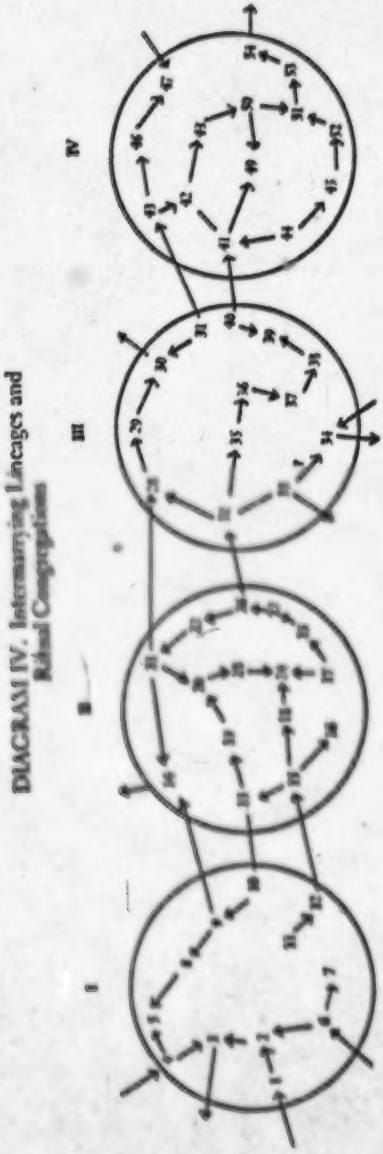

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
•62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Cuevas
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
582 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
178 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
595 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
794 transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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held in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this scene is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

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178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
• 62 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[641] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighbor-
[613] hoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
778 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
621 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual fiction and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate under-
621 standing of its culture context, some analysis of lineages is crucial. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidol mulewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of salvation accounted for in myth, and the ritual altar sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
[571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
• 621 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
182 discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
602 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
613 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
578 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
[783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. The moral community is at peace with itself. The total
[769] assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
• 62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
602 believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
62 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
[595 outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[178 than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[754 tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
621 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualiza-
tion of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

12 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections --
Analyst]

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
621

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of subline-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to

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754 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to
628 involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related
578 through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an indivudual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through mar-
621 riages contracted several generations ago and then not subse-
578 quently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is
731 not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific
769 ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their
782 ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare
[796] for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[177] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *loñko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

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621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
621 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
592 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at
627 his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
681

[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- 622
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon-as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[88] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[89] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon-as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[90] Several early sources re-

[88] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[89] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[90] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

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631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

● 622 592 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That ex- [595] plains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

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They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[44] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[45]

[44] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[45] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

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in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Araucanians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a nascent system of peonage.

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by reservation life and the allotment program is the disintegration of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Patrilocal and unilocal residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bonds of attachment were forged at assemblies at which the retainers of one or two friendly *lofkos* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their men into fighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *lofko* was expected to supervise the training of his retainers' children, and through his *werkes* to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he

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177 needed the support of allies. There is a suggestion that *lekes* were once reinforced in their authority by supernatural sanctions, and Latcham may well be correct in claiming that group ceremonies used to be led by caciques.

At present every aspect of chieftainship has been drastically modified. Whatever native leadership the people still have is so vaguely defined as to be of little importance. As long as men hold individual titles to their land and its usufruct, they do not need to rely on a *leke* to tell them when or where to farm. They find it equally unnecessary to seek his advice on the disposition of their crops or other goods, or to consult him in regard to marriage. Disputes are not referred to a cacique for settlement, nor can any leader order suspected sorcerers to be punished or expelled. Chilean courts have the same jurisdiction over Araucanians that they have over other nationals; there is a police station in each town; and the carabineros have the right of investigation and arrest on any reservation within their territory. In practice, the police seldom interfere in the internal affairs of the Mapuche, and those natives who resort to government courts are rarely pleased with the treatment they receive. As is so true elsewhere, litigation in Chile is apt to be expensive and long drawn out. Complaints of unfairness are often heard, and the phrase, "there is no justice," is frequently repeated. The Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización maintains an office in Temuco over which presides a judge of Indian affairs. Court is held about three days a week, and crowds of natives come in from outlying districts. Almost inevitably, they seek adjustment of land titles. If they can establish their identity and show that they have an authentic claim, they generally get a legal document of ownership, but this court only confirms previously assigned holdings and does not allot new land or grant titles to other than presumed heirs of previous owners. Incredible confusion arises from the Mapuche custom of duplicating names, from failures of men to list all their wives and offspring, and from the lack of accurate records. Even the wisest and best intentioned of judges must, inevitably, make numerous mistakes, and the natives often leave the courtroom feeling

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PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarrike. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once [622 537] a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

[101] [1]For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2]Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3]Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[234] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *ayucha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[235] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very
286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *aillo-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *entren* and *cutranquetro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drank deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

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622 darkness, dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The eldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilamanqui, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

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602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
[604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

621 619 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapúche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
• 622 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure. 623

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war. 619 631

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of caví (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mŭchulla) or pichicaví (small + caví). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each caví in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, caví, and levo (rewe) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as loɥko, toki, rewe, ül'men—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of loɥko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ül'men means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ül'mens, and vice versa. 619 631 622

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

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619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
631 p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño
●622 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cūga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaykas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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In this period, a small group of *Pampa* still spoke their native language, but later this speech disappeared under the *Araucanian* avalanche that descended from the Cordillera. By the end of the same century, the *Araucanians*, who had at first infiltrated among the *Pehuenche* living in the mountains, controlled all the extensive area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro, between the Cordillera and the sea. 167

In their immense territories, the newly arrived *Araucanians* were split into various distinct and frequently rival groups. They never formed states, for their social organization was not stratified, and they lacked permanent homes. But real dynasties of chieftains who succeeded each other were developed, and some of them became permanently established in definite places. 101 622

It is clear that these more or less rival groups, consisting of seminomadic Indians, had no definitely bounded territories that separated one from the other. Moreover, the number of chieftainships was changeable. Each chief with his people was subject to a higher chief. If dissatisfied with his superior, he took his movable tents and became the subject of another, or he himself became an independent chief.

Three of these chieftainships, however, were permanent, doubtless because they were based on the distinct physiography of the land. The first was that of the *Pehuenche*, who, in the latter part of the 18th century, were pressing toward the northeast, and at the beginning of the 19th century inhabited not only the Cordillera proper but all the territories east of the Andes to the Chadileuvú or Salado River, between the Diamante River on the north and the Limay River on the south.

The second group, located east of the first, occupied the western side of the Pampa, commonly called "región del monte" because of its xerophytic vegetation. The *Araucanians* called it Mamüll-Mapú, the "woody region." Its inhabitants were known as *Ranquel* (in the *Araucanian* language, rankul means a field of common reed grass). Its more permanent center, where the general chief lived, was a place called Leubucó, long. 64° 40′ W. and lat. 35° 50′ S. 181

Finally, the third group inhabited the region commonly called the humid Pampa (Pampa húmeda) or herbaceous Pampa, which is the eastern part of the plains. Because of their habitat, these Indians were often called *Pampista* or just *Pampa*, but they should not be confused with the true *Pampa*, who occupied this region previous to the *Araucanians*. The principal headquarters of these natives was the Salinas Grandes zone near Macachín, which lies in the present territory of La Pampa.

As the fundamental factors in the fusion and adaptation of elements were almost the same throughout the area inhabited by the Argentine 184

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551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous [595] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

593 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were— 622 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex- 554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All familes, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a 593 ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, 2; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Keukeukina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [824] [145]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trarülonko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b). 301 [622]

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537 a father makes certain that his son knows them by having him recite them. "Before we had schools the children were also taught, at home, expressions which they needed to know, such as we used in greeting relatives and in comforting the sorrowful in case of death. If a boy was bashful or unable to talk well to people, he was taken into the woods and made to stand on the stump of a roble chileno and told to talk from there to trees and plants and animals as though they were human beings. He had to use the expressions he had been taught at home. He would say: 'How are you?' for example, and the rest of the koyaqtun. Only boys had to do this. A girl's duty was to be at home in the ruka. I had to talk from a stump often." "Why from a roble chileno?" "Simply because it has the biggest stump."

537 Every boy was given the above training, but the sons of a cacique were given special training, not only in oratory but in memorizing, ● 622 also. A cacique would send his son to another cacique to deliver 202 verbatim a long important parliamentary message. Upon his return home, the son had again to repeat to the father verbatim, without the slightest deviation, the message the father had commissioned him to deliver, and then the answer returned by the recipient cacique. These occasions were not created; messages of necessity were being delivered. "This was a custom only among caciques, not among ordinary men." Caciques were noted orators, and since a son of a cacique replaced his father at the father's death, he must be trained in oratory. The cacique who excelled all other caciques in eloquence and memory and speech-making abilities was respected throughout the Araucanian country as its most renowned and intelligent leader—no higher compliment could be paid him.

537 Today, on any occasion when many persons meet, any man present may announce that he wishes to speak. Men, both young and old, did so in my presence. They invariably spoke of the value of honorable living. Everyone is attentive when anyone speaks; children are hushed and told to listen. Able orators are often invited to other areas to speak on special occasions.

Both addresses and discussions at present-day meetings are carried on in oratorical fashion. These, for example, may deal with the sending of delegates to a meeting about to be held at a distant point, possibly petitioning the Chilean Government for something, or they may deal with welcoming visitors to the area. Such a meeting was held in Alepúe area previous to the arrival of myself and my field assistant. At the reception given us oratorical addresses were delivered by older men, young men, a woman, and a schoolboy. (Cf. pl. 22, *2* and *3*.) Force, pauses, gestures, and direct address were used. At-

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000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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Caniulaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ŋillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe. [631]

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antelef Huetra, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." 622 [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ŋillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Mehuin, had no son to inherit his position, so the oldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Iapan

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621 TABLE 4.—*Wütran mapu and their caciques in Chile and Argentina from "very, very, very early times," according to Antolaf Huetra*

● 622

Wütran mapu	Cacique
CHILE	
Pangipulli	Millanguer
	Aillapang
	Catringuir
	Pangulef
	Trufal
	Pailliamon
	Punoi
	Kallfübuala
	Rangnimun
	Punoi
	Huetra
Cayumapu	Ütrumpan
	Müllepion
	Curipan
	Huaiquipan
	Maripan
Tralcapulli	Hennumañ
	Huenalaf
	Pünolaf
	Panchéo
	Pünolaf
	Caniucura, son of Lienantü
	Pichicaniucura
	Millañanco, and then the son of Quintanun*
	Trureulaf, and then the son of Quintallen*
Pulliugue	Mañguebuala
	Callbuala
	Melibuala
	Caurapan
	Rayengan
	Cayulef
	Antilbuala
Coñaripe	Tropañanco
	Polguiantü
	Lipitrig
	Tripaiantü
	Marilñanco
Llancahue	Callfodfico
	Marilunn
	Trafaikuenu
	Antilñanco
	Loncofanco
	Collilunn
Caririqi	Lloyequir
	Painequir
	Chaquañumahuel
	Pichifilo
Liquiñe	Canilipan
	Pangulef
	Ynalbuala
	Caripan
ARGENTINA	
Reyehuenico	Nepinun
	Kunañanco
	Antilmilla
	Mañquelef
	Pailacura
	Catrimilla
	Carinun
Chagolquin	Lincopan
	Nürlief
	Huilocura
	Nelacura
Trufal	Huenchaiafquen
	Pulle
	Umchaunque
Rucachoroi	Caiafi
	Millanañ
Kaliguañ	Necumilla, who died in war
	Panari
	Tranamill
Mallohue	Huenuquir
	Kalriquir
	Fucha Tropañ
	Pichi Tropañ
Uncoqeyes	Huircun
	Naggichun
	Lincolen
	Kantrelef
	Yanitrahilel
Kurilue	Collelunn
	Colelelunn
	Lanalef
Angueco	Rainilli
	Rayelunque

* Indicates man not of direct line of caciques, but a choice of the people.

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Catchenil; for Coñaripe, Antümelia; for Calefquén, Katriel; for Ancacomoya, Marico Wetra; for Huitág, Dario Caniupán. 622

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian noted that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Lienlaf and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

Rosamel Antümelia, the 38-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos Antümelia. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive notification from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a meeting of the men of his witran mapu for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another witran mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Lliuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No 622 623

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622. 623 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trailehueno, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, 2], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by families: we were 190 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ñillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ñi'me kurá (ñi'me,

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chief: kurk, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, a). 627
and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, b). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ñ'ine kurk. Why he did so I do not know."

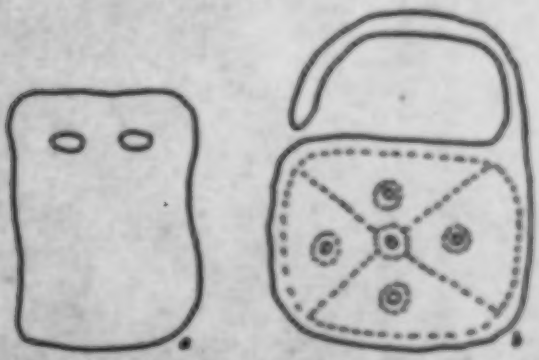

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: a, An ñ'ine kurk, a stone were suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigismundo Franciscan of Panguipulli.) b, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Arauucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND CRIME

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ñ'ñatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

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MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MONOGAMY

Formerly a cacique had three, four, or more simultaneous wives; having several wives added to his prestige. The great-grandfather of the present cacique in Quilaquina had six wives; his grandfather had three; his father, four; he himself has one. Commoners not infrequently had two wives; in more recent times, with rare exceptions, they have only one.

In the early days the support of several families was no economic problem. Later, however, a man would have found it difficult to take care of two families—"that was while we were being deprived of our land and animals, and were being chased from one place to another." Today it is impossible for a man to support more than one family; also, monogamy is enforced by Argentine law.

Each of simultaneous wives lived with her children either in a separate tolda, in one of several attached toldas, or in a section of one large tolda. Attached toldas had outside entrances only. Simultaneous wives were seldom sisters. "Our cacique had six wives, not one was a sister of any of the others. The six lived in two houses, and agreeably so." Each wife took her turn at cooking for all, but all wives and their children ate with the husband. A 70-year-old informant, the son of a cacique, told of his father's three wives: "They were not sisters, but life was always pleasant in our house. We all lived together in one house and had one big fireplace. My mother had six children; one of the other wives had four; the other, five.—I recall one cacique who had 25 children, because of his many wives.—We children of the three wives got along well; we had great respect for each other and liked each other; our parents would not have allowed us not to like each other. My own mother I called Ñuke; she was my father's first wife. The other two women I called kake Ñuke; in your language it would be aunt mothers. My father I called chau chau. All sons of his three wives were my brothers, and I called them peni; all his daughters were my sisters, and I called them kaupu or ñau."

When Kalaquen married, the Argentine army was already in control, and monogamy was being enforced. Quoting him: "I had one child by my first wife. I did not like my first wife. While married to her I went around like a wild horse. After she died I married another. I had a daughter and a son by her. After she died I had two wives at the same time; each lived in a separate house. One was my true wife, according to Argentine law; the other I had alongside of her,

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764 Salas had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwe; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (lonko). At times he was assisted by men known as lelea or lelfu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ñiltatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ñ'mem, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumal was the lelfu; ñ'mem there were of the families known as Takumao and Pillalaqui.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call them lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Nahuelpan of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words lugu and ulpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 720-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 134-135, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namuncurá, Kolupanes, Kallfilkura, Katrilkura, Kaviel, Paulowl, Pulliman, Mulfiundes, Llajeman, Pulldilla, and Kayén; important, but less influential ones were Treuill, Kolupan, Kinnaman, Chenkipan, and Mulfin.

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Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

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The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

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One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche.
622 An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing
628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re-
726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each
[411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar-
[923] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks
648 on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately
726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it.
622 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers
648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

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"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique. 622 648

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Curuhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painüval, Kalfükura, Catriol, Cheoeque, Paillamil, and Cañuilef. 622

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, 5); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, a). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Araucanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone so big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kolupan examined the toki shown in plate 74, 5, seemed puzzled, and remarked,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 5, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a tolderia; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the tolderia. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá. 621

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 621 622 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

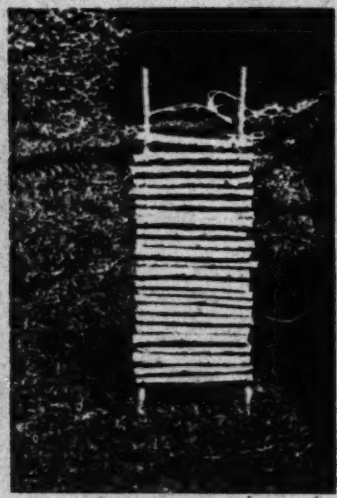
Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shailueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quilleu	Curriumil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30-40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Panilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the gillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration. 622

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

854



136
285

●622
281
324

1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kolupan. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (külko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Kossler, San Martín de los Andes.)

[p. 364(B)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche. 423 621 [622]

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands. 648 423 [622]

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents 311 423 [622]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 311 423 [622]

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

A 311

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

C 311

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

A 361 114 62 162 423 E 162

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	*c.* 3 ha.

Pelehue

C 311

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

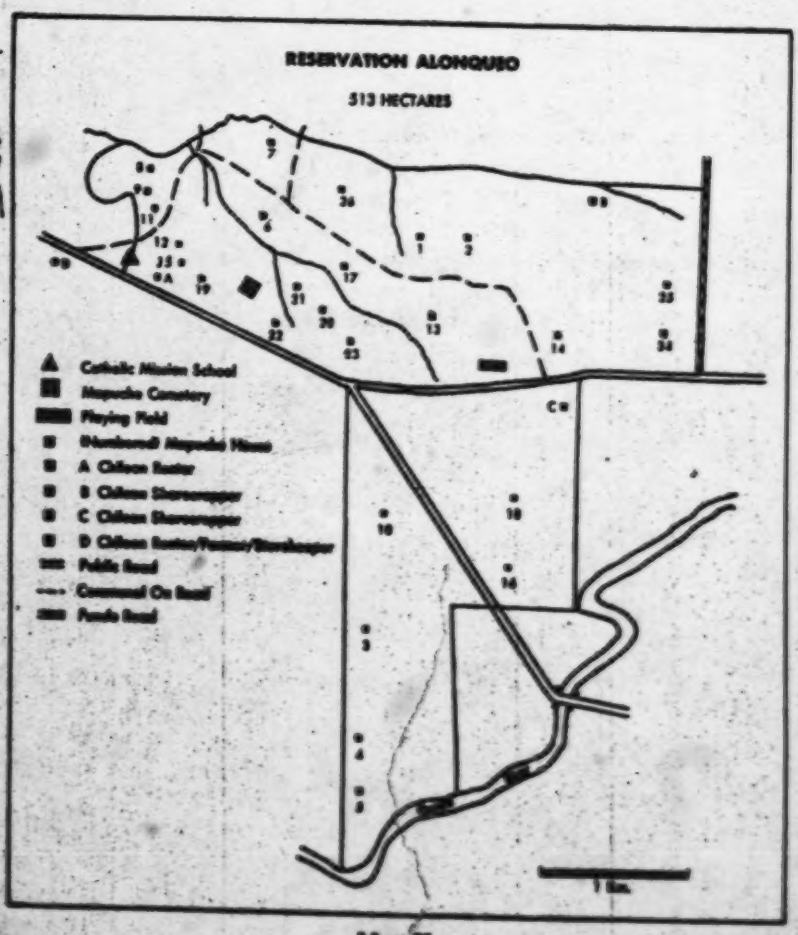
Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[627] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

102
361
491
563
997
764



MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [996]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[1] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [61]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of radicación (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [923]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land. 311 648

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents. 423

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less. [233] [427] [233]

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 75 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief. 311 [133] [314] [622]

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with [242]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land.* Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

311 423 622

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Llumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

423 [648] [563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

162 [592] [591] [423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

241 [133]

* [i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Ljumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[598] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and from informants who describe the situation which existed less than three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, but generally involve several of the most closely related families on the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to find all members of a large residential group or reservation community performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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(*mawke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with the second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swamplands, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the shrillest tune of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *minga*s may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *minga*s expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents. [496] [341] [613] [621]

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community. [496] [342] [891] [974] [564] [621]

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *minga*s groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery. [496] [342] [621] [341]

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *minga*s. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *minga* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints [342] [341] [574] [273] [342] [335]

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town [433] are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 648
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [622] to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622] by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [227]

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613 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for
621 distinguishing lineal and residential units.
[622]

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas*, which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed
621 of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage.
618 Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913. Chap. 2:13-183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable *to the imposition of the* reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613
After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423
her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621
more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation. [602]

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother). [609]

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him. [614]

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*llaves*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship commonly passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
[See Cat. 116, pp. 209-233 -- Author]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[55] [179] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [193] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
62] story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
648 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[164] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
62] inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [See Cat. 116, P. 93 -- ANALYST]

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5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*lillatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the colonial context in which it thrives.

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175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

CA2 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

[643] [613] [622]

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [683] [681] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 48 473

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white coloniration. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a *tremendous scale after 1866*. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*! [622] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[8] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[8] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is virually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were established on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis.

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *division* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *division* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress — for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed — when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views — essentially on whether or not he stands for division — he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership.

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities — a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1883 — the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 664
pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664
themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666
groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political in- [622]
fluence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666
vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 562
the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there
are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few [242]
women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666
is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting
hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns [273]
and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208]
in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they
are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [613]

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated.

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family

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heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *división*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original redireader, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
589 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
591 riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
495 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
522 on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so. 178 584 [822]

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death. 591 [342]

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *fillanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line- 584 [585] [583]

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 589

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.* Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [632] [198]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

* This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in prereservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before reservation life permitted and even to some extent hinted the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.) [583]

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:142–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage. [537] [423]

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Komos*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land. [22]

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families, [22] [514]

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75). 582 428 167 589

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion, a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast no due doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage. 595 578 601 121

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, 613 584 622

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584 613 it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage ar-
rangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and
providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said
to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions
in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today,
the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential.
Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in
marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important
groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the mini-
mal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other neces-
sities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a
responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *Nillatun* and *nawn*. *Nillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *Ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as goel and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifuche* and *huillikuche*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *Ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Nillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *Nillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *Nillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *Nillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *Nillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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These are the Elites of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 791 [81] When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted. [628] [198]

182 197 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the lineage group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and converging politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublineage lines of organization and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual compadrazgo illustrate examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change – the economy – and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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105 The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, be-
137 come Iconic. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from
182 white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as be-
[149] longing to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[1]

137 A people who have been in sustained and close violent contact with
182 a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to
105 have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social groupings are not short-lived. Subjected to the centrifugal force of warfare, the Mapuche wandered to far extremes. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief or priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the fission households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[148] [1] It might be argued that 1884 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale sales of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche regard this major rebellion between that date and their final pacification, and concluded a political-military alliance, as the longer base.

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000 (*nekuwewn*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
797 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
768 preservation community and head of the dominant lineage
769 thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
613 (which I regard as a preservation practice) in which prayers
622 are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the domestic *pewenes* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on

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241 Mapuche white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is men's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche
[434] strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
406 Mapuche (at persistently high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scanty crop reserves. It is a system primarily forced upon them during the several lean months of the year, these preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is minimal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

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648
• 648 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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(leader) and wealthy men (slaves) were important persons in the regulation of communal labor in preservations and early reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to participate in any and all competitive ventures. It is sufficiently clear from these accounts that slaves and persons designated as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of combined lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in whose name the reservation community is registered with the Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is no essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary economic relationships among the membership. In the light of new economic orientations, in which the notions of private enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is not implausible to view the communal large-scale work parties as even more important than formerly for the revitalization of moral responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn balanced by his role of political and ritual leader of the association community.

In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the multilineage based association community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary social and conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases such parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacique* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the entirely contractual plane, but a substantial number of traditional social responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this survival stand expressive in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic mentality which, though observable, are less dramatically or substantially expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Maquehuehue, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
178 community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
622 seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
178 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
421 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military purposes). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
challenge by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
unduly on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

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776 of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that
562 they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of
[754] goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

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769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*),
789 it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean
• 622 mode of expression.
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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political importance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the *filletun* ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *filletun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the

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766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

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The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun

The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history [178]

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796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory
24 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782 today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for
[198 nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the preconservation era.

796 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are
622 scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation
24 provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages,
782 who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Deci-
[621 sions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and *fenechen* and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*ewuhamuk*: guardian of *ewu*) and sergeants, as well as peasant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated
62 by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

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I have stressed the priestly function of *ñiñatufe*, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater exercise aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñiñatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñiñatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñiñatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continual need for *ñiñatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi*" in the *ñiñatun* organization (1951: 150). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñiñatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñiñatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche reality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *ñiñatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñiñatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *ñiñatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *ñiñatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatorio de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

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she may be available, at least not the sort of *invitation* which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *füllatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *füllatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622].

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *füllatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 [622] [198] 796 756 789 536

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *füllatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *füllatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by *ngenpin*, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182

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time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

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Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*tillatufe*), who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances. Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a *tillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *tillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

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A significant feature of each reservation having its own priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *tillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *tillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in dillatun ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a local member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances, or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general dillatun ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral duties, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed both the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ñillatuchi: The Chief as Priest. Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational case (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to
the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there
arose some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the
linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the
linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokes- 793
man for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted
action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the
ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual
responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of
this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not
themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in
ritual matters without question, and often without full under-
standing or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more
festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Ma- 793
puche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his po- 794
litical leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from pre-reservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has ritual involved such a large and heterogeneous congrega- 554
tionalism, and only since congregational development of this
sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to
such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested
largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command
allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship
group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 parties in which they appear as tinder heads, doing little or no
•622 work themselves. The lonko who is also *ñillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 Kowe and lonko are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called weke (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called ñiñen ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
559 with respect to ñiñen, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
578 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

7

12: Faron E-4.3 (1952-1954) 1954
SC4 Araucanians SC4
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family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Lacking an expanding population and small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from preconservation days, now the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and associatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of ritualism and even to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the preconservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

Z: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1871
SMS Tehuelche SMS
Araucanians 564

on their shoulders to the tables. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lonkotrun to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

A 482 [251] A 231

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relative—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

A T 648 A 622

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Punguenes, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

A 202 A [822 721]

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

000

* Also called Foyel.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and 342
altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had [352]
such an air of civilisation about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, 273
bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the 574
valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturb- 622
ance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Checoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Checoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had re- 142
mained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Picunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I 000
came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 T A 648

the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

A 574 264 415 262

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

A [291 411] [861]

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

A 622 554

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
[556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white
583 beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
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000 of supply for bringing up implements and importing produce, supposing the first difficulties overcome. A railroad or tramway might I am sure be constructed at little cost to run down the whole valley of the river, or steam launches of good power, fitted to burn wood, would furnish an effectual means of communication. The present Government steamer Choelechel both draws too much water and is of too small power to render material assistance in the way of opening up the river. The Capitano Major Ramirez pointed out these defects to his Government previous to her being brought to the Rio Negro, but his opinion was overruled.

423 622 Foyel and a cacique named Limaron, who claims territorial rights over the island, had a scheme for cultivating Choelechel and other advantageous spots, importing for the purpose Valdivian settlers used to the labour from the other side of the Cordillera, and obtaining their supplies and implements from Carmen.

000 The present further limit of settlement in the valley is the advanced military post called La Guardia Chica, situated about seven leagues above the second Guardia, and about twenty-five leagues from Carmen. It has not, I believe, been in existence many years, and was two years ago the scene of an *émeute* amongst the garrison, which was graphically described to me at our watchfire in Las Manzanas by Roque Pinto, who had evidently assisted, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator at the scene. The troops, who were mostly foreigners, according to his account, suddenly rose, shot or stabbed the officer in command, and then their lieutenant, who was killed whilst endeavouring to escape by swimming the river. The mutineers then sacked the place, getting of course intoxicated on the contents of the grog-shops, and remained in possession for a day or two, when a party headed by a man named Bonifaccio, a Government agent for treating with the Indians, rode in and took the ringleaders, who were, I believe, summarily shot. I tell the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- 622
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re-

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *rutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure. 623

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war. 619 631

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of cavi (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mûchulla) or pichicavi (small + cavi). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each cavi in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, cavi, and levo (rewe) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as loyko, toki, rewe, ûl'men—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of loyko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ûl'men means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ûl'mens, and vice versa. 619 631 622

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Catchenil; for Coñaripe, Antümelia; for Calefquén, Katriel; for Ancacomoya, Marico Wetra; for Huitág, Dario Caniupán. 622

At present a man may legitimately hold the office of cacique because he has inherited it, and the people may recognize him as their leader, but unless the Chilean authorities also recognize him as the cacique, his position is weak. In all areas this was spoken of. A non-Araucanian noted that as recently as 1940 the Chilean Government gave full support to the two caciques in Alepúe area, Andrés Lienlaf and José Martín, two highly respected old men, but that the word of those who have succeeded them seems to carry less weight.

Rosamel Antümelia, the 38-year-old cacique of Coñaripe, who was recognized by his people as their cacique, told of the formal recognition by the Chilean Government: "The last recognized cacique for Coñaripe was my father, Carlos Antümelia. He died in 1942; he was older than 100 years then. My grandfather, great-grandfather, and their fathers before them had all been caciques. Always a son of a previous cacique was recognized as the cacique. A brother older than myself should have been the cacique at my father's death. He was better educated than I am and he had had experience in matters of ruling the people which I have not had—he had helped my father in such matters. But this brother died. Then I became my father's interpreter—my father did not speak Spanish. When my father died, the people here recognized me as their cacique. I was also encouraged to be their cacique by a Chilean who built the road through here. He told me to fill my father's place as cacique so that the Mapuche here would not be without a head. However, before I am established in the position, I must receive notification from the Chilean Government—and here is how this is being done: The Chilean who represents our interests in Pitrufquén in the court of justice for Indians there must refer the matter to the Government officials in Valdivia responsible for Indian problems; this, I believe, he has done. The Governor of the Province of Valdivia—we live in the Province of Valdivia—will be informed of the matter and will probably approve of it. His approval will be returned to me through the Chilean offices of Lanco and then those of Panguipulli—Coñaripe is in the Panguipulli subdelegación. I will then be notified, and after that I am the cacique."

In the interim, however, he functioned as the cacique. He called a meeting of the men of his witran mapu for February 9, 1947, to discuss the division of land owned in common by them, and also to take action regarding the trespassing on the land by men from another witran mapu. More than 50 men from Coñaripe and Lliuco met—men of all ages, including very old men and some teen-agers. No 622 623

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

622 women attended. The meeting was held in the shade of a grove of
623 tall trees near the cacique's ruka and lasted three hours. All men might have expressed an opinion—only seven did so; all talking was done in Araucanian. Quoting the cacique: "Some of the land under discussion is already being occupied and is being tilled; some is still heavily wooded. Much of the land is on the Cerro Trailehueno, just to the right of the Volcano Villarrica. [He sketched the location: a valley in the Andes within the shadow of the Volcano Villarrica.] The total land involved is about 5,000 hectar [12,000 acres]. All the families can now think the matter over until March 15—we decided to hold the next meeting on that day. We hope on that day to agree on the manner of dividing it. When we have agreed, our decision must be sent to the Chilean office in Pitrufquén and from there it will be sent to the Ministerio de Tierra in Santiago. I know that the land that I now cultivate here in Coñaripe is too small to be divided among my six children [pl. 20, 2], so that each can live off it when married; I intend to ask for a piece on the Cerro. Others have expressed the same convictions about their land and families. In the Chilean census of 1940, we were approximately 400 Mapuche souls in Coñaripe—among ourselves we reckon by families: we were 190 fathers of families then."

622 If the authority of a cacique is not respected by the people, or if the Chilean Government has not recognized the cacique as representing his people, an outstanding Araucanian may take over when a need arises, especially in dealing with the Chilean Government. "A year or so ago, we had a meeting at which we decided to petition the Chilean Government for a road. One of our best men, not the cacique, wrote out a petition, and others signed it. (Our cacique is a man of limited experience and deals with the people only at the ñillatun.) Then two men, well able to speak, took the petition to the civil authorities in San José [de Mariquina]."

Occasions have arisen at which the Chilean Government appointed an Araucanian other than the cacique to act as liaison. "Several years ago when many of the Mapuche here in Coñaripe, including the cacique, spoke no Spanish, the Chilean authorities asked that a Mapuche with whom they could deal be placed in authority here (land problems were being discussed). The civil authorities in Lanco appointed my husband. He had spent 8 years in the Mission school in Panguipulli and one year in a school in Valdivia. Everyone respected his judgment; his judgment is still highly respected by all today."

A cacique had no emblem of power. He was easily distinguishable, however, in any gathering by a stone, called an ïl'me kurá (ïl'me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

765 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüñilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake
[622] of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's
[613] or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they spon-
sor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I
[241] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which in-
[114] volved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families),
including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It
was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of
three households who sponsored the affair.

476 The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an in-
177 dividual family greater independence from others on the reservation
[427] than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment
[423] is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership
of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean
influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and inter-
lineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they
are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would
have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting
seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather
interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization per-
mits, however, while it certainly has important economic implica-
tions, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one
were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too
costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently re-
sorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer ques-
tions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they
can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation
for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working
[427] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than
the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose
machine is used.

476 *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvest-
[241] ing, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to
clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise
houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under
[491] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food
[622] and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands
[623] of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *minga-
co* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family
provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [976] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [901] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

796 793 622 [756]

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

796 793 [756] [623]

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

114 796 756

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

114 796 769

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794
628
[574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

[623]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

12; Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared
554 up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

772 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche
562 society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male
769 superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 There are other indications of male dominance and a clear
562 association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participa-
[623] tion in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 512 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That ex- [515] plains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

•624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *lofko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recog- 622
nized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a *título de merced* on behalf of his group, the position of *lofko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

[46] Examples of the style in which *lofkas* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participat-
ing reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congrega-
tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178]
vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take
up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of
ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive
everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are
responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to
ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the
ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among
the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to
obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At
the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes
its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the
proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a
repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual
falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early
afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants
and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial
field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each
closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is
always this repetition, even though there should be only a
morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for
[782] the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[769] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[198] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[798] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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nuclear family."[20] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[21] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[22] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[23]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[24]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[20] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[22] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[23] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[24] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
592 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at
627 his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
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[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

539

Woman's Counterreply

feula anai koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[18]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed pifimal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collfo. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him. [626]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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593
should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and 562
intelligently so.

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or 593
worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were 578
discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like [626] ●
Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then."

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding 593
their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 567
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" [158]
(*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684]
been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626]
in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
626 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
626 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
756 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *reñu*, her haunt,

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha, trafkin,* and *konchotun,* interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha,* the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha,* he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin,* the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun,* an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun,* a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

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A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

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A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
592 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
681

[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous 622
arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by 592
the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the 627
death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to 681
be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the au- ~~622~~
thority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he [623]
served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[20] Because of this custom a chief's power depended [537]
largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[21] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth [556]
in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neigh- 622
boring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new 623
leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned 631
into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[22] Several early sources re-

[20] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[21] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[22] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *eilla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
631 p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño
622 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cūga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
• 627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaykas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for ● 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know." 622

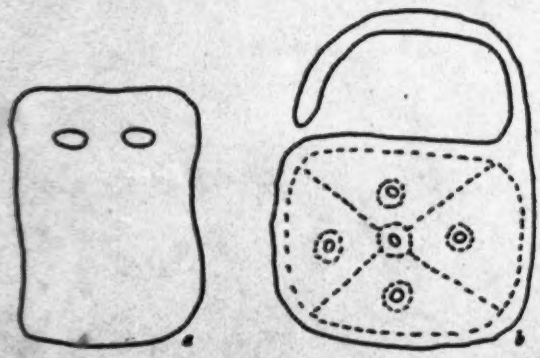

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Fraunhäusl of Panguipelli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ŋillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [683] [681] [648]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 423

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be
621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
425 number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
•627 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
578 is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consid-
182 eration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Ngurwilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Piñeda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to [548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during 835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llankas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ül'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know." 622

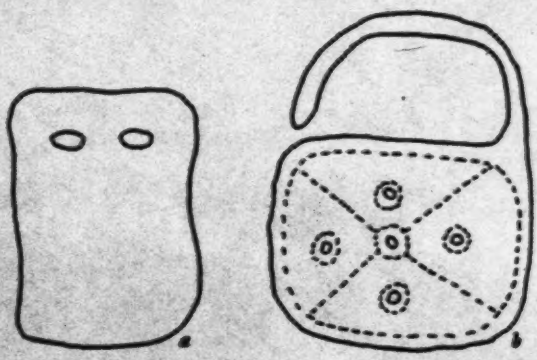

FIG. 4.—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ül'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Fraunhäusl of Panguipulli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ŋillatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a
657 cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing 628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re- 726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each [411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar- [823] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks 648 on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack 726 on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the 622 Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. 648 From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how- [613]
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 24
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [175]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[987] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
114 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of
61 kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
794 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Nilatual* fer-
[illegible] tility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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584 836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would 848 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being 578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri- 558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love [836] affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 681 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the [692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of [839] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [754]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628]
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [764]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and [241]
agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [776]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [632]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
[754] cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem-
[754] blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

[537]

Ñillatun

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628.

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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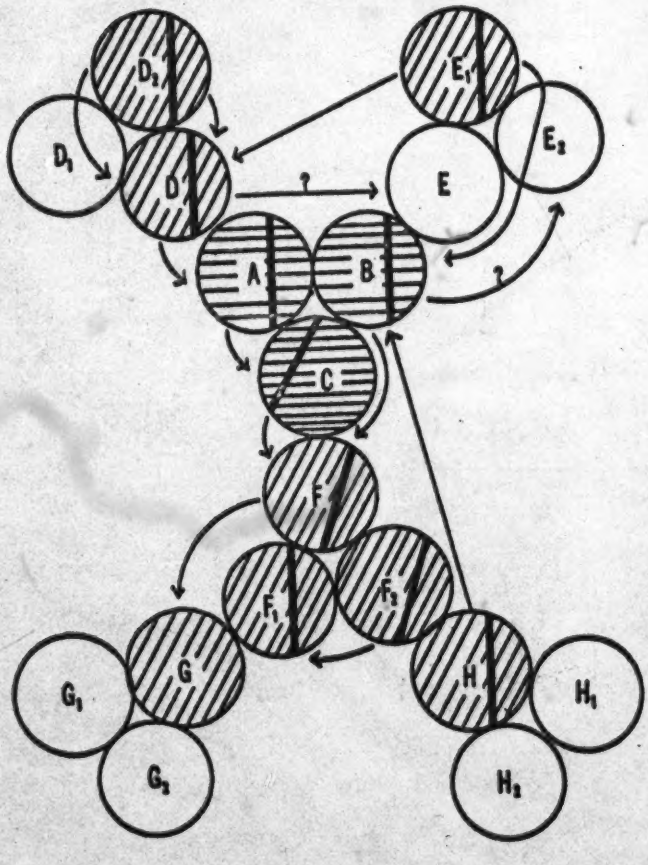
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

[623]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation. 796 794 628

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have 621 613 794

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
[182] chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to
628 involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related
578 through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an indivudual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through mar-
621 riages contracted several generations ago and then not subse-
578 quently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is
731 not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific
769 ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on
782 the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general
[796] strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llañkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death. 622 592 627 681

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *loñko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kon·as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[38] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[39] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man. 622 [623] [537] [556]

If a chief died or if his *kon·as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *loñko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life. 622 623

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *uthal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *uthal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *ulmens*.[40] Several early sources re- 636

[38] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 241–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[39] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 737.

[40] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 512 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That ex- [595] plains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develope into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *aillа-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [514]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *butanmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the ARAUCANOS began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure. 623

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the vutanmapu (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war. 619 631

The next smaller division was the aillarewe (nine + rewe), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839–46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The aillarewe was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called levo in the earliest sources, and rewe (regua) in the later ones. The levo or rewe was in turn made up of a small number of cavi (cabí), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several machulla (mtchulla) or pichicavi (small + cavi). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each cavi in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component machulla consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 283–84) estimated the population of the levo (or rewe) to have been from about 1,600 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each machulla, cavi, and levo (rewe) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaverria, 1863, p. 22; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as loqko, toki, rewe, ülmen—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of loqko (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, toki (ax) to headmen of rewes or of higher subdivisions. The title of ülmen means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were ülmens, and vice versa. 619 631 622

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b, p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño
631 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to
622 the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cũga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaukas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25] 725

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless trot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26] 725 481 [492]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28] 704 177

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century 642 631

25 Marmolejo, pp. 42-43, 47-49. These are but representative of many such descriptions.

26 Nájera, pp. 42, 110-116. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

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The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed "*el estado*." This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to imbue the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's image of "*el estado indómito*" was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of seeking transient familial and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he recrossed the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders voiced a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the caciques of the estado had to reform alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

29 Olaverría, p. 20. The area included the Indian localities of Talcamavida, Laucamilla, Catiray, Marigueño, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In essence, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or merely [illegible] of them.

30 Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (5 vols., Santiago, 1910). Historians and anthropologists seem to be under a strange compulsion to use this poem as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in select instances the practice is not warranted, but the wide use to which it has been put must certainly be held in question. Everyone knows that there is much truth in it, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it resides.

31 Marmolejo, pp. 22-23. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were introduced to coöperative military effort on a large scale through attempted invasions by the Incas. This seems most unlikely because the Incas were held at the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the warlike Promaucaes, who were not Araucanians. Nor could the Inca invasions have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the imposition of Spanish dominion, without which it could have had no meaning.

32 *Idem*, pp. 61-62.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed suzerainty over all of the allaeguas from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective suzerainty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

33 *Idem*, pp. 105, 133.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Mariñoso, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 83. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 278, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xarquemada" (*idem*, pp. 241-242; Májon, p. 69). Through acts of terror the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-52).

38 Mariñoso, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

631 rather than central, and coöperation was most often found in the realm of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Araucanians. The region between the Biobío and Toltén Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *butanmapos;* they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the estado). Each butanmapo had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least in time of war, a principal chief, or *toque*. It was customary for the chiefs to debate plans for war in a parliamentary junta in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[40] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial toques is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held to both qualify status and to assure authority. When disagreement occurred between toques, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[41]

Gerónimo Pietas, writing around 1729, describes a further development of this general schema. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called butanmapos, but they extended farther north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Araucania is mute testimony to the growth of Araucanian strength and confidence. In Pietas' description each butanmapo had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *toqui-guilmen* (commander), a *guinca-guilmen* (field commander), and a *pelqui-guilmen* (diplomatic courier). While these officers assumed absolute authority in their positions within the province, they were inferior to a *toque-general* who apparently wielded a measure of authority over the whole of Araucania. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A
631 general war could be called for only by the toque-general, and at his own discre-
721 tion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *coner*. Only the toque-general could dispatch the coner, and in the event of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a con was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the councils, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional toque. As messenger he sent his pelqui-guilmen to the other butanmapos, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this event the warring chieftain used force

[114]

40 Encarnacion, pp. 39-41. Latcham (*La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 153-154) considers this to be an ancient Mapuche military organization, even though it is first reported almost a century after the Spaniards arrived. From what we know of the ancient Mapuche, this would appear to be an unlikely sophisticated organization.

41 *Idem*, pp. 94-99, 144-148; "Relación de Luis de Valdivia," 1611 (Gay, II, pp. 281-282).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Mascuelpin, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Caniulaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ŋillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe. [631]

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antelef Huetra, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." 622 [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ŋillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Mehuin, had no son to inherit his position, so the oldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Iapan

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges
648 and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone
484 got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
692 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political
[671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25] 725

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of conquest ancient localism clashed with incipient nationalism. This conflict produced a political ambivalence which in itself contributed heavily to the cause of Araucanian independence. Centralization of politico-military authority was achieved to a point where successful resistance was possible, but did not develop to a stage where the Spaniards could defeat and usurp it.

The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed "*el estado*." This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to imbue the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's image of "*el estado indómito*" was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of seeking transient familial and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he recrossed the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders voiced a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the caciques of the estado had to reform alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

29 Olaverría, p. 20. The area included the Indian localities of Talcamavida, Laucamilla, Catiray, Marigueño, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In essence, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or merely one of them.

30 Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (5 vols., Santiago, 1910). Historians and anthropologists seem to be under a strange compulsion to use this poem as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in select instances the practice is not warranted, but the wide use to which it has been put must certainly be held in question. Everyone knows that there is much truth in it, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it resides.

31 Marmolejo, pp. 22-23. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were introduced to coöperative military effort on a large scale through stumpend invasions by the Incas. This seems most unlikely because the Incas were held at the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the warlike Promaucaes, who were not Araucanians. Nor could the Inca invasions have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the imposition of Spanish dominion, without which it could have had no meaning.

32 *Idem*, pp. 61-62.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 671
and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648
under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [692]
backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175
Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648
of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642]
military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701]
were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642]
authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887—thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

C42 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

[C43] [613] [622]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [683] [681] [648]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 423

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [701] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 698 692

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial
648 and early republican periods.

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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fluence of the *Incas* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not appear to have been very profound."[2] 174

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting. 175 648

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Araucanians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a succinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel 175 177

[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941a, p. 19.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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175 the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects
177 that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean
648 republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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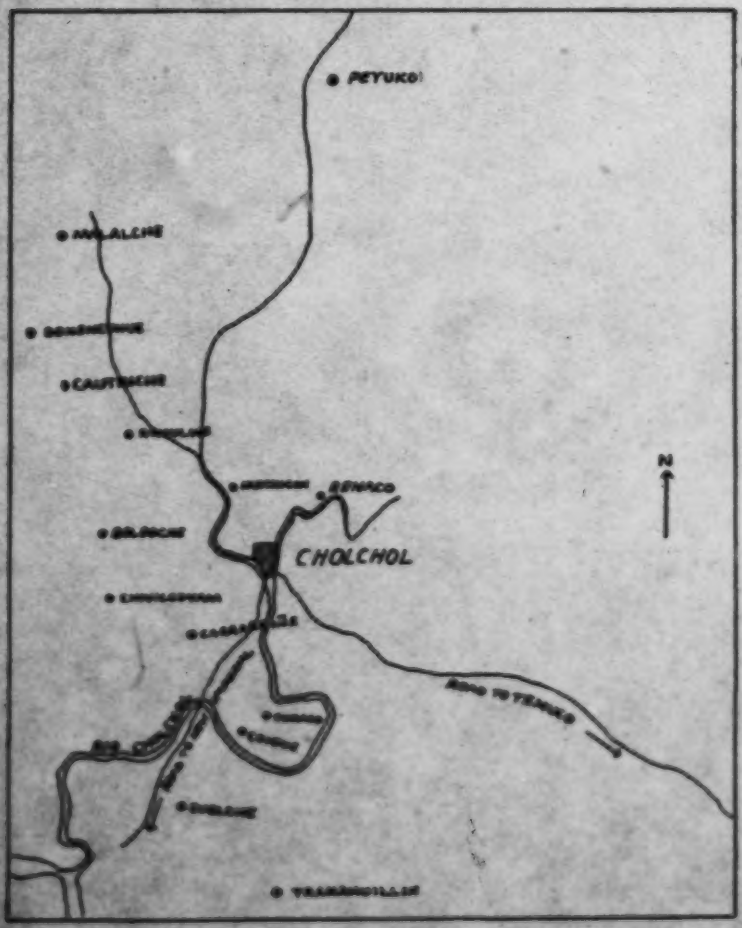

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. 175
Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, 648
some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

175 strated that Indians and Chileans could learn to live peacefully
648 together.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the Araucanians continued to be on their guard and to oppose any large scale encroachment from the direction of the country's capital on their north, but during the administrations of President Manuel Montt (1851–1861), they found themselves cut off at the south by the arrival of German and other European immigrants who came by sea to establish settlements that extended out from Valdivia. Thereafter, relatively peaceful penetrations from north and south succeeded, where frontal assaults had failed, in opening parts of Araucanía to white settlement. To encourage this movement, and at the same time to prevent the Indians from losing their land, the government passed a law in 1866 that provided for the establishment of large reservations or reductions, which could not be alienated from the native occupants. Whatever parts of the area were left unassigned, however, were sold on easy terms to colonists. Unfortunately, as the region was unsurveyed and unmapped, no definite boundaries could be set up, and since the filing of legal titles was not always required, the matter of land ownership in the Frontera soon became subject to utter confusion and endless bickering.

It must not be thought that the Araucanians, with their long tradition of fighting in defense of their territory, made no protest against the new invasion of their homeland. They revolted violently in 1868–70; and, when Chile became embroiled with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific (1879–83), they took advantage of the absence of troops in their area to stage a major uprising that continued from 1880 to 1882. This turned out to be their last major effort to regain their lost independence. As soon as Chile began to feel assured of victory in the War of the Pacific, she sent her seasoned soldiers to the Frontera, with the result that by 1884 the Araucanians were thoroughly defeated and pacified.[7]

[7] Galdames, 1941, p. 337. Dr. Lothrop said that in Latcham's opinion the use of modern weapons was a decisive factor in the final defeat of the Araucanians.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PACIFICATION AND THE RESERVATION SYSTEM, 1884–1917

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When the government of Chile, in the year following the victorious termination of the War of the Pacific, succeeded in pacifying the Araucanians, it took the stand that the Mapuche deserved to be punished for their disloyalty in revolting while the country was at war. Accordingly, it was decreed that the titles to their tribal reservations were to be cancelled, and their holdings were declared state property.[8] The Indians were permitted to remain on the reservations previously set aside for them, but all of Araucanía was politically subdivided to form several of the present provinces including Bío Bío, Malleco, and Cautín. In fact, it was upon the establishment of the last-named province in 1887 that "the whole of the Frontera was incorporated in the organized national domain,"[9] and to all intents and purposes the Araucanians thereafter became an ethnic minority group of Chilean citizens living within the borders of the republic. New towns and cities sprang up all about them, lines of communication crossed and recrossed their former territory, roads and railroads were built throughout the region, and within a short time every section of the Frontera was penetrated as increasing numbers of colonists laid claim to the unreserved portions of the area.

In this way the Araucanians, soon after their pacification in 1884, came to be confronted with a major problem of cultural readjustment. Whereas they had once been accustomed to wide stretches of free land, they were now hemmed in on fixed reservations; where they had developed a way of life that was successfully adapted to the conduct of long-drawn out wars, they were now forced to modify their customs to suit the conditions of lasting peace. It is the study of this aspect of cultural dynamics that provides one of the central themes of the present monograph.

[8] Hanne, 1939, p. 282. This move may well have been influenced by the need of finding new economic outlets for veterans who were returning from four years of service in the army.

[9] McBride, 1936, p. 296.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE ALLOTMENT PROGRAM, SINCE 1917

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Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the harassed Indians, they were yet to be faced with another difficult problem of adjustment—the transition from communally to privately owned land. At the time when reservations were first created by law, a property title (*título de merced*) was issued to each chief who was the recognized head of a kinship group that lived together. It was stipulated, though, that at the request of one-eighth of its members, any reduction must be subdivided into individually-held parcels.[10] At first the natives opposed such subdivisions since the reservation grants usually included a bit of extra land for the common use of the group, but as time went on more and more pressure was exerted to have all reservation land assigned "in severalty to each individual of the kinship group, and to dispose of any remainder for white colonization."[11] An average of five to six hectares (about twelve to fifteen acres) was supposed to be allotted to each person. Where insufficient land was available, the government was expected to provide additional parcels from within its domain. Lothrop informed me that in 1930 some families near Temuco had only one hectare, and in 1937 Dugan estimated that between Quepe and Tolén the average Indian had only two and one-half hectares.[12] According to Lothrop, some poor families in 1930 were moving up the Andes and clearing the forests to make new farms, while others were living with relatives.

Despite the existence of a protective clause that forbade Indian owners to dispose of their parcels of land for a period of ten years, native leaders were not slow to realize how completely the new system of personal land ownership would break up what was left of their tribal unity. In 1930 they held a large congress in Boroa, at which they thoroughly discussed the problems that confronted them.[13] In the end they bowed to what ap-

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[12] Dugan, 1937, p. 13.
[13] Dr. Lothrop told of a congress that was held on Wednesday, December 25, 1929. Although it was a rainy day about four thousand people were

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

peared inevitable and reluctantly admitted that the continued partitioning of their lands could not be stopped. Somewhat pathetically, these descendants of the great warriors of old asked only that the government should give them adequate legal protection. Dr. McBride, who was present at the congress, was moved to express himself in a vein of gloomy prophecy. "The abolition of their agrarian communities," he wrote, "is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence."[14]

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There will be occasion to study some of the details of this process hereinafter.

present, with perhaps one thousand men on horseback forming a great circle during the speeches. The immediate cause of this congress was the dislodgement of Mapuches close to Temuco so that an airport could be built. Compensation was one hundred pesos, then amounting to $12.19.

[14] McBride, 1936, p. 313.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of
423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after
622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac-
648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of
648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide
551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of
553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[177] [7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lonko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By DONALD D. BRAND

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Río Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit. 101 197

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Río Maule), and to push southward across the Río Bío-Bío into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1599), by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century). 175 648 114 175 648

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bío-Bío—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1655, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bío-Bío. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1792) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826. 175 648

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113 *Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de la civilización de la Araucanía.* 9 vols. in 10, Santiago, 1898-1922. [The various volumes appeared in the AUC, commencing with Tomo CI, and elsewhere; often they were reprinted as separates with a different date. Guevara, born in Curicó 1865, spent several years as rector of the *liceo* of Temuco, in the heart of the Araucanía, died 1935.]

*P. Luis MANSILLA VIDAL, O. F. M.: *Las Misiones Franciscanas de la Araucanía.* Angol, 1904. [1853-?]

Aurelio DIAZ MEZA: *En la Araucanía. Breve relación del último parlamento araucano de Coz-Coz en 18 de enero de 1907.* Santiago, 1907. [1879-1933.]

Roberto LAGOS: *Historia de las misiones del colegio de Chillán. Propagación del Santo Evangelio entre les Araucanos.* Barcelona, 1908.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Seis años de la historia de Chile, 1598-1605.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1908.

*Domingo AMUNÁTEGUI Y SOLAR: *Las encomiendas de indíjenas en Chile.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1909-10. [Born Santiago, 1860; twice rector of university.]

Francisco Javier OVALLE CASTELLO: *Chile en la región austral. El desenvolvimiento de Temuco.* Santiago, 1911.

Ignacio de PAMPLONA: *Historia de las misiones de los P. P. Capuchinos en Chile y la Argentina.* Santiago, 1911.

P. Crescente ERRÁZURIZ VALDIEVIESO: *Historia de Chile. Pedro de Valdivia.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1911-1912.

*Tomás GUEVARA SILVA: *Historia de Chile: Chile prehispánico.* 2 vols., Santiago, 1925-27.

Juan A. VALDERRAMA: *Diccionario histórico-geográfico de la Araucana.* 2nd ed., Santiago, 1927.

*Richard *Edward LATCHAM* CARTWRIGHT: *La prehistoria chilena.* Santiago, 1928. [Outstanding anthropologist, born in Bristol, England, 1869; came to Chile 1888; director Museo Nacional de Historia Natural 1928- .]

Otto BERNINGER: *Wald und offenes Land in Süd-Chile zeit der spanischen Eroberung.* Stuttgart, 1929.

175 648 After the establishment of the Chilean republic, the Chileans recognized the territorial integrity of Araucanía until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then began the planned colonization (1850-) of western Europeans—chiefly Germans, Britishers, French, and Iberians—in the various borderlands of Araucanía. Here only (essentially 37° to 44° S. Lat.) were there unoccupied lands, timber, water, and climate [134] favorable for agriculturalists from western Europe. However, most of the land was claimed by the Araucanians, and much of this was too waterlogged or too densely vegetated to be attractive to farmers. Friction developed between the Indians and the immigrants, who settled mainly in the southern mainland in the province of Valdivia. Unsuccessful participants in the Chilean insurrections of 1851 and 1859 went among the Araucanians and stirred them up to a warlike activity, 1859-62. This was also the period, 1861-62, of the French adventurer king of Araucanía—Orélie-Antoine I. The demonstrated intention of the Chileans to advance at Araucanian expense (e.g., the law of 1868

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1868-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1835, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

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POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

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The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pericot y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 682) to 180,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 187,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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[114]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización en la Araucanía*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[23] [24] [325] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to [342] adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-180.

4:Latcham F- (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [23]
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [282]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relatives offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llaneas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llanaatwa*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delito* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognized in their drunken orgies, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

•648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognized to the fourth
621 generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi–xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 649 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448–82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipó, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cuzco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1558, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Río-Río River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1882–83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncavi, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

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175 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of
648 the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the Araucanian diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Furlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Roca and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

144 By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cuneo*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Pincuche*

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of conquest ancient localism clashed with incipient nationalism. This conflict produced a political ambivalence which in itself contributed heavily to the cause of Araucanian independence. Centralization of politico-military authority was achieved to a point where successful resistance was possible, but did not develop to a stage where the Spaniards could defeat and usurp it.

The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed "*el estado*." This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to imbue the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's image of "*el estado indómito*" was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of seeking transient familial and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he secured the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders voiced a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the caciques of the estado had to reform alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

29 Olivares, p. 20. The area included the Indian localities of Talcamávida, Lacumalle, Catiray, Marigueno, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In essence, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or merely one of them.

30 Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (3 vols., Santiago, 1918). Historians and anthropologists seem to be under a strange compulsion to use this poem as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in select instances the practice is not warranted, but the wide use to which it has been put must certainly be held in question. Everyone knows that there is much truth in it, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it resides.

31 Mercadillo, pp. 22-23. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were introduced to independent military effort on a large scale through attempted invasions by the Incas. This seems more unlikely because the Incas were held at the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the warlike Promaucaes, who were not Araucanians. Nor could the Incas themselves have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the inspiration of Spanish chroniclers, evidence which it could have had no knowing.

32 *Idem*, pp. 41-42.

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negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1598, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed ownership over all of the aforegoing from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective ownership, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

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33 *Idem*, pp. 105, 131.

34 Juan de Moscoso, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 291).

35 Olaverría, p. 22.

36 Menéndez, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 83. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were usually raided by the dependents of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 270, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xauregui[illegible]" (*idem*, pp. 241-242; Molina, p. 68). Through one of owner the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to raid against the Spanish. Through administration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, Cautiverio feliz (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-52).

38 Menéndez, pp. 110-111.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visiting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversation were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and chulin dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

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ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepóe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepóe area today and the related families in each: Alepóe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Inigo; Meluin, families Huechemun, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Cofaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Cofaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a 657 cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

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Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1941 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschitz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lauko lauko. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lauko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lauko lauko. Each family took along several pelts of the 222

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manfem from manzana (apple); fanterra from banderra (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), 197
neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and patagonia; also chiripa, chilipa, and chilipas, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade.

A 39-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the 648
Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish 363
language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the Iriche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrilaura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only bolas-arrows and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrilaura. Katrilaura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrilaura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fuke; his brother and sister each as pifie; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'sen, and his daughter as lawe; a woman speaks of both as pefell.

The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Sallen, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing 628 among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Re- 726 garding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cheoketto, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each [411] formation. Lances were colihüe stalks tipped with arrowheads. Ar- [822] rowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of huemel pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce huemel hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cheoketto would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack ●648 on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately 726 into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the 622 Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers 648 sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

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"My husband, a cacique, never interfered when one of his people was apprehended by the Argentine soldiers. He used to tell his people to conduct themselves according to the order of things and they would not be apprehended." No cacique was subservient to another, but when grave danger threatened the Araucanians as a people, the caciques rallied their men under the strongest cacique. Shaihueque was such a cacique. 622 648

Formerly, upon the death of a cacique his eldest capable son became cacique—usually a son of his first wife. If a cacique had no sons, a man of ability was chosen by the men of the lofche. No woman, formerly, occupied the position of cacique; today she does so in El Salitral. An informant wishing to emphasize the importance of either being an heir to the position of cacique or being properly elected to the position told the following: "My father was the cacique of the Curuhuincas. His eldest son, one of my brothers by my father's first wife, was not fit to succeed him: he was mentally not capable of doing the cacique's work. Hence, my brother Abel took over—he had attended the school of the Whites in Valdivia and thought himself fit to be a cacique. He did this without being elected to the office by our men; therefore, he was not really our cacique. He was, however, recognized as representing our lofche wherever my father had done so." Names of former caciques were Painéval, Kalfilura, Catriel, Chocoque, Pailhuell, and Cañulef. 622

Two emblems of a cacique's authority were mentioned: one, by non-Araucanians, a sickle-shaped stone, generally 9 inches in length (pl. 74, 5); the other, by Araucanians, a rectangular stone, generally 2 by 2½ inches (cf. fig. 4, a). Both were spoken of as toki kura (toki, ax; kura, stone). All Araucanian informants agreed that the emblem of the cacique's authority was the rectangular stone; whether the sickle-shaped stone was one also is not clear, since no Araucanian recognized it as such. But neither was any Araucanian able to explain why the rectangularly shaped stone was called ax (toki), since it in no way resembles an ax, which the sickle-shaped stone did. Non-Araucanians had been told by old Araucanians, long since deceased, that the sickle-shaped stone was the emblem of authority; that the cacique held it in his hand when he gave an order to his people or addressed them on important matters. No Araucanian informant had heard of this. "My father was a cacique," said a woman in her sixties; "I know he had no such hammerlike toki; his toki was a stone as big [2 by 2½ inches]. He had this hanging from his neck; he never held anything in his hand when he talked to his people." Kuiqpan examined the toki shown in plate 74, 5, seemed puzzled, and remarked,

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641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general
● 648 registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, 4; 64; 67, 3; 75, 3.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave
484 orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindictively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1, 2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 30 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were using the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stony and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 649
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427
cacique. Manuel Paloffilo, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer. 114 121

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion. 121 [22] 175 177 [648]

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carved on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers. 121 177 648 [61]

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other 177 [121]

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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Cornejo Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,868.28 hectares. Approximately 1,900 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous There hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1952, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad siding before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been realized through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Río Bío Río River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[5]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1580, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 100 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[5] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the system of encomienda, mita, reducción, and congregación, are contained in Faron, 1961:199-207.

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tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

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Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[8]

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By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[9] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[8] See Cooper, 1946: *Ego et passim*; Canals Frau, 1948: 361–88, for discussion and bibliographies.

[9] This mechanism was the policy of *diviséo*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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The Agrarian Setting

Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1892 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map 1 will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

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road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province had been divided up into small *parrelas* and larger *fundos*. Government agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización*, along with a number of private companies and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parrelas* or *hijuelas* (small holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so that some are smaller than *parrelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms through *latifundismo*.

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos* where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization, than *funderos* being marginal land under cultivation in much the same way *parrelero*s and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parrelero* or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parrela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

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venitory of *chacareria* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacareria* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields. 241 [939]

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious. 731 244 [241] [243]

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions. 243 407 [427] [248] [427]

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may 243 407 233 [427] [427]

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [292] 262 [282]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [554] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [731] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [648] [167]

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Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents

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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58-62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 75 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Tolten, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1959. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1959) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

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Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

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[248]
[563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

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[592]
[591]
[423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

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[133]

[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how-
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613]
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 24
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [179]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually [648]

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464 only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that
38 work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entre-
[498] preneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the
427 larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing
[409] machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by
[407] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until thresh-
[476] ing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

[407] Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the fam-
[461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the
[273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally
[262] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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423 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[148] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1950 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,508; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,100 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

[14] [162] [36]

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quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town [433] are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 448
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [627] to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622] by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

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452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [97] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [48] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 427 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

429 Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [695] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are [49] by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 433 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [786] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetu- [69] ate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [69] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not 429 648 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation. [186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively harmonious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong [186] [621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 476 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While [572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources. [954] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under culti-
vation in any year. In 1955, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[R2] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *mediero*s. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[R48] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most
[183] cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chilenos. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares. 427 311 243 433 427

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *mediero*s who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population. 311

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis. 233 427 433 311

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op- 248

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 179

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (305). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 182 621

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of 177 613 648 423

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as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[1] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [148]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not 613 621 361

[1 [See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

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613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
169 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 135. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[5] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ñimen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[5] Chieftainship commonly passes from father to oldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 209-233 -- Ana 1987]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 613 [622] [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [665] 613 598 [754] [692]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 178 613 [598] [622] [681] [622]

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the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings. 613

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which 613 621 178 [648]

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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
62 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
648 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years — the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
62 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses — size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [See Cat. 116, P. 93 -- ANALYST]

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5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*filmatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

[622] [128] [182]

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío – Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico-military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

642 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

[643] [613] [622]

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [883] [881] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 473

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175 colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect
648 the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the
473 other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent.
[66] Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

175 The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling
648 and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers
166 of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less acces-
[169] sible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*! [622] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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175 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may
648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have
423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of
648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean
692 and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics
[671] and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals
[641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote
[666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
[664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol-
[665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [131] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [621]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [621]

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
178 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
622 frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
[823] dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[641] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [701] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 698 692

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress — for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed — when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views — essentially on whether or not he stands for *división* — he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership.

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities — a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 — the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their twofold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibiran Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, si, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibiran su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así sera.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaria los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaria Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

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666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being
[613] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which
624 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the
622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It
578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original
[428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These
[671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested
[648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable"—the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 148 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [182] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

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177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings — when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
423 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright — communal title and individual usufructuary rights to land.

[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:63, 73).

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

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Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
[1] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x	162
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x		592
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			423
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			422
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			231
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x	427
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0			648
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x		
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0			
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x	
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x	
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x	
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0			
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0			
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x	
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x		
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x	
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x	
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?			
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0			
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x	
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x		
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x	
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x	
	Totals															
	80	53	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34			

[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

[1] A [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(6)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	15	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	46	(19)	82	181	204	93	27	80	11	17		71		

162
592
423
422
427
231
648

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x	162
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			592
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C			423
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x	422
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x	427
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x	231
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x	648
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x	
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x	
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x	
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x	
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x	
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x	
Totals															
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100			

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-.954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile 131
between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, 161
an area roughly the size of the sate of Delaware, and
have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region 361
in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in [101]
terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche
reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and
cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area,
they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated
on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche
occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning 17
indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive 648
culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has re- [101]
volved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the
dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure
exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have
lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the
Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization
was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory,
raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized
on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In 177
spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have 182
maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity.
These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to
disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society
into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation
times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent 17
efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, ñillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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Mapuche

241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

406
622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
464

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Mapuche

While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

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Mapuche

munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study. 423 648

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect. 167 177 464

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often 167 423 428 [602]

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the
•648 consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into
648 the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail.
613 These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that
641 conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather,
621 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reserva-
648 tion" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chilcanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marraige; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

burned and dismembered at the order of a *longko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

683 [178] [648].

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

776 [774]

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

776 825

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *kilkill*, *huelen*, *wuthwuth*, *juree*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregul*, and

825 787

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756 machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[199] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranufwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having tooth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings. 121 182 754

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately. 754 829 648.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from 754 [128]

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

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Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

754 736 735 554 556

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

[683] [648]

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
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Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contem-
[692] porary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[648] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of subline-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

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THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

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The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

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In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

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121 action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken
177 place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of
178 complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply reforecast, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their ramifying system of religious morality continues to shore up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[648] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect in

[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

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T 622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed; though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him T greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke 622 that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the 623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass. After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young guanaco season, all present, together with those expected from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had T already communicated with us, and had promised to forward A my letters, *vid* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Patagonia and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

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left for dead on the field. On the same occasion Orkeke was taken prisoner, but, although mutilated, succeeded eventually in effecting his escape. Casimiro's father also became a prisoner in an unsuccessful assault on an Araucanian stronghold. After two or three years' captivity he succeeded, with two of his comrades, in escaping, and while hurrying to rejoin the Tehuelches in the vicinity of Geylum, met with a solitary Araucanian. He seeing a fire, approached unsuspicious of danger, and was welcomed and invited to smoke; they then seized him, stripped and bound him hand and foot, and left him lying on the pampa, a helpless prey to the condors and pumas. The two fugitives, having thus gratified their desire for vengeance, succeeded in rejoining their own people, and organised an attack on the Araucanos, in which Casimiro's father was killed. Some wonderful feats of valour were described to me as having been achieved by the Tehuelches; but in fact the Manzaneros proved themselves the superior warriors, and even at the time of our visit to them had Tehuelche slaves. The powerful cacique Lenquetrou succeeded in healing the old feuds, and united all the Indians under his leadership. He was treacherously killed by an Argentine officer at Bahia Blanca during the peace between the Indians and the Christians, and after his death the old quarrels broke out afresh. Casimiro's diplomacy, however, succeeded during the time of my visit in conciliating all parties, and the result appeared in the amicable arrangements concluded at the parlemento, and afterwards successfully carried out. Had it not been for this, my journey to Las Manzanas, and thence to the Rio Negro, would have been dangerous, if not altogether impossible.

T 648

Two days after the arrival of the Northern party the Indians from the Chupat came in, and were duly welcomed by our united forces, the ceremonial on this occasion presenting a very animated scene. They number between seventy and eighty men, with women and children, occupying about twenty toldos. Most of them were young men of

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and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and scrub, and after refreshing ourselves at a rivulet, travelled westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which the hills fell gradually down to the plains, and beyond it, turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far extremity of which we observed with great contentment the answering smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians. On the south-west edge of this valley the high beetling cliff obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however, showed out between the hills shutting in the valley we had traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians, ten in number.

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then proceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos. All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty-seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

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on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the A 482 march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving [251] bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present A 231 stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade. A T 648

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the A 622 acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which A 202 we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being A [822 written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians 721] considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named 000

* Also called Poyel.

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A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

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T 133

clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

A 527

After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Diplaik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian toldos, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calficura, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A T 648

A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

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During our stay (until the 28th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telck, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaitu, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-

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T A [526]

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the hunting party, but overtook the people who had arrived with the grog, returning with their remaining mantles, horses, colts, &c., and loudly abusing the Tehuelches for a set of thieving rascals. One of this party was a Valdivian boy who spoke fluent Spanish, and invited me to accompany him to Los Llanos, whither he now intended returning. He stated that in seven or eight days he hoped to reach his destination, and that from thence to the port of Valdivia was but a day and a half's journey. On arriving at the next encampment I bade adieu to these people, who continued their march farther to the north, not liking to trust their property again in the neighbourhood of our camp.

Only halting for the night, we resumed our journey shortly after daylight, mounting a rather steep ascent to a high plateau strewn with sharp stones and crossed by ridges of rocks at intervals.

Ostriches and guanaco were numerous, and although chasing them almost involved the certainty of laming one's horse, many were killed. In this hunt a male guanaco came racing towards me from the Indians on the western side of the circle, and on my galloping to intercept him, he turned and descended a ridge of rocks. I was about to throw the bolas, being within distance, when he suddenly tripped, and, falling on his head, lay stunned at the bottom of the cliff, where I soon despatched him with my knife.

These barren pampas terminated suddenly in a line of cliffs, gradually but steeply shelving in some places, and in others presenting a perpendicular descent of 200 feet; at the base lay a large plain watered by a brook, and enclosed on the southern, eastern, and partially on the western sides by these cliffs, while the northern and north-western boundary was formed by hills rising in gentle slopes. In about the centre of this plain, close to the brook side, were to be distinguished the toldos of Foyel, to which the women were wending their way, having descended by a ravine to the east, while some distance to the north-east on the upper plains were to be distin-

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guished the hunting fires of the proprietors of the toldos. In due course of time we arrived, but as the hunting party did not return till late, we saw nothing of Foyel's people that evening, though letters were exchanged between the chiefs, felicitating each other on the meeting, and appointing next day for the ceremony of welcome.

The following morning, however, day broke with a furious south-west gale, with passing squalls of snow and sleet, and so bitterly cold and miserable that Foyel sent a note to state that, 'as the day was rather frozen,' perhaps it would be better to postpone the ceremony till finer weather, inasmuch as after it a parlemento would have to be held to consider matters in general. Casimiro answered, through me, that he was of the same opinion, but would do himself the honour of paying a personal visit. Presently we sallied out in the storm, taking the presents and the necessary number of women to cry, and proceeded to Foyel's toldo, where we handed over the gifts, the women melodiously howling during the operation. A short parley then ensued between the two caciques, neither of whom, be it remembered, could understand the language of the other. After this ceremonial was concluded, which took place outside the toldo during a blinding snowstorm, we returned to our home, and shortly after the day cleared up a little, and Foyel's people were visible bringing up cattle and sheep from distant parts of the valley, to which they had been driven to seek shelter from the storm. Some headed in our direction, and were driven close to the toldo, over which the Buenos Ayrean colours proudly waved to designate the dwelling of the chief. Foyel then arrived, and had an interview with Casimiro, presenting him with cattle which were lazoed by some of the Valdivian Indians, and a light-haired man dressed in Christian clothes, but with rather a wild appearance. My first idea was that he was either Scotch or English, but as he approached me whilst despatching one of the cows, I asked him in Spanish where he came from, and whether he was not English; he

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answered that he was from Chili, but had lived nearly all his life in Valdivia working cattle, and had for the last two years been in company with the Valdivians catching cattle in the Cordillera, and making his head-quarters at Foyel's camp. His name was Ventura Delgado, and he had visited Patagones the previous year in company with the secretary, Antonio Guaitu, who took an application for rations for Foyel. As we were both busy, we arranged to meet and have a talk later in the day. A good deal of eating took place in the forenoon, and to escape the crowd, and also the persecution of having continually to write some nonsensical message from Casimiro to Foyel, who about every half hour used to interchange written messages, although the toldos were not above two hundred yards apart, I quitted the chief's quarters for a stroll. While roaming about the camp looking for the toldo in which my new Valdivian acquaintance put up, I was called into another, where Casimiro's aunt, one of our domestic circle, and my 'companion of the pipe,' was sitting by the fire drinking grog, in which she invited me to assist her; nothing loth, I sat down, and we had two or three cheerers together, after which the owner of the toldo, a brother-in-law of Foyel's, a Pampa Indian, arrived. He spoke fluent Spanish, having formerly been for a considerable time near the settlements, and was an intellectual, fine-looking man; he was very civil, and escorted me to Foyel's toldo, where I spent the afternoon in company with Antonio Guaitu and Ventura Delgado, the Valdivian.

On March 8, the day being fine and suitable for the ceremony of welcome, Casimiro gave orders at an early hour for all to mount and hold themselves in readiness to go through the necessary evolutions. About an hour after the orders had been given, most of the Patagonians were mounted and ready, so all proceeded to the part of the valley where the united Araucanian Indians, under Quintuhual and Foyel, were already formed in line, lances in hand, waiting for our motley crowd, who gave considerable trouble to the chiefs,

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owing to their loose ideas of formation: the caciques and adjutant no sooner had got one part of the line into something like order, than the people at the other extremity would break up into knots and converse or smoke. Foyel sent several messages to Casimiro to keep his line properly formed, and at length the Tehuelches were arrayed in something like order and the ceremony commenced. After it was concluded, a great parlemento was held, which lasted until the afternoon; all the previous resolutions were confirmed, viz., that Casimiro should be recognised the chief of the South, his jurisdiction extending over all Indians south of the Rio Limay; that with his people he should guarantee the safety of Patagones, and hold in check the Pampa Indians of Las Salinas, under the chief Calficura, in the improbable event of his endeavouring to cross the Rio Limay for the purpose of making raids into the settlements; 2ndly, that we should, all united, march to Las Manzanas to visit Checoque, and propose to him to guarantee with his forces the safety of the north bank of the river, which would effectually bridle Calficura and secure Patagones. After the parlemento I proceeded to visit Foyel, and was received by him with every expression of friendship and regard. During the course of our interview he asked me to show him my compass, the fame of which had gone before it. I at once took it off my neck, where I was in the habit of carrying it, and endeavoured to explain its uses to him. Unlike the other Indians, although at first regarding it rather with superstitious awe, Foyel soon understood its uses, though he also hinted that it might not only be useful for finding the way at night, but perhaps would bring luck at play as well. I accordingly begged him to accept it, which, after a little demur, he did with evident delight, wrapping it carefully up and giving it in charge of his daughter.

He then commenced a conversation on the subject of Indians and their relations with white people. He stated that he was in favour of friendly intercourse both with the

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Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

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The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Chocoque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Chocoque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of these Indians.

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united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Cheoeque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *mêlée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Cheoeque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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were placed under a guard of Tehuelches for a short time until the party started to find the wounded men. We then all proceeded a short distance down the valley, and bivouacked in the pampa grass about a mile and a half from, but out of sight of, the toldos of Cheoeque. Messengers passed two or three times between the latter's residence and our bivouac, and ultimately a very old woman came over and made a long oration on the benefits of peace. This was all very well, but as both parties were evidently suspicious of each other, a watch was kept in the event of a surprise; and as we thought it probable that the negotiations would fall through, we spent the night shivering round the fires and making bolas perdidas. I assured Quintuhual and Casimiro that there would be no fight, at which the latter grew very irate, saying he knew better, that the whole business was a trap to obtain the gear and firearms of our party, also stating that I did not understand these Indians, in which I differed from him. Later in the evening news came that, although fearfully cut about, none of 'my cousins' were dead; the opposite party, however, had fared worse, losing three killed outright. For six men to fight against twenty-five seems long odds, but I believe that Quintuhual's and Foyel's people are the bravest Indians to be met with in the southern part of America, fully deserving the proud title of 'the Warrior Indians.'

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The following morning at daylight all mounted their best horses, and forming into column of six, proceeded, with the lancers of the warriors at our head, towards the toldos situated in a valley running at right angles to the one we had rested in on the previous night. On arriving in sight of Cheoeque's ancestral halls, we observed the Araucanians or Manzaneros forming into line and manœuvring about half a mile distant; we approached to within 800 yards, and then forming into open line to display our whole force (my proposal of hiding a reserve behind an eminence having been overruled), awaited the course of events. Thus we remained

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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

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648 farther north; also to consider Calfiura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Cheoeque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country,
A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.
567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt
A our colloquy.
439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of
137 Cheoeque's toldos, where animals were lazoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for
T a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been
A cheated by the Picunche thieves.
439 Towards evening Cheeeque sent over to say that, as it

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619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and

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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that OOO
if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear
himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period. T

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, A 439
a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I A
noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manza- 231
neros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting. T

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous A. 648
chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to A
keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made [194
in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely re- 537]
sembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfioura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

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had been forwarded to us already. Many speeches were made, and Linares and Casimiro pointed out that it was to the cacique's interest not to interfere, as he would inevitably lose the valuable supplies of horses and cattle given him by the Buenos Ayrean Government, and that it was more profitable to receive the annual rations than plunder and break up the Rio Negro settlements. Finally, it was unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to Calficura, desiring him to confine his hostilities to Bahia Blanca, and that Cheoeque should protect the north bank of the Rio Negro and guard Patagones on that side, while Casimiro guaranteed the southern, which arrangement was duly adhered to on both sides. Accordingly Calficura revenged his real or supposed injuries on the 'Cristianos' by two destructive inroads into Bahia Blanca, carrying off plunder and captives. But letters from the Rio Negro have informed me that peace had been restored, and an exchange or ransom of prisoners effected. This will be more fully dwelt upon, but it is mentioned here in order to show that the Indians are fully aware of the advantages of peace, though they are undoubtedly—the Araucanians especially—jealous of the encroachments of foreigners, and the traditions of their past history have caused them to hold the very name of Spaniard or 'Cristiano' in abhorrence. It is also difficult for the superior caciques in all cases to restrain the petty caciquillos from small depredations; but a fair and well-arranged system of 'rations' will prevent them from making forays, and it is much to be regretted that the well-intentioned and liberal plans of the Buenos Ayrean Government for the protection of the frontiers are too often thwarted by the unscrupulous agents who enrich themselves by appropriating the supplies intended for the Indians. Some may consider the method of keeping the chiefs quiet by pensions undignified; but it is certainly a more humane and economical policy than continual wars of reprisals, which in the end would lead to the extermination either of the Indians or

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

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were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagones as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

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Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

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From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1832, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

The San André people, like those at Rincon Barrancas, 000 had been struggling against ill-fortune for two seasons; the last season their harvest was a fair one, but unfortunately they delayed thrashing-out for a long time, waiting for a thrashing machine from England, which, when it did arrive, would not work properly, and made it necessary for them ultimately to resort to the native fashion of treading out with mares; bad weather ensued, and a considerable portion of the grain was spoiled: such are the woes of Rio Negro farmers, especially improving ones. During my visit the daily routine of tilling, marking cattle, bringing up the horses, &c., was carried on; but we found time to visit the next estancia, owned by a Swiss gentleman residing in Buenos Ayres, and managed in his absence by a Swiss countryman, known by the name of Don Juan. Here, as sheep at the present time hardly paid the cost of shearing, an experiment was being made of curing mutton-hams for exportation to Buenos Ayres, and a large number had been already cured and were ready for shipment; but the result of the experiment is unknown to me, and the ingenious Don Juan has since died.

During my stay at San André and Rincon Barrancas I 1648 picked up a good deal of information regarding the relations of the Indians with the colonists, which perhaps may not be uninteresting to the reader. All the settlements and guardias previously described are situated on the north bank of the river, the south side being almost entirely, as far as this point, in the hands of the Tame and other Indians. The Indian parties who are most feared are the Araucanos, under the chief Rouque, and the Pampas of Calficura, who has his head-quarters at the Salinas near Bahia Blanca, while the former ranges from the neighbourhood of Choelechel to the Cordillera. I should be inclined to think that Rouque is a subordinate chief under Cheoeque, though I am not certain of the fact, as the latter chief, during my visit to Las Manzanas, mentioned Rouque as being with his people in the apple and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 648

pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Rouque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzanas. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifaccio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Rouque, the policy of the authorities being to keep him and Cheoeque from joining Calficura in the threatened raid on the frontier. The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calficura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calficura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captives women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may partially be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Rouque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other.

A 721

T A 721

One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 726 T A 648

and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

T A 177

They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

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Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or

2Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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and among them that which received his name of Valdivia. 000
He performed very grand achievements in the conquest of that kingdom. He governed with great prudence and judgment, and with the prospect of much prosperity for himself and his people, if the fierce ardour of an Indian had not broken all by cutting the thread of his life. As the death of this Governor and Captain-General was one of the most famous and notable deeds that had been done by the Indians throughout the whole empire of the Yncas since the Spaniards arrived, and one the most to be deplored, I propose to set down here what actually happened, in order that the first and second report of this ill-fated battle, which arrived in Peru, may be known; but to make the story intelligible, it will be necessary to describe the origin and commencement of the events which led to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

REBELLION IN CHILE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR VALDIVIA.

When the kingdom of Chile was divided after the con- 648
quest, there fell to the share of this knight, who was worthy of empires, a very rich *repartimiento*, containing much gold and many vassals, and yielding an annual tribute of one hundred thousand *pesos de oro*.[1] As the thirst for this metal is insatiable, it increased in proportion to the quantity given by the Indians. These Indians were not accustomed to the labour necessary for obtaining the gold, and they could not

[1] Valdivia subjugated the *Promaucaes*, who had succeeded in repulsing the invasion of the Yncas, as well as their allies, the *Cauquenes* and *Pencuses*, mentioned by Garcilaso in chapter xix. He crossed the Maule, defeated the *Araucos* and other warlike tribes, in every encounter, and overran their country. He then founded seven Chilian cities, Coquimbo, Santiago, Angol, Penco, Imperial, Villarica, and Lago.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
ARAUCANIANS S64

648 endure the annoyance they were subjected to with respect to it. At last, the Indians of Araucu, who were those granted to Valdivia, and others allied with them, resolved to rebel. They began by offending the Spaniards by their great insolence.[1] The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, when he knew this, came forth to chastise them with one hundred and fifty cavalry, despising the Indians to an extent never before shown by the Spaniards when similar revolts had taken place. This pride was the cause of many deaths, as well as that of Pedro de Valdivia and his followers, at the hands of those whom they had despised.[2]

The first news of his death that came to Peru, was brought to the city of La Plata by an Indian of Chile, written on a paper two fingers' lengths in width, without signature or date of time or place. It was said that Pedro de Valdivia and the one hundred and fifty lances who were with him, had been swallowed by the earth. The tidings of these words, with the news that they had been brought by an Indian of Chile, spread over Peru, to the great dismay of the Spaniards, who could not understand what this swallowing of the earth could mean; for they were unable to believe that there was force in the Indians to kill one hundred and fifty mounted Spaniards, such a thing never having happened up to that time. They said (because that kingdom, equally with Peru, is mountainous and full of deep gorges and ravines, and a region subject to earthquakes) that the truth probably was that these Spaniards, travelling along

[1] They tortured and killed two Spanish soldiers without apparent cause. They then rose in arms, and their chiefs met in council to concert measures for driving the Spaniards out of the country. Ercilla enumerates and describes the chiefs in a magnificent passage.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

[2] Valdivia, at the time of the rising, was at Penco, where, says Ercilla, there were rich mines of fine gold. He seems to have carelessly underrated the danger, and to have delayed taking the necessary steps, while he got in his tribute from the gold mines.—*Araucana*, i, Canto II.

3Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
Arauco, Wars 564

some deep gorge, must have been crushed by a piece of rock; and this version was received by all. For, judging by all former experience of the power of the Indians, it could not be credited that the Spaniards had fallen in battle. While the people in Peru were thus confused, some further tidings arrived after sixty days, with a full account of the death of Valdivia and his men, and of the last battle he fought with the Indians. I will quote from the news as it was then brought from Chile. Having mentioned the rising of the Indians and their insolent conduct, the account continued as follows:— 648

"When Valdivia arrived where the rebel Araucos were, he found twelve or thirteen thousand of them, with whom he had several desperate encounters, in which the Spaniards were always victorious; and the Indians were so disheartened by the charges of the cavalry that they would not come out in the open plain, for ten horsemen would scatter a thousand Indians. They remained in the hills and woods, where the horses could not master them, and thence they did all the mischief they could, refusing to listen to any terms that were offered to them, and obstinate in their determination to die rather than be servants of the Spaniards. Thus the two sides remained for many days. These evil tidings spread each day into the interior of the Arauco country, until they were told to an old captain who had been famous in their wars, but was now retired to his own home.[1] He came out to see what wonder was this, that one hundred and fifty men could hold in check twelve or thirteen thousand warriors. This he was unable to believe, if these Spaniards were not devils or immortals, which the Indians thought at first. In order to undeceive himself on these points, he desired to join the war, and see what passed with his own eyes. He reached the top of a hill, whence he had a view of both 726

[1] The story is not told in this way by Ercilla; but the old chief of the text appears to have been the Caupolican of the *Araucana*.

3.Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
Araucanians SG4

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the churches, making a great destruction of images of saints, and breaking them to pieces with sacrilegious hands. Ten days after this event the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived at the port of the city with a reinforcement of three hundred men, which his Excellency had sent from Peru to succour those cities. He lost there a son and a daughter, young children, whom he had left in charge of his sister-in-law, and who had been taken in this attack with the rest. As soon as he beheld the lamentable destruction of the city, he disembarked his people with great bravery, to go in aid of the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and the ill-fated Imperial, of which nothing was known save that a year before it had been surrounded by the enemy. It was reported that all were dead of hunger, having eaten the dead horses, and afterwards the dogs, cats, and skins of animals. This news was obtained from a messenger who was sent down the river by those in the city, praying for help, with mournful complaints from those unhappy people. After the said colonel had disembarked, he determined first to relieve the city of Osorno, because he knew that the enemy, after assaulting the city of Valdivia, would march to the city of Osorno to treat it in the same manner. The colonel gave assistance to Osorno, and did other good service. At the hour that I write this, news has arrived that the people of Imperial all perished of hunger, after a siege which lasted a year. Twenty men only escaped, whose fate was more hard than that of their dead companions, for, driven by hunger, they passed over to the side of the Indians. In Angol they killed four soldiers, but it is not known who they were. Our Lord have mercy upon us. Amen."

"Santiago de Chile, March 1600."

All the above intelligence arrived in Peru from the kingdom of Chile, and caused great sorrow throughout the country. Besides which, the Father Diego de Alco-

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2:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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618 726 basa,[1] whom I have already mentioned, in a letter which he wrote to me in the year 1601, among other things which he told me concerning that empire, uses those words touching the kingdom of Chile:—

"Chile is in very evil case, and the Indians are so expert and experienced in war, that there is not one who has not got a lance and a horse, and is not ready to attack any Spanish soldier, how valiant soever he may be. Every year troops are sent there from Peru; and many go, but none ever return. The Indians have taken two towns inhabited by Spaniards, and have killed all they found, carrying off the poor women and children, after first killing their fathers

[1] Diego de Alcobasa was a half-caste, born at Cuzco. His father Juan de Alcobasa, married an Indian girl, and he had an estate called Surihualla, on the site of the Ynca's aviary, a league south of Cuzco. He was a great friend of the elder Garcilaso de la Vega, and brought up his son, the young Ynca, who was born in the same house with Diego. They were afterwards schoolfellows together at Cuzco. Juan de Alcobasa was a quiet, peaceable man, of blameless life, and took care of the family of the warlike Garcilaso, while he was engaged in civil wars. On one occasion, when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Cuzco and Garcilaso was of the opposite faction, the two Alcobasas, with the young Ynca Garcilaso and his mother and sister, were blockaded in a house, and well-nigh starved. In 1560 the Ynca Garcilaso went to Spain, and his old schoolfellow Diego de Alcobasa afterwards became a Jesuit priest and was actively engaged in preaching to the Indians, in which work he had great success, owing to his knowledge of the native languages. But the schoolfellows never forgot their old friendship, and constantly corresponded. When the Ynca undertook his great work, Diego de Alcobasa sent him much valuable information. Doubtless we often unconsciously owe thanks to him for important facts, though the Ynca only occasionally remembers to mention his indebtedness. The account of the Tjahuanaco ruins was obtained from Alcobasa (vol. i, p. 211), as well as the news from Chile given above. Early in 1603 Alcobasa also sent his old friend a *Confesionario*, which he had prepared and printed at Lima in 1586, in Spanish, in the language of the Yncas (called Quichua), and in the language of the Collas (improperly called Aymara). Garcilaso criticises it in his second part. See I, lib. v, cap. 10; Pte. II, lib. i, cap. 23; and Pte. II, lib. v. cap. 10. The *Confesionario* of Alcobasa is very scarce. I have never seen a copy, nor had Von Tschudi. *Kultur Sprache*, i. p. 28.

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and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Ynca,[1] who came forth from Villcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Alcobasa, besides other sad news that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven ducats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Granada, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Second College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

"Of the Rebellion of the Araucos.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the faith

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Ynca Manco, by Xuaca Cusi Huaccay, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is a picture of the bride and bridegroom in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed in an ambuscade by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess, named Leonora, was entitled Marchioness of Oropesa, and married Don Juan Hurtado de Bazán, of the House of Gandía.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater havoc and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and deceitful artifices, and surrounded the city of Osorno. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continuously besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and nuns to carry them off as captives. But, being covetous over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and nuns, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villarica, where many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well connected. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the good Yuca Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a
657 cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

666 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

● 651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak." 651

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related. 423

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law." [217]

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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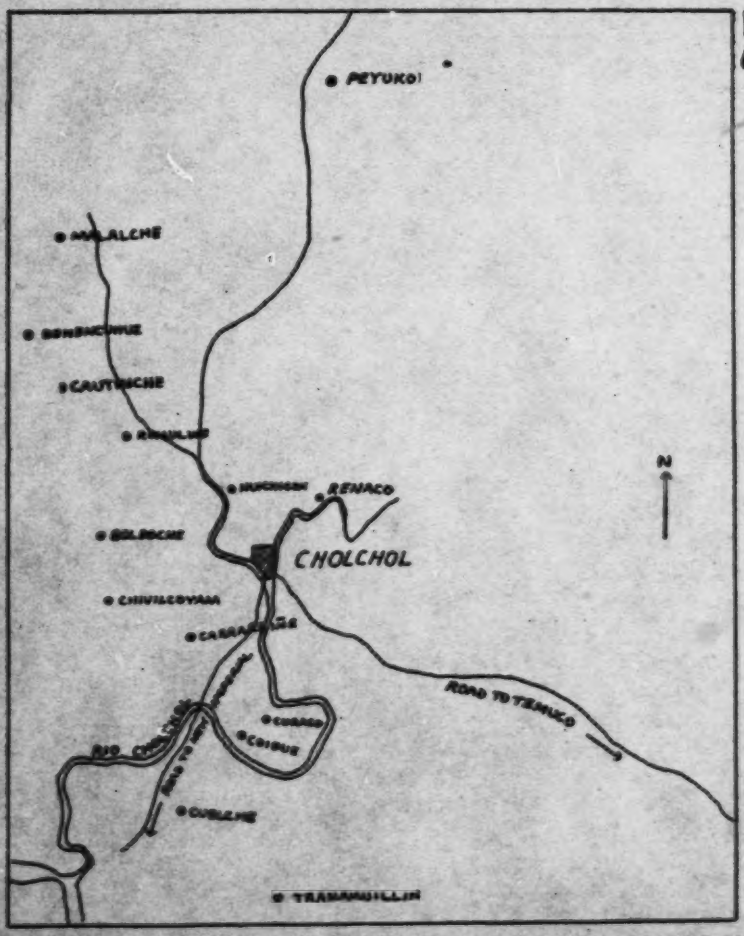

FIG. 1. Reservations near Cholchol. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Misión Araucana. Only reductions mentioned in the text are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Cholchol. Locations are approximate.

does who sought refuge in the unpoliced sectors of the Frontera. 175
Not all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, 648
some of them married Araucanian women and gradually demon-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began. 657
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recognized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9–13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly, 622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for 627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by 648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu [423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witran mapu, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Coñaripe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for some years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Coñaripe-Lliuco area and those of the Llancahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llancahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Lliuco side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

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FRANCHISE AND TAXES

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Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province
[162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter
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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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newly acquired land. In long-range terms I suspect this is also the stand for the more enlightened members of the *Corporación*, the difference being – and it is quite significant – that they envision a more gradual process. They have a different timetable. The rank-and-file members, however, perhaps do not see too clearly that ultimate division of reservation land and incorporation of the Indian into Chilean society is a goal of their most informed leadership.

Corporación Araucana is interested in maintaining the present reservation system and acquiring government assistance for the betterment of the Indians. The *Corporación* argues from historical evidence that *división* means, under present conditions, a transfer of lands from Mapuche to Chilean, and points to developments in provinces contiguous to Cautín as twentieth-century examples. *Corporación Araucana* emphasizes the gradual intellectual, moral, and material uplifting of the reservation Mapuche. It suggests that when the Mapuche are able to hold their own against white landowners (date unspecified), the time for *división* will have come. The reservation system is not defended on romantic grounds but on those of common sense and expediency. Among the less politically enlightened Mapuche, however, the emphasis seems to be placed on the romantic side of the issue – a preservation of the good old days.

Both groups are vocal in the public press and through elected representatives and appointees at all levels of government. The following quotation, taken from the newspaper *La Nación* of Santiago (printed in *Boletín Indigenista*, Vol. IV, June 1944, No. 3, pp. 115–17) bears this out:

Don Ovaldo Vial, Minister of the Department of Tierra y Colonización, received a telegram yesterday from the Araucana Corporation, with headquarters in Temuco, informing him that in a special meeting it was decided to congratulate him for his interest in Indian problems. The telegram went on to state that the aim of the Araucanan Indians was to change their policy and organization, to obtain representation, to reorganize their education, economy and hygiene along progressive lines.

The telegram also stated that for the past ten years they had been the victims of inhuman exploitation because of the present juridical system of the Indian courts. Their present dire poverty was a result of the authorization of expropriations and illegal sales of their lands.

In view of our impossible situation – due to the present Law governing Indian Courts, we take the liberty of informing you that we repudiate the present legal system and believe that, since the problem is economic and social in nature, a reform of this law should be based upon a recognition of this fact.

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664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their two-fold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibiran Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, si, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibiran su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así sera.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaria los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaria Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 664
pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664
themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666
groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political in- [622]
fluence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666
vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 562
the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there
are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few [242]
women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666
is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting [203]
hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208]
in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to
another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they
are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [613]

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated. 664 621 622

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder. 578

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family 621 622 578

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 613 [622] [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [665] 613 578 [754] [692]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 178 613 [578] [622] [681] [622]

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613 lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their [178] own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to fol- [622] low, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname* of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[551] [177] * The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [993] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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805 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a küyem (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kolupan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Araucanian name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	deumán antü
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	wün yelfe
"The morning"	liwen
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	deumán rapi antü
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	rapi antü
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	kolün antü
"The sun is departing, that is about 5 o'clock on the clock"	naltun antü
"The sun is disappearing"	deumán konüwe antü
"The sun has disappeared"	konüwe antü
"The light that lingers after sunset"	yépún
"It is getting dark"	dumiñ

asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wétripantu (or, according to Kolupan, themaʃ tripantu, "the trees begin to bud"); walan (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trafquim (or, according to Kolupan, afu tue, "fruit has ripened"); pukem (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*! [622] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. "*Desde agora,*" quoth Valdivia, "*comienzo a ser señor.*"[6]

But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the four general uprisings see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xviii; also see Gregorio Escobar, "Relación de la sublevación en Chile desde víspera de diciembre de noventa y seis hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1800 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío. 669

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian heroic mettle thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures. 177

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are *able to piece together a rather crude notion of* what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost inevitably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as 114 [197]

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CDHC, vol. 14, pp. 10-15, 63-65, passim). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military affairs, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

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175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Mariguenío, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined
• 669 to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 31.
12 Mariñoso, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 31.

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Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish. 726 669

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16] 177 713 [798]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers, 723

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

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of conquest ancient localism clashed with incipient nationalism. This conflict produced a political ambivalence which in itself contributed heavily to the cause of Araucanian independence. Centralization of politico-military authority was achieved to a point where successful resistance was possible, but did not develop to a stage where the Spaniards could defeat and usurp it.

The center of anti-Spanish unity was founded in what the Spanish termed *"el estado."* This was a geographical expression signifying the area that Valdivia held in personal encomienda.[29] It was these Indians, particularly those of Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén, who planned and carried out the revolt of 1553, and who assumed leadership of the resistance movement. After the first few years of bitter warfare the Spaniards began to imbue the term estado with political connotations, hence Don Alonso de Ercilla's image of *"el estado indómito"* was much more than a flight of poetic fancy.[30]

It is virtually certain that the Indians, in pre-Hispanic days, were in the habit of seeking transient familial and friendship alliances in the conduct of war between localities. Upon their first major defeat by Valdivia, following which he recrossed the Biobío and founded Concepción, the more intelligent Indian leaders voiced a wide call to arms.[31] The resulting alliance was effective in that it led to the downfall of Valdivia, but it had no permanent character. With each new Spanish thrust the caciques of the estado had to reform alliances and seek wider support for their efforts. In 1556, for example, Lautaro and the chiefs established relations with the Indians of Santiago, attempting to incite them to rebellion.[32] Temporary alliances were both frequent and effective. In search of allies the chiefs used glass beads, dogs, and various types of Spanish plunder to effect

29 Olivería, p. 20. The area included the Indian localities of Talcamavida, Lauquilla, Catiray, Mariquina, Angol, Arauco, Andalicán, Tucapel, and Purén. After the estado had been recognized as a political entity the term was applied to all or part of it. In essence, the term estado came to mean the center of Indian resistance, whether it embraced all of the above named provinces or merely one of them.

30 Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, ed., José Toribio Medina, *La Araucana* (3 vols., Santiago, 1910). Historians and anthropologists seem to be under a strange compulsion to use this poem as a prime documentary source. This is not to say that in select instances the practice is not warranted, but the wide use to which it has been put must certainly be held in question. Everyone knows that there is much truth in it, although seldom is it possible to determine precisely where it resides.

31 Mermeleje, pp. 22-23. It took nearly three years to organize the first rebellion. It is sometimes implied that the Araucanians were introduced to cooperative military effort on a large scale through attempted invasions by the Incas. This seems most unlikely because the Incas were held at the Maule River, and the Indians occupying this area, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the warlike Promaucaes, who were not Araucanians. Nor could the Inca invasions have had anything to do with the formation of the estado, since, as we have seen, it was created by the imposition of Spanish dominion, without which it could have had no meaning.

32 *Idem*, pp. 61-62.

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the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

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Mapuche

often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapuche-land? 577 182 602

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestors—in the framework of local and congregational (multilocal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 777

Customary law (*ad*ü*mpu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

14: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
509 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the diviner
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or earthenware are used in traditional rites; why chicha rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why performed marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are seeking; why a halo should be received by the community, then dismembered and burned; why killing a white man is ineffective to the gods. A detailed
[182] consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its context, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give context to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

509 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society
[671] and in particular segments thereof. The moral force which makes conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly normative or regulative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (fillen: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (weku), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the fillen or the weku category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

582 671 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (ademapu) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, c; 1961). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, fake, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [501]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

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The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [683] [681] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 423

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[546] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
835 their feasts the most unbridled license prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the oldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lon* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lands.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telcum-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ten-pinn-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Marifio
634 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to
622 the head of the cabi which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 356; cf. Marifio de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cifia (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, o indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

*674 **Law and legal procedure.**—The chief crimes recognized were adul-
627 tery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason.
754 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of Baukas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 134, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 46–56.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

THEFT, INTOXICATION

679 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

[555]

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in midair."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martin de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they get the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenkstrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlemento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Cheoeque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

[p. 230]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [107] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Pri- [48] vate ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their dif- 427 ficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

429 Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [695] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are [68] by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 433 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [786] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetu- [692] ate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [692] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [501]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

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MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 698 473

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[60] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *leo*, *lof*, or *lafche*,[61] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autono-
592 mous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally, one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *lonko*, and at
627 his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
[421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[62] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llakkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llakkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
● 681

[60] Latham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, comes in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[61] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "brook" or "tributary." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latham (1924, p. 263) used the word *leo* for these groups of structures.

[62] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *lielkaw* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death. 622 592 627 681

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *lelfe* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kowar*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[30] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[31] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man. 622 [623] [537] [554]

If a chief died or if his *kowar* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *lelfe* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life. 622 623

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *ñuhel-mapu*, each of which was led by a *ñapu*. Every *ñuhel-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "countries" presided over by *ulmenes*.[32] Several early sources re- 631

[30] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 242–43; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 120–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[31] See Moesbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 227.

[32] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the sorcerer goes provided with a 756
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the sorcerer saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a foreigner, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the sorcerer in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the sorcerer had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Oliverus, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these ceremonies:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 681
victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands 754
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, bowel and face. Meanwhile he was demoralized to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of interstitial warfare.

The sorcerer have no hard and fast rules for these ceremonies, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the bundle of canes planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Freemasonry was common among the sorcerer and still is to a certain extent, though not as much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *huaqs*. They do not wear the *chamal*, but a skin apron, called *pacon*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians. 683

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the conditions to which heating.

Morals.—Those being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucanian code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian creed. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 681

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father. 682 [562]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llamas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llamatwa*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

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684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken orgies, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to resort to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth
621 generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxori-local residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful co-residence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxori-local residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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a conservative indigenista organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. [613 622 918]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [65] [613 918] [654 698]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the [98 613 918] [622] [681] [622]

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Mapuche

Decisions regarding protective affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conformity of the responsible men and subchiefs at the house or meeting ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political structure [105].

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to protective headmen . . . and the earlier economic-protective political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [106].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say:

The chief crimes recognized were adultery and witchcraft, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgments. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, compensation was resorted to, with payment of strings of Beads . . . [108].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 587

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a 756
worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huerque*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 681
victim was tied to one of them, which was stouter than the others, his hands 756
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Pederasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though [838]
not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *huayo*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *pusuo*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the machitun or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, 681
religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

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can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone [562]
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4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llamas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llamatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

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Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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14: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wera lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llamas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silinlas of copper. This payment was called *llamatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth
621 generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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chief; kurá, stone), which he wore suspended from his neck (fig. 4, *a*), 622
and by an earring (he wore only one) which was distinctly different from those worn by other persons (fig. 4, *b*). "I saw a machi [man] wear an ñ'me kurá. Why he did so I do not know."

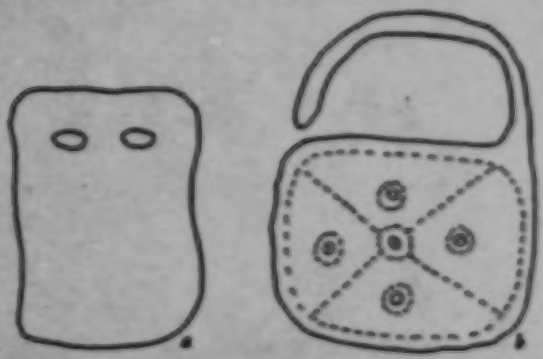

FIG. 4—Emblems distinguishing a cacique: *a*, An ñ'me kurá, a stone worn suspended from the neck of the cacique. (Courtesy Father Sigifredo Freundlich of Panguipulli.) *b*, Earring. (Courtesy Museo Araucano de Temuco.)

LAW AND ORDER

As previously stated, in the early days maintaining order and punishing offenders were duties of the cacique. Quoting informants: "In very early days, if it was positively known that a person was a kalku [witch], the cacique ordered such a person to be killed, my mother told me. He was usually pierced with a lance at the ñ'ñatun." "My father who was a cacique saw to it that there was order among his people. Everybody who had a complaint about anything came to him; complaints were usually about stealing or fighting with either fists or knives. He would threaten punishment, even to having a man shot." "My father was a cacique. I remember when I was a child that someone was beaten up by my father's nephew. My father ordered both men to come before him. After hearing both sides, he corrected his nephew. If someone was known to have stolen cattle, my father sent for him and told him either to pay for the cattle or return them to the owner." 627 [683]

If an offense involved persons from the jurisdiction of more than one cacique, joint action regarding both the offender and his punishment was taken by the caciques concerned. "A cacique from one witran mapu would go to the cacique in another witran mapu, maybe to tell him of a murder, or maybe of a death caused by witchcraft, or 628

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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are going one by one!" It was customary for the cacique to order the sergeant to unearth the vessel at the subsequent siliatun. "He may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kolupan. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either chau chau took the other half or the dead ate it—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kolupan," I asked, "that the dead ate it?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!" 796

BLACK ART, SORCERERS, VISIONS

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (kalku); today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilaquina man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 322). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called dum; witchcraft in general is called kalkutun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it. 954

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The kalku would say, 'Why do you hang me? What you accuse me of, I have not done. These people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kolupan told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Checkotta, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his lofche together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Checkotta wanted to find out if there was a kalku among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his lance upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the kultrun, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Checkotta died. His son Llakatral was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe 683

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [715]. 642 [501]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [716]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [716]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [48] [683] [681] [48]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 473

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal
[793] may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñllatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery
[789] and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
•683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *choncho*n, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Pinichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *kilkill*, *huelen*, *wuthwuth*, *juwe*, *perinco*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregal*, and

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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kallutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, fingers and toenail
787 parings, and hand hair which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
• [813] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
683 or her client if they choose. Scissors and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

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which is described as a hopeless den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches congregate in 754
the rewe, where spirits of former kalku who have not entered 795
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former kalku
are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches,
disparaged and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs,
frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the rewe with impunity. If a machi or
anyone else stumbled upon the rewe, they would be captured
and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted
into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a conquered
witch and allowed to live as long as the kalku's secrets were
kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have
been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events
are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually,
some person might be associated with these strange happenings,
either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or
because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched
for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a
sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is
brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the
level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will
be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community
continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may
be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the
hands of the community, or if countersorcerer is being
practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a
good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted
from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living
in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have
been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation.
This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who
try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because
they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation,
also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live unrelatedly (even for obvious eco-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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683 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

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The Sisterhoods

754 756 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of [172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *reñu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition [184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

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Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalw* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

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The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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[648]

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
754 the entire community.
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Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
678 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublinea-
578 ges—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 [548] Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 835 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Larquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaskas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a spark of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martin de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 864 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to [158] periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684] been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626] in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [595] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that *he* was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish 837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu- [684]
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [882]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 883
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [857]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
626 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is
● 685 reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
273 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
276 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were tell-
828 ing me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

THEFT, INTOXICATION

674 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with [685] death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when 273 in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

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Argentina

In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The up-
shot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted
for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements 182
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the
participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancamañ, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Coloniration.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [167] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [248] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their 427 433 agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

427 Land Rental

[692] Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are 248 by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 433 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [186] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [692] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 613 [622] [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [665] 613 578 [754] [692]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 178 613 [578] [622] [681] [622]

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5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche
648 political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[692] [1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of
[1285] political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*killatufe*), under-
[1885] standable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico-military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [683] [681] [648]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 973

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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados,* several Inspectors, a number of *regidores,* and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware. 648 692 [131]

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration. 175 648 [131] [167]

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*. 175 648 166 [621]

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [423] 175 648 [423] [621]

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [901] [642]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 [836] The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the [692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of [839] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
621

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of subline-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

WITCHCRAFT AND CURING PRACTICES

BELIEF in witchcraft, ever widespread among the Araucanians, is still a pervasive element of their culture.[1] A witch or sorcerer, *kal·ku*, seldom operates individually, but is usually thought to be in league with others of his kind. Each *kal·ku* is supposed to train a youngster in the ways of sorcery, but the novice is sworn to secrecy and seldom practices witchery until he is old. Aged women are particularly apt to be suspected of witchcraft. By native definition, a *kal·ku* is one who deliberately harms or kills a person, generally upon request and payment by an enemy of the victim or else because of jealousy. A witch may or may not be related to the injured party, but he who employs a sorcerer must be prepared, if the victim succumbs, to have one of his own kinfolk die to even the score. In this sense, resort to witchcraft is regarded as a gamble.

A suspected witch was formerly tried before a *loñko* and an assembly of his followers. If the testimony of at least two witnesses or accusers was accepted, the sorcerer was supposed to be slain on the day of the victim's funeral.[2] According to one of the accounts I was given, based on stories a thirty-eight-year-old informant had heard in youth, a guilty witch was tied and dragged by a man on horseback from her home to a spot where a blazing fire had been kindled. She was then beheaded, but to prevent any artful recovery, she was cut into pieces and these were thrown into the fire to be burnt to ashes. If a chief did not want to inflict such severe punishment, he could have the accused witch driven off his territory. Together with her close relatives she would thus be forced to wander from place to place until she found a *loñko* who was willing to accept her and her party. Such a chief might be a distant kinsman, an old friend,

[1] Practically every source dealing with Araucanian culture contains some material on witchcraft and curing. Particularly full accounts that supplement this field report are readily available in Latcham, 1909, pp. 350–53; 1924, pp. 770–822, *et passim;* and Métraux, 1939.

[2] Cf. Molina, 1808, p. 78; and Smith, 1855, p. 237.

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[2] Cf. Molina, 1808, p. 78; and Smith, 1855, p. 237.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.
696

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renūs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renūs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, mon-
[787] sters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits,
776 the entire class of which may be termed *wekufū*.[1] *Wekufū* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *choñchoñ*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[1] Latcham (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *huecuvas* ("evil spirits") and *huecuvayes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *dungune* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

nuclear family."[20] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[21] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[22] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *adsmapu* ("customs of the land"[23]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[24]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[20] Murdock, 1949, p. 205.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8.
[22] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[23] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[24] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *aillo-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also called *rutramapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

[701] [834]

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

themselves outmanned and outmaneuvered, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20] 725

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous ex-groom in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of encirclement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability. 725 701

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spanish. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more [411] 725

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 35ff., 85, 101, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could not see the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that more polished peninsular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being unfit for the task. Discrimination against creoles was a constant source of dissension in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many peninsulars in his train. The abandon with which he handed out encomiendas to his peninsular friends enraged the luckless creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chileans knew the identity of their fathers, and then insultingly inquired, "*En qué se andan aquí estos hijos de putas?*" (Marmolejo, p. 80). Nájera (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born in war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chroniclers ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between creole and peninsular to be utterly inane.

21 Marmolejo simply states that among those who plotted Valdivia's downfall was a *yanacona* named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 36). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term yanacona invariably meant a friendly and allied Indian from the north. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become so *españolado* in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1876) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 Olaverría, pp. 33-34; Nájera, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Latcham, "La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos: sus armas y métodos militares" (Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 15, no. 19, 1915, pp. 122-193). While this study is valuable for purely military affairs, it does not attempt to 114

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.
178
648 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.* They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
[167] able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

* [See CAT. 116, P. 93 -- ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 621
and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648
under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [692]
backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175
Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648
of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío—Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642]
military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701]
were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642]
authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . socio-political structure [725]. 642 [701]

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 68 673

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [683] [681] [648]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the 175 648 473

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[101] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[101] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
622 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic
423

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause. [476] [423] [623]

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance. 178 621 622 648

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another. [701] [647]

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[782] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rehue*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

● 702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34] 648 [702]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35] 186 702 [727]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been. 184 648 578

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed suzerainty over all of the allareguas from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective suzerainty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local, 631

33 *Idem*, pp. 105, 133.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Marmolejo, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 83. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 270, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xarequamada" (*idem*, pp. 241-242; Nájera, p. 60). Through acts of terror the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 31-32).

38 Marmolejo, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he war most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

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of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Las aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), [164]
pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitrahue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruloncon* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes. 727

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25] 725

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless trot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26] 725 481 [492]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28] 704 177

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century 642 631

25 Marmolejo, pp. 40-43, 47-49. These are but representative of many such descriptions.

26 Nájera, pp. 42, 110-116. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Nájera, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xaraquemada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xaraquemada to King, Jan. 29, 1611 and Jan. 28, 1612 (*idem*, pp. 247, 255-257); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1613 (*idem*, p. 267).

28 Nájera, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move about on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their *rocinantes*, keeping their good stock hidden for use after the next rebellion (*idem*, p. 128).

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[B17] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 263), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve
415 shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Marifo de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish. 726 669

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16] 177 713 [198]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers, 723

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[11] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
621 of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
721 have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A
[534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492 lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously
491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that 512 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. [721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In [621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the [595] number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[782] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

• 721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rehue*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 900

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards. 567

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house. 576

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kollai (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean. 515 [481]

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common. 721

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

631 rather than central, and coöperation was most often found in the realm of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Araucanians. The region between the Biobío and Toltén Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *butanmapos;* they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the estado). Each butanmapo had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least in time of war, a principal chief, or *toque.* It was customary for the chiefs to debate plans for war in a parliamentary junta in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[40] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial toques is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held to both qualify status and to assure authority. When disagreement occurred between toques, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[41]

Gerónimo Pietas, writing around 1729, describes a further development of this general schema. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called butanmapos, but they extended farther north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Araucania is mute testimony to the growth of Araucanian strength and confidence. In Pietas' description each butanmapo had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *toqui-guilmen* (commander), a *guinca-guilmen* (field commander), and a *pelqui-guilmen* (diplomatic courier). While these officers assumed absolute authority in their positions within the province, they were inferior to a *toque-general* who apparently wielded a measure of authority over the whole of Araucania. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A
631 general war could be called for only by the toque-general, and at his own discre-
721 tion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *cones.* Only the toque-general could dispatch the cones, and in the event of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a con was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the councils, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional toque. As messenger he sent his pelqui-guilmen to the other butanmapos, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this event the warring chieftain used force

[114] 40 Bascuñán, pp. 39-41. Latcham (*La prehistoria chilena,* pp. 153-154) considers this to be an ancient Mapuche military organization, even though it is first reported almost a century after the Spaniards arrived. From what we know of the ancient Mapuche, this would appear to be an unduly sophisticated organization.

41 *Idem,* pp. 94-99, 144-148; "Relación de Luis de Valdivia," 1611 (Gay, II, pp. 281-282).

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alvaro Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A C48 175 [167]

tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

A [166] [121]

A 648 175 C 563 175

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

A [166] [167]

C [167] A [121]

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1946:690 *et passim;* Canals Frau, 1948:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división,* whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

C 563 175
A 175 648
A [721]
C [669]
A [161]
A [167]
A [161]
A [186]
C [186]

After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [724]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion*! [622] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [668]

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Arancanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 574 TA. 721

etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

000

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

T [673]

T A 648

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Cheoeque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Cheoeque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 648

pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Ronque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzanas. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifaccio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Ronque, the policy of the authorities being to keep him and Cheoeque from joining Calficura in the threatened raid on the frontier. The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calficura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calficura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captives women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may partially be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Ronque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other.

A 721

A 721

One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 721

the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estanzia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetrou, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

T A 726

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change. 175 361 621 722

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times. [611]

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast. 601

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern. 601 178

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in- 601

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[788] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rehue*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namantu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitrukue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *prulencos* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes. 727

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 colonists, and friars could work great wonders if the Indians would but submit. When they first settled Santiago the Spaniards proved that they could provide their living with their own hands, but full barns and producing mines were impossible of realization without Indian labor.[17] Because of this, the Spaniards always hungered for peace, and, through past experience in the Indies, expected it to follow each victory over the Indians.[18] This was the great error of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Whenever the Indians found it advantageous to themselves to live in peace — whether because of famine or disease or military weakness — they willingly surrendered themselves to service in the encomienda, there to repair their fortunes and to watch. The Spaniards, hopeful that this was indeed the dawn of a new day, almost invariably sought immediate expansion of their mining and agricultural activities. With a quickening of economic activity, military vigilance declined to a point which invited rebellion. The Araucanians honored such invitations without fail.[19]

Spanish military strategy was also based upon the gnawing hunger for peace. From past experience the invaders knew that peace would follow the defeat and usurpation of a central authority. In the absence of a central Araucanian authority the only alternative was to instill fear by demonstration of military supremacy, and so the Spaniards constantly sought a definitive battle which, when won, would convince the Araucanians of the futility of resistance. Some civilians differed, advising an Indian policy founded upon kind treatment and remission of
725 personal service, but their voices were seldom heard. Recognizing the Spaniards' willingness to do battle, the Araucanians always chose their own battle sites where the terrain could be used to advantage, where the horse, as a military instrument, could be rendered less effective, and where their own strategies could be best effected. With monotonous regularity the Spaniards, always seeking the big victory, sent an army to defeat a rumored gathering of Indians, which rumor was usually broadcast by the Indians themselves. Upon arrival the Spaniards found

17 It should be kept in mind that conquest and settlement were private financial ventures, and very expensive ones. See Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza's complaint in Marmolejo, p. 90.

18 This was Valdivia's experience in Santiago; the Indians tired of "running like beasts" and submitted to reduccion (Valdivia to King, Sept. 4, 1545, Gay, I, p. 61).

19 This technique of dissembling was practiced widely, both in Spanish towns and on the frontiers. The Indians were so skilled that the Spanish were never able to tell whether they really meant to keep the peace or not. Either way, there was nothing the Spanish could do but accept, driven as they were by the economic imperative of their way of life. The Indians seem to have understood this perfectly. The granting of terminal peace in critical areas as a part of wider strategy became common. Revolts were well planned: the chiefs had the White women divided among themselves in advance; the gold that had been dug for the Whites during peace was thrown into the nearest river, or used to ransom Indian hostages; bloody revenge was visited upon the erstwhile masters. See Marmolejo, pp. 58-59, 125; Nájera, pp. 46-47, 65.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Las aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), [164]
pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had [834] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 300 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The 723
army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at
the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), 411
slings (*huitrukue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of [278]
the *colignaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses.

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever 725
archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front.

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were 712
generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted.

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners 727
taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pralomen* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

●725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

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723 colonists, and friars could work great wonders if the Indians would but submit. When they first settled Santiago the Spaniards proved that they could provide their living with their own hands, but full barns and producing mines were impossible of realization without Indian labor.[17] Because of this, the Spaniards always hungered for peace, and, through past experience in the Indies, expected it to follow each victory over the Indians.[18] This was the great error of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Whenever the Indians found it advantageous to themselves to live in peace — whether because of famine or disease or military weakness — they willingly surrendered themselves to service in the encomienda, there to repair their fortunes and to watch. The Spaniards, hopeful that this was indeed the dawn of a new day, almost invariably sought immediate expansion of their mining and agricultural activities. With a quickening of economic activity, military vigilance declined to a point which invited rebellion. The Araucanians honored such invitations without fail.[19]

Spanish military strategy was also based upon the gnawing hunger for peace. From past experience the invaders knew that peace would follow the defeat and usurpation of a central authority. In the absence of a central Araucanian authority the only alternative was to instill fear by demonstration of military supremacy, and so the Spaniards constantly sought a definitive battle which, when won, would convince the Araucanians of the futility of resistance. Some civilians differed, advising an Indian policy founded upon kind treatment and remission of
● 725 personal service, but their voices were seldom heard. Recognizing the Spaniards' willingness to do battle, the Araucanians always chose their own battle sites where the terrain could be used to advantage, where the horse, as a military instrument, could be rendered less effective, and where their own strategies could be best effected. With monotonous regularity the Spaniards, always seeking the big victory, sent an army to defeat a rumored gathering of Indians, which rumor was usually broadcast by the Indians themselves. Upon arrival the Spaniards found

17 It should be kept in mind that conquest and settlement were private financial ventures, and very expensive ones. See Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza's complaint in Marmolejo, p. 90.

18 This was Valdivia's experience in Santiago; the Indians tired of "running like beasts" and submitted to reduction (Valdivia to King, Sept. 4, 1545, Gay, I, p. 61).

19 This technique of dissembling was practiced widely, both in Spanish towns and on the frontiers. The Indians were so skilled that the Spanish were never able to tell whether they really meant to keep the peace or not. Either way, there was nothing the Spanish could do but accept, driven as they were by the economic imperative of their way of life. The Indians seem to have understood this perfectly. The granting of terminal peace in critical areas as a part of wider strategy became common. Revolts were well planned: the chiefs had the White women divided among themselves in advance; the gold that had been dug for the Whites during peace was thrown into the nearest river, or used to ransom Indian hostages; bloody revenge was visited upon the erstwhile masters. See Marmolejo, pp. 58-59, 125; Nájera, pp. 46-47, 65.

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themselves outmanned and outmaneuvered, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20] 725

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous ex-groom in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of encirclement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability. 725 701

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spanish. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more [411] 725

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 35ff., 85, 101, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could not see the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that more polished peninsular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being unfit for the task. Discrimination against creoles was a constant source of dissension in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many peninsulars in his train. The abandon with which he handed out encomiendas to his peninsular friends enraged the luckless creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chileans knew the identity of their fathers, and then insultingly inquired, *"En qué se andan aquí estos hijos de putas?"* (Marmolejo, p. 80). Nájera (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born in war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chroniclers ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between creole and peninsular to be utterly inane.

21 Marmolejo simply states that among those who plotted Valdivia's downfall was a *yanacona* named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 36). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term yanacona invariably meant a friendly and allied Indian from the north. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become so *españolado* in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1876) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 Olaverría, pp. 33-34; Nájera, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Latcham, "La capacidad guerrera de los Araucanos: sus armas y métodos militares" (Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 15, no. 19, 1915, pp. 122-193). While this study is valuable for purely military affairs, it does not attempt to 114

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●725 important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of snares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[23]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an [442] auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[24] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

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114 explore or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the factor of Indian bravery. Another weakness is the author's uncritical use of Pedro Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1551, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Ostensibly because it was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escober for rewriting. As a true courtier, he shifted emphasis to flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise took liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revision it was probably revised by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently disseminated in Spain by Hurtado in suit for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was irked at publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In retaliation he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Nájera remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more victorious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). See Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, vol. 2, pp. 282-288).

114 23 Marmolejo, pp. 44-49, 85, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 697, 1946) is in error when he concludes that the Indians mastered European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

24 Olaverría, p. 34.

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of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25] 725

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless trot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26] 725 481 [492]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28] 704 177

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century 642 631

25 Marmolejo, pp. 40-43, 47-49. These are but representative of many such descriptions.

26 Nájera, pp. 42, 110-116. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Nájera, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xauqueneada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xauqueneada to King, Jan. 29, 1611 and Jan. 28, 1612 (*idem*, pp. 247, 255-257); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1613 (*idem*, p. 267).

28 Nájera, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move about on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their rocinantes, keeping their good stock hidden for use after the next rebellion (*idem*, p. 128).

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *pegnen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

726 669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 20.
12 Mermoloja, p. 23; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

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Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 386.

15 Méjico, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-145, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish force, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

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622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 628 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 726 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lancers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Cherkeetu, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lancers to each formation. Lances were cylindric stalks tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of horsehide pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce horsehide hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Cherkeetu would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 648 726 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampas then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampas. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 721

the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetrou, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

T A. 726

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or

3Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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some deep gorge, must have been crushed by a piece of 648
rock; and this version was received by all. For, judging by all former experience of the power of the Indians, it could not be credited that the Spaniards had fallen in battle. While the people in Peru were thus confused, some further tidings arrived after sixty days, with a full account of the death of Valdivia and his men, and of the last battle he fought with the Indians. I will quote from the news as it was then brought from Chile. Having mentioned the rising of the Indians and their insolent conduct, the account continued as follows:—

"When Valdivia arrived where the rebel Araucos were, 726
he found twelve or thirteen thousand of them, with whom he had several desperate encounters, in which the Spaniards were always victorious; and the Indians were so disheartened by the charges of the cavalry that they would not come out in the open plain, for ten horsemen would scatter a thousand Indians. They remained in the hills and woods, where the horses could not master them, and thence they did all the mischief they could, refusing to listen to any terms that were offered to them, and obstinate in their determination to die rather than be servants of the Spaniards. Thus the two sides remained for many days. These evil tidings spread each day into the interior of the Araucо country, until they were told to an old captain who had been famous in their wars, but was now retired to his own home.[1] He came out to see what wonder was this, that one hundred and fifty men could hold in check twelve or thirteen thousand warriors. This he was unable to believe, if these Spaniards were not devils or immortals, which the Indians thought at first. In order to undeceive himself on these points, he desired to join the war, and see what passed with his own eyes. He reached the top of a hill, whence he had a view of both

[1] The story is not told in this way by Ercilla; but the old chief of the text appears to have been the Caupolican of the *Araucana*.

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[illegible] pages
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[illegible] armies, the line of his own people widely extended, and that of the Spaniards small and compact. He was considering for a long time what could be the cause that so few men could conquer so many. Having closely examined the situation, he repaired to the camp of his countrymen and called a Council. After long discourses on the events that had taken place up to that time, he asked these questions, among many others.

"Are the Spaniards mortal men like the Indians, or immortal like the Sun and Moon? Do they feel hunger, thirst, and fatigue? Have they the necessity for sleeping and rest? In short, he asked whether they were made of flesh and blood, or of iron and steel? He asked the same questions respecting the horses. Having been told that they were men of the same appearance and habits as the Indians, he exclaimed: Let all now rest, and to-morrow we will see who are the best men, the Spaniards or ourselves. With that the Council broke up, and at the first appearance of dawn next day he ordered a call to arms, which was sounded with much greater shouts and noise of trumpets, drums, and other like instruments, than was usual. He armed thirteen squadrons of a thousand men each, and formed them in a thread, one behind the other."

CHAPTER XXII.

A BATTLE ON A NEW PLAN, AND WITH WARLIKE ENGINES, CONDUCTED BY AN OLD INDIAN CAPTAIN.

The Spaniards came forth on hearing the shouts of the Indians, splendidly armed, with great plumes on their heads and on those of their horses, and with many banderolas hung with bells. When they saw the divided squadrons,

3Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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they thought less of their enemies, as it seemed to them that they could more easily scatter many small squadrons than one very large body of men. The Indian captain, seeing the Spaniards in the plain, said to the men of his first squadron, "Go, my brothers, and fight with the Spaniards. I do not say you will conquer them, but do your best for your country, and when you can do no more, fly, and I will succour you. But when you of the first squadron fly, do not mix with the second, nor the second with the third, but retire behind all the other squadrons, when I will direct what you should then do." With these orders the old captain sent his men to fight the Spaniards, who attacked the first squadron, and, though the Indians did what they could in their defence, they routed them. They also scattered the second, third, fourth, and fifth squadrons with ease; but not so easily but that many on their side were wounded, and some killed, men as well as horses.

The Indian captain, as the first squadron fell back defeated, sent the others forward to fight, in their order. And in the rear of the whole army he had a captain who formed new squadrons out of the fugitive Indians, each of a thousand men, whom he ordered to be supplied with food and drink, and to rest until their turn to fight should come again. Having defeated five squadrons, the Spaniards looked out to observe how many remained, and they saw another eleven or twelve before them. They had now fought for more than three hours; nevertheless they cheered each other on, and charged the sixth squadron and routed it, as well as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. Yet neither they nor their horses were as fresh as at first, since they had fought for seven long hours without ceasing for a moment. The Indians never gave them rest, one squadron having scarcely been defeated before another came to the attack, and the routed men fell out of the battle to rest and form themselves into new squadrons. It was then that the

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The Spaniards saw that their enemies still had ten squadrons ready to fight; yet, with indomitable courage, they proposed to renew the conflict, though they were worn and tired, both men and horses. Yet they continued the battle with as much vigour as possible, that their weakness might not be seen by the Indians. But the Indians, from hour to hour, recovered their strength, while the Spaniards were losing it; for they felt that their enemies no longer fought as they did in the beginning, or even in the middle of the day. Thus the two armies continued until two in the afternoon.

Then the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, seeing that there were still eight or ten squadrons to scatter, and that, though this were achieved, the Indians continued to form new ones; and considering that, in this new way of fighting, judging from the small respite there had been during the day, neither would there be rest at night; it seemed well to retire, before the horses were quite worn out. His intention was to retreat to a narrow pass, which he had left about a league and a half in his rear, and he thought that if that point could be reached, he would be safe, as there the Spaniards, on foot, could defend the pass against the whole army of the enemy.

Having taken this resolution, though tardily, he called to his men, and said that they were to retreat gradually to the narrow pass. This they did, forming in close order, and retiring little by little, with their faces always to the foe, but more with the intention of defending themselves than of attack.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE INDIANS GAIN THE VICTORY, THROUGH THE TREASONABLE ASSISTANCE OF ONE OF THEMSELVES.

At this moment an Indian who, from a boy, had been 726
brought up by the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, named Felipe, his Indian name being Lautaru, a son of one of their chiefs (in whom the love of country was stronger than the faith he owed to his God and his master), hearing the Spaniards calling to each other to retreat, and knowing their language from having been brought up amongst them, and fearing that his relations would be satisfied at seeing the Spaniards retreat, and that they would allow them to retire unmolested, left the Spanish ranks;[1] crying, "Do not be faint-hearted, my brothers; these thieves are now flying, and they set their hopes on reaching the narrow pass. Think, therefore, of what is needful for the freedom of our country, and the death and destruction of these traitors." Saying these words, to animate his own people, he took up a lance from the ground and stationed himself at their head, to fight against the Spaniards.

The old Indian captain who had adopted these new tactics, seeing the road taken by the Spaniards, and hearing the warning of Lautaru, understood what the enemy intended to do, and ordered the two squadrons which had not yet been engaged, to march with speed and diligence, and by short cuts, and occupy the narrow pass which the Spaniards wished to reach, and to remain there until they were joined by the rest of the Indians. Having given this order, he advanced with the remaining squadrons in pursuit

[1] *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III. According to Ercilla, the Araucanos, and not the Spaniards, were on the point of retreating, when they were rallied by Lautaru.

3.Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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726 of the Spaniards, every now and then sending fresh companies forward to engage them, and prevent them from getting any rest. This was also done that the Indians who were fatigued with fighting might retire from the conflict and refresh themselves for renewed efforts. In this way they followed and pressed upon the Spaniards, until they reached the narrow pass, killing some, and never ceasing to fight for a moment. When they reached the pass it was near sunset. The Spaniards, on seeing that the pass was occupied and guarded by the enemy, gave up all hope of escaping death, and, in order to die like Christians, they called upon the name of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin his Mother, and of the Saints for whom they felt most devotion.[1]

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards were so tired that neither they nor their horses could do more, rushed upon them, as well those who had pursued as those who guarded the pass, and gave the horses and their riders as many wounds as they could inflict on all parts of their bodies. They hurled them on the ground, and killed them with all the rage and cruelty they could show. They took the
727 Governor Pedro Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, alive, and fastened them to poles until the fight was over, intending to settle what should be done with them, at their leisure. Thus far I have given the substance of the second report that came from Chile to Peru touching the defeat and death of Valdivia, as soon as it happened, and sent by the friendly Indians who were present in the battle. Three of these escaped, having hid themselves in some bushes, during the darkness of the night; and when the Indians assembled to celebrate their victory, they came out of their hiding-place, and as men who knew their road, and were more loyal to their masters than Lautaru, they

[1] The manœuvre of the narrow pass does not form a feature in Ercilla's description of the battle.

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He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rieros, a native of Truxillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the [264] governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonso de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

But the executioner is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Lecoto.

[1] Hacen en campo y muestranse en formados
Escuadrones distintos, muy enteros,
Cada hila de mas de cien soldados,
Entre una pica y otra los flaqueros
Que de lejos cifrados desmandados
Bajo la protection de los piqueros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta medir a pica el enemigo.

Si el escuadron primero que acometa,
Por fuerza viene a ser desbaratado,
Tan presto a socorrerle otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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having been caused by that rising which took place in 1553. In the same year the rebellion of Don Sebastian de Castilla took place in the towns of La Plata and Potosi, and that of Francisco Hernandez Giron in Cuzco.

I have briefly related what the Spaniards of Chile wrote and said in Peru touching the battle and death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia. It may be taken for what it is worth; and I have told the story out of its place because it is the most notable event that has happened throughout the Indias. I have told it briefly because I know not whether I shall find occasion to return to the affairs of Chile, and also because I fear lest I should not be able to reach the end of so great an undertaking as that of narrating the conquests achieved by the Spaniards in that kingdom.

CHAPTER XXV.

FURTHER UNFORTUNATE EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

I had written thus far, when they gave me fresh accounts of unfortunate and deplorable events which took place in Chile in the year 1599, and in Peru in 1600. Among other calamities they describe great earthquakes at Arequipa,[1] and how it had rained cinders for nearly twenty days out of the volcano. The cinders were in such quantity that in some

> Si aquel se desbarata, otro arremete,
> Y cuando ya el primero referiendo,
> Morirse de un terremoto se puede
> Hasta ver lo que al otro le sucede.
>
> *Arauco*, Pte. I, Canto 1 (vol. I, p. 7, ed. Madrid, 1776).

[1] The first earthquake recorded at Arequipa, after the city was founded by Pizarro in 1540, was on January 2nd, 1582. The second great earthquake was that mentioned in the text, which took place on February 19th, 1600.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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places they fell to the thickness of a yard, and in others more than two, the least thickness being a quarter of a yard.[1] The vineyards and fields of maize and wheat were buried, and the larger trees, whether bearing fruit or not, withered; while all the flocks perished for want of pasture. The sand that thus fell, covered the ground for an extent of more than thirty leagues round Arequipa. They found the cattle lying dead by five hundreds in one place, and many sheep, goats, and pigs were buried. The houses fell in from the weight of the sand, and those that stood were preserved by the diligence of their owners, in removing the sand from the roofs. The thunder and lightning was such that the storm was heard for a circuit of thirty leagues round Arequipa. The sun was so obscured by the clouds of dust that the people had to use candles in the middle of the day. They wrote accounts of these things that happened in Arequipa and in its neighbourhood, and I have set down a very brief summary of what I heard from Peru. It will suffice, because the historians who narrate the events of that period, will be bound to describe what took place in more detail.

926 The misfortunes of Chile shall also be shortly described, according to the accounts written from thence, because they are relevant to what has already been said touching those Araucо Indians and their deeds, arising out of the insurrection of 1553, which continues until this day, and we are now entering upon the year 1603. We know not when that war will end; for it seems to gather new vigour and force from

[155] [1] The formation of the coast region nearest to Arequipa consists of granite with veins of quartz. But the plains are covered with large patches of very fine dust, consisting chiefly of silica, containing potash and soda, with small quantities of the *débris* of the rocks associated with the soil. Admiral Fitzroy suggested that this dust may be the ashes ejected from the Misti (the Arequipa volcano) at some remote period. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 71. The account of the eruption, given in the text, seems to account for the presence of these large patches of fine dust.

3.Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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year to year. After forty-nine years of rebellion, and after waging a war of fire and sword during all that long time, they did what we are about to relate, which is taken word for word from a letter written by a citizen of Santiago de Chile. This letter reached me, together with the account of the calamities at Arequipa. They were sent me by a gentleman, a friend of mine who was in Peru, and served as a captain against the rebels in the kingdom of Quitus, who rose against the imposition of *alcabalas*.[1] He did good service to the Crown of Spain at that time. His name is Martin C—nço.[2] He heads his account of the unfortunate events in Chile with "News from Chile", and then continues as follows:—"When I had finished writing the above news about Arequipa, others of much greater importance arrived from Chile, which are as follows, written in the same way as they were received."

"Account of the loss and destruction of the city of Valdivia in Chile, which took place on Wednesday, the 24th of November, 1599. At dawn, on that day, a body of five thousand neighbouring Indians attacked the city. Some of

[1] The *Alcabala* (from the Arabic *cabala*, "a thing received") was a tax, originally in the form of a percentage on all sales. It was first granted to Alonso XI in 1342, for three years, in aid of the cost of taking Algeciras from the Moors. In 1349 the Cortes of Alcala again granted a twentieth to him; and in 1366 the Cortes of Burgos conceded a tenth. Future Spanish kings continued the *Alcabala* on the tenths of sales.—Sabarsus, *Polit. Ind.*, lib. vi, cap viii, p. 972.

When Don Francisco de Toledo went out as Viceroy of Peru in 1569, he had instructions to impose a property tax, to be called *Alcabala*; but he did not consider the times propitious, and refrained from exercising his power on this point. But in 1591 the Viceroy Don Garcia de Mendoza (afterwards Marquis of Cañete) received similar orders, and imposed a property tax of two per cent., called *Alcabala*, throughout Peru. This new tax gave rise to seditious tumults in Quito, and the Viceroy sent Don Pedro de Arana with a force to quell them, who restored quiet and punished the ringleaders.—*Vida y Actos del Marques de Cañete*, Suarez de Figueroa, lib. iv, p. 102.

[2] Same in both editions. A letter must have dropped out.

2:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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PARMACHIRIS SCY

● 728 them also came from the districts of Yuqueiel, Pica, and Paruro. There were three thousand on horseback, and the rest on foot, more than sixty being armed with arquebuses, and upwards of two hundred in armour. They arrived at dawn by surprise, as they had spies in the city. They knew that the Spaniards were asleep in their houses, and there were no more than four men on guard, and two that went the rounds. They were off their guard, owing to two *Malcoas* (which is the same as insurrions) that they had made twenty days before, when they attacked a fort of the Indians in the plain of Paqueiles, and killed many of them. So they thought that there was no Indian within a circuit of eight leagues, as they had received a severe check. Thus the Indians, having bribed their spies, advanced with the greatest audacity that Indians had ever shown. They came very secretly to the door of each house, with a number proportioned to those that they knew to be inside, and guarded the ends of the streets. Then they set fire to the houses and watched the doors, so that no one might escape. Within two hours they had desolated the town with fire and sword and captured the fort with the artillery, there being no one to defend it. The number of killed was four hundred Spaniards—men, women, and children. They took three hundred thousand dollars' worth of spoil, and did not leave a thing that was not destroyed or burnt. They cut adrift the vessels belonging to Valdeno and Villarroel, and another owned by Diego de Rojas, that were lying in the river. A few people escaped in canoes, otherwise not one would have survived to tell the tale. This fierceness of the barbarians was aroused by the deaths of their comrades during former inroads, and because their women and children had been sold to merchants to be taken out of the country. They perpetrated this deed after having submitted for more than fifty years, been baptised, and lived under priests who instructed them in religion. It was the first time that they burnt

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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the churches, making a great destruction of images of saints, and breaking them to pieces with sacrilegious hands. Ten days after this event the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived at the port of the city with a reinforcement of three hundred men, which his Excellency had sent from Peru to succour those cities. He lost there a son and a daughter, young children, whom he had left in charge of his sister-in-law, and who had been taken in this attack with the rest. As soon as he beheld the lamentable destruction of the city, he disembarked his people with great bravery, to go in aid of the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and the ill-fated Imperial, of which nothing was known save that a year before it had been surrounded by the enemy. It was reported that all were dead of hunger, having eaten the dead horses, and afterwards the dogs, cats, and skins of animals. This news was obtained from a messenger who was sent down the river by those in the city, praying for help, with mournful complaints from those unhappy people. After the said colonel had disembarked, he determined first to relieve the city of Osorno, because he knew that the enemy, after assaulting the city of Valdivia, would march to the city of Osorno to treat it in the same manner. The colonel gave assistance to Osorno, and did other good service. At the hour that I write this, news has arrived that the people of Imperial all perished of hunger, after a siege which lasted a year. Twenty men only escaped, whose fate was more hard than that of their dead companions, for, driven by hunger, they passed over to the side of the Indians. In Angol they killed four soldiers, but it is not known who they were. Our Lord have mercy upon us. Amen."

"Santiago de Chile, March 1600."

All the above intelligence arrived in Peru from the kingdom of Chile, and caused great sorrow throughout the country. Besides which, the Father Diego de Alca-

2Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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bana,[1] whom I have already mentioned, in a letter which he wrote to me in the year 1601, among other things which he told me concerning that empire, uses these words touching the kingdom of Chile:—

"Chile is in very evil case, and the Indians are so expert and experienced in war, that there is not one who has not got a lance and a horse, and is not ready to attack any Spanish soldier, how valiant soever he may be. Every year troops are sent there from Peru; and many go, but none ever return. The Indians have taken two towns inhabited by Spaniards, and have killed all they found, carrying off the poor women and children, after first killing their fathers

[1] Diego de Alcobaza was a half-caste, born at Cuzco. His father Juan de Alcobaza, married an Indian girl, and he had an estate called Surihuaila, on the site of the Yncas's oratory, a league south of Cuzco. He was a great friend of the elder Garcilasso de la Vega, and brought up his son, the young Inca, who was born in the same house with Diego. They were afterwards schoolfellows together at Cuzco. Juan de Alcobaza was a quiet, peaceable man, of blameless life, and took care of the family of the warlike Garcilasso, while he was engaged in civil wars. On one occasion, when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Cuzco and Garcilasso was of the opposite faction, the two Alcobazas, with the young Inca Garcilasso and his mother and sister, were blockaded in a house, and well-nigh [illegible] Inca Garcilasso sailed to Spain, and his old schoolfellow starved. In 1560 the Inca Garcilasso sailed to Spain, and his old schoolfellow Diego de Alcobaza afterwards became a Jesuit priest and was actively engaged in preaching to the Indians, in which work he had great success, owing to his knowledge of the native languages. But the schoolfellows never forgot their old friendship, and constantly corresponded. When the Inca undertook his great work, Diego de Alcobaza sent him much valuable information. Doubtless we often unconsciously owe thanks to him for important facts, though the Inca only occasionally remembers to mention his indebtedness. The account of the Tiahuanaco ruins was obtained from Alcobaza (vol. I, p. 211), as well as the news from Chile given above. Early in 1606 Alcobaza also sent his old friend a *Confesionario*, which he had prepared and printed at Lima in 1585, in Spanish, in the language of the Incas (called Quichua), and in the language of the Collas (improperly called Aymara). Garcilasso criticises it in his second part. See I, Bk. v, cap. 30; Pts. II, Bk. i, cap. 19; and Pts. II, Bk. v, cap. 10. The *Confesionario* of Alcobaza is very scarce. I have never seen a copy, nor had Von Tschudi. *Kechua Sprache*, i. p. 38.

McGuire Diaz de la Vega 1-6 jan. 1669; 1671
SEE 3 Inca
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and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Yuno,[1] who came forth from Vilcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Alvelaez, besides other and more that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven duccats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1692. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Castro, a native of Granada, who in this year 1696 is master of the schools of the Royal College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

with its title, is as follows:—

OF THE REDUCTION OF THE ARAUCOS.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the churches and chapels, and overthrew the faith

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Tupac Amaru, by Beatriz Coya Huarocay, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is no glimpse of the bride and bridegroom in the chronicle of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed by an ambuscade by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess, named Beatriz, was married Martin Hurtado de Corcuera, and married Don Juan Domingo de Ruiz, of the House of Oscoche.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Incs
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and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater havock and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and deceitful artifices, and surrounded the city of Osorno. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continuously besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and nuns to carry them off as captives. But, being covetous over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and nuns, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villarica, when many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well connected. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the good Yuca Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *filiandome*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price." 583

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment. [559 595]

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intra-tribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was [127]
[illegible] without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[10] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[10] Titiev, 1943, p. 513, footnote 30.

4.Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The compound forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Chevauc* are represented as serpents with man's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguenelu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huenilipengi* as a sheep or lizard with a calf's head, *Pidoichengi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and vice versâ; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Ngen-cale*.

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis.

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to the custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is unknown during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders.

Side by side with the *machenges*, or shamans, the *ulmenes*, or sorcerers, and the *machitos* men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organization, neither do they recognize any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognize each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people.

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his torturers had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[268] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanians were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organization became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he

These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each tribe. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

722 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *ovas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organize their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The 723
army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at
the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu lime*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulgui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), 411
slings (*huitrubu*), and clubs (*lemu quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows
thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and
occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of [278]
the *colignya cderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware
jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied
salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to
20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had
stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs
were formed from *lemu*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were
generally more than 8 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern
hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They
were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted
a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from
their horses.

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever 725
archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to
the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears,
behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons
seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against
the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give
place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and
untiring front.

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were 712
generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks
of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one
which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for
archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pit-
falls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom
of which sharpened stakes were planted.

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners 727
taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pralmeme* or head dance was
performed. A leafy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were
placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with
flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of
victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the
enemies of their foes.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huaruwa* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupen*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huaruwa* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Marifio de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Ofia, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick sealskin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
belonged to the capter; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. [567]
The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pakuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[23] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[24]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the ercado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the ercado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[25]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the ercado for a number of years. While the ercado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[26] The ercado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[27] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[28] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the ercado claimed sovereignty over all of the alliances from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The ercado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the ercado so desired.[29] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective sovereignty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

23 *Idem*, pp. 109, 133.

24 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 231).

25 Olaverría, p. 23.

26 Mimeoskiju, pp. 126-127.

27 *Idem*, p. 82. The Indians around the ercadores who were friendly towards the Spanish were nearly cured by the depredations of the ercado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 278, 279); "Informe de Juan de Ximenez[illegible]" (*idem*, pp. 241-242); Méndez, p. 68). Through acts of terror the ercado ercadores forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through cash indemnities the Spanish ercadores achieved the return and. Plundering of Indian crops and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 1, pp. 51-52).

28 Mimeoskiju, pp. 110-113.

29 Olaverría, p. 22.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of unrelo caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult problem because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an eponymous progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intervention of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bacigalupo depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three homonymous. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked his blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

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42 Gaspar Pons, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 480-483).

43 Menéndez, p. 172; Pilgren, p. 98; also see Lenhossek, *Los problemas chilenos*, pp. 191-194. Cooper (pp. 742-743) makes a subtle attempt to unravel the conflicted threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bacigalupo, pp. 34-35. The captive was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Bío-Bío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bacigalupo and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of three years' hard labor, during which he suffered and demonstrated to be real. He was liberated by Mariluán, a powerful chieftain

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

fests of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The translator Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillán.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and girls. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given known and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dismemberment, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lord:

> This is my master; it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to hold cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the enemy, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and rare Mexican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his extensive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

[45] Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Olivares y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 56).

[46] Olivares, p. 55.

[47] Vilajuana, p. 60.

[48] *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53]
266 In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones,
●727 most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was
534 forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish cul-
727 ture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and,
[534] more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced
121 the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 33-34, 34-37.
56 *Idem*, p. 113.
57 *Idem*, p. 38.
58 Nájera, pp. 138, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alepin boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted. 597 913

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers. 597

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash. 357

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay. 567 727

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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727 917 Argentine taken into captivity by the Araucanians related the following: "My father was 13 years old when he was captured by our people. A cacique took him into his family and reared him. Later he married my mother, a pure Araucanian, a daughter of a cacique. Before I was born the Argentine army again came upon our people. My parents and others fled to Chile. Here I was born." An Araucanian who was taken captive by the Argentine army when he was only a small boy was taken to Buenos Aires where he was reared, married, and lived. "But he never forgot who his own people were. When I was 10 years old he asked my mother [the man's sister] to let me move to his home in Buenos Aires. I went. When I was 22 years old I came back here to my mother, along with other Araucanians who were coming back from Buenos Aires."

Araucanian women, too, were taken captive. "We were four girls in our family. I remember well when the army pounced upon us and kidnaped one of my sisters. She was 10 years old then. We never saw her again." The interpreter noted, "I know of a number of White women here [San Martin de los Andes] who were captured by the Araucanians as children; after they grew up they did not wish to return to their people. They stayed among the Araucanians and lived it."

NAMES

NAMING A CHILD, ORIGIN OF NAMES, PERSONAL NAMES

553 As previously stated, the child was given a name at the time its ears were pierced (p. 271), but there was no set age at which the event took place. Until a boy received his name he was called "little man" (pichi weuenu); a girl, "little woman" (pichi domo).

At present only a few children are given an Araucanian name. Since most children today are baptized and are given a Spanish name on that occasion, "there is no purpose in giving the child its name in the old way." A child that has not been baptized when its birth is recorded (registration of births is required by law) will be given a Spanish name by the recording officer. "That boy was given the name of Sebastiano when five years old by the Argentine officer when I had his birth recorded. I had not yet had him baptized; nor had he been given an Araucanian name."

The child's Araucanian name was selected either by one or both of its parents. "They chose the one they liked. My parents had a friend named Trulpe; consequently they gave me his name. When I was in the Argentine military service, the officer said that I could not use that name, and he gave me the name Pedro, the name he liked

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How 152
can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was
taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy."

Quarrelling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is 578
today; in the early days persons were given specific training as chil-
dren in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found
her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her,
quarrelsome. "Not too many young people today are. Instead of
quarrelling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I
have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when
he marries."

Murder by sickness was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as
revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institu-
tional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a
verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were
used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a
young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father
wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not [278]
know many poisons. The only one I know is tempeo; it is made from
the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our
own people; but no enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because [727]
of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and
while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and
throw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked
if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we [266]
never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult
were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person
present would take offense, since his words would not be directed
toward anyone in particular, a 50-year-old man gave the following
as examples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say,
or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]."
and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke
badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in
you. And now you want to do me harm." A 50-year-old woman
would not give examples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly,
she stated. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly in-
deed; they are about me. A man says them to a woman, and a woman
can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad
things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Considerable subtlety was, and still is, considered. The woman hangs 762
herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart

S.Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (or. 1556) 1871
SE13 [illegible]
ARAUCANIAS

of the Spaniards, every now and then sending fresh companies forward to engage them, and prevent them from getting any rest. This was also done that the Indians who were fatigued with fighting might retire from the conflict and refresh themselves for renewed efforts. In this way they followed and pressed upon the Spaniards, until they reached the narrow pass, killing some, and never ceasing to fight for a moment. When they reached the pass it was near sunset. The Spaniards, on seeing that the pass was occupied and guarded by the enemy, gave up all hope of escaping death, and, in order to die like Christians, they called upon the name of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin his Mother, and of the Saints for whom they felt most devotion.[1]

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards were so tired that neither they nor their horses could do more, rushed upon them, as well those who had pursued as those who guarded the pass, and gave the horses and their riders as many wounds as they could inflict on all parts of their bodies. They hurled them on the ground, and killed them with all the rage and cruelty they could show. They took the Governor Pedro Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, alive, and fastened them to poles until the fight was over, intending to settle what should be done with them, at their leisure. Thus far I have given the substance of the second report that came from Chile to Peru touching the defeat and death of Valdivia, as soon as it happened, and sent by the friendly Indians who were present in the battle. Three of those escaped, having hid themselves in some bushes, during the darkness of the night; and when the Indians assembled to celebrate their victory, they came out of their hiding-place, and as men who knew their road, and were more loyal to their masters than Lautaro, they

[1] The measures of the narrow pass does not form a feature in Ercilla's description of the battle.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega I-3 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Incas
ARAUCANIAS 659

went to give news of the disaster to the Spaniards, and of the death of the famous Pedro de Valdivia and of all who were with him.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THEY KILL VALDIVIA, AND THE WAR CONTINUES FOR FIFTY YEARS.

After the arrival of the second report in Peru, the way in which the Governor Pedro de Valdivia was killed by the Indians, was described in several ways. For the three Indians[1] who escaped from the battle could not give an accurate account, because they were not eye-witnesses. Some said that his own servant, Lautaro, killed him, when he was fastened to a pole, saying to his countryman, "Why do you spare this traitor?" They said that the governor had prayed to the Indians not to kill him until his servant should come, expecting that, as he had been his servant, he would save his life. Others said, and this was the most probable account, that an old captain had killed him with a club. He may have been the same captain through whose tactics the victory was won. They killed him hastily, lest their men should accept the offers of the poor governor, and unfasten him from the pole to which he was tied. For the other Indian captains, trusting in the promises of Pedro de Valdivia, were inclined to liberate him. He offered to depart from Chile and to take with him all the Spaniards, and never to return again. But that captain, seeing the inclination of the others and that they were ready to give credit to the Governor, rose up amongst them and suddenly killed the poor knight with a club, thus ending the discussion.[2]

[1] Ercilla says that only two of the friendly Indians escaped out of three thousand.

[2] This is the account given by Ercilla. *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III.

Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (m. 1544) 1871
SE13 Inca
Arauncanos 564

He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rivera, a native of Truxillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonso de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

But the commissioner is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Lautaro.

[1] Hacen su campo y acuartelan su gente
Repartidos distintos, muy cumplidos,
Cada hila de suyo de cien soldados,
Entre una pica y otra las flechas
Que de lejos alcanzan derribados
Bajo la protección de los piqueros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta meter a pica al enemigo.

Si al capitán primero que acometen,
Por fuerza vienen a ser desbaratados,
Tan presto a acuartelarse otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

Garcilaso de la Vega 1-6 pts. 1605? 1871
[illegible] hmp
Arrangement Shelf

and devotion which abide in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to considering greater barrack and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and delighted soldiers, and surrounded the city of Cuzco. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continually besieged, and lived on seeds and herbs. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and men to carry them off as captives. But, being careless over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and men, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villacica, where many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clergy. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well educated. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the great Yuca Yupanqui, and relate the Bills that remain to be said touching his life.

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
longed to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Some- [567]
times captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree [535]
(*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Boucuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:289–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol 728
of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

•728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concerned in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canoes were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canoe planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by Gonzáles de Nájera (1889, pp. 54, 55), Bascuñan (1863, p. 43), Rosales (1877–78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Ota (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 252; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McCafferty, 1932, pp. 27–29.)

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.**—It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latcham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Guinda, 1938, pp. 561, 551, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 30 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hang herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there."

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sweetheart without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 20 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older son sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a bow. The father took a knife and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. He was ever saw him, but he shouted the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old 731
people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that 266
our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat of other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat human."

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Colhuipe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Colchipulli and cultivated land in this way."

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In Colhuipe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepín area, most men do have a deed. A 35-year-old Alepín man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a rulo on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonización in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the pudelche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Pueblos were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

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Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tivo." Camaruka is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camarico" (Moesbach, 1944, p. 35). "They all mean the same," said the cacique of Malleo; "they mean prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the ñillatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the colihue blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the colihue, came in large numbers, and after having eaten the colihue seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the colihue would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the ñillatun.

Formerly the ñillatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the ñillatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the ñillatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the ñillatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Catin Lil, Lolog, Piloll, Chenuel, Kaleufu, and the shores of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the ñillatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kaleufu conducted its last ñillatun under its late cacique, Shaihueke; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Cayén.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the ñillatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kolupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the ñillatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he frose to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the ñillatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

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The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers. [133] [131] [137] [167]

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses. [173] [487] [484] [241] [233]

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast. [311] [233] [131]

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle. [131] [241] [139] [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There [134]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *dillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *dillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help – that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[32] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Felehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

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Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1955).

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There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

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On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

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We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 628 578 intercontinental level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intercontinental embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the communial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

845 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a
● 732 child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on them. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). [847]

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 845

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman
[558] older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents
would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural'
child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons
in those days."

Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the
community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her
parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have
[584] blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the
parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family
was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil;
quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the
baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if
the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually
protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only
one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand;
one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth
from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the
proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the
[847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with
polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child,
and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less
755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it,
left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that
cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something
wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered
lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Argentina

dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 303-304) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 270) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

FOUR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPECIAL DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stammer; one person, hard of hearing since childhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get some of it! That is what they are telling me you will do.
157 And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorceress by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*machitufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *machitufe* in *machitun*. The *machitufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *machitun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[22] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[23] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[24] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[25] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[834] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

without. Yet the Araucanians have not developed the concept of money, and their opportunities to acquire cash are exceedingly limited. As a group they have so little purchasing power that they are merely on the outer fringe of the Chilean financial system. The government lacks the resources to subsidize the Indians in any way whatsoever, and private manufacturers and traders can find little reason for making concessions to such poor customers. Consequently, the natives who cannot buy the things they need are discouraged and dispirited, and the shift in material culture has serious ramifications that result, at least for the time being, in a lowering of efficiency and morale. 177

Another aspect of transition that has a material base but extends into other areas of culture is the matter of drunkenness. Reverend Juan Antinao repeatedly affirmed: "Alcoholism is the curse of the Mapuche." No doubt he was influenced by Christian teachings, but there is much point to his statement in sociologic terms. In times past when a man became drunk, he was among friends and relatives at home or on a friendly reservation. He did not pay money for his liquor, nor did he put into jeopardy much more than his own health and comfort. Nowadays the pattern of drunkenness tends to run along different lines. The favorite drinks are not "home brews" of one sort or another but cheap wines sold in every town and city at numerous establishments that operate with or without legal license. To buy liquor one must pay cash, and when the craving is sufficiently strong a man will resort to all kinds of practices to get funds. He may sell bits of needed equipment, stores of seed or food, standing crops, or unborn animals, and he may even turn to thievery and robbery. Furthermore, while intoxicated, he may go so far as to dispose of his land, a contingency that could not have arisen in the old days. 177 733

A typical example of what may befall a drunken man concerns one of my informants who, in his youth, went into Cholchol with a cart drawn by two fine oxen and loaded with wheat to be milled. He remembers having had a few drinks. The next day, he woke up half-naked under a bridge. Gone were his cart, his wheat, and his bullocks. Similar tales are told of

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

177 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but
● 733 even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unrewarding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one.
[554] Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a *werken;* and if he combined these qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

4:Latcham F-[illegible] (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt ha so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in th history of human society is perhaps the change from a
nomadic to an agricul ural life." This change among the Araucanos was not
brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted
gradually by the race o seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of
life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conqu est brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animal a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owin g to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction f spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that
the results of this tra ffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the
declaration of the Re ublican Government, when there were longer lapses of
peace, it became a luc rative business, and many large fortunes were made by
distilling cheap "firew ter" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this
traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a
few years what the Sp niards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced
the tameless Araucano This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has complete y changed his character and mode of life, an m being
a fierce, untiring, veng ful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless
vagabond, who would s ll land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge
in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic li e as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the
exigencies of the chas demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed
cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they
protected themselves fr om the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely
sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the
present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two l ng plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide.
Now, however, this fas hion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut
off square a little abov the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a
bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite
colour. Formerly, in w arfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and
fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of
the softer skins, using eleless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or
vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [286]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This
was evidently an importe d custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, [177]
who inhabited the easter n slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first.
264 They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males
415 sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *puñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *moté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of *algæ*.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common articleof fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sun-
512 down. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes
[565] among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Larquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-pina-mapu*

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 [49] Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29–32 and 138–68.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ñillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs, or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A[7] gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 153. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

7 [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

553 [603] It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[578] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems [735] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall- [782] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living [769] and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 [861] The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the [428] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 868 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 861 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. [593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

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Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

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The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866, and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195
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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously
[845] noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed
848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen.
145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three
158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted
736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor-
593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Children orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pastoring them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [736]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented [736]
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had yvosna just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this 59
is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation
community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may 591
be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern wears of greater
structural significance than the four variations within the
patrilocal pattern, and uxorilocal residence seems to depend
almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation
system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an [198]
infrequently encountered living arrangement, although pat-
terned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringe- [829]
ment of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine
whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation.
It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his
own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to 591
her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able 736
to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her 602
small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the [613]
one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a
member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to
his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that 587
such women did remarry (i.e. enter another union in which 591
bridepriice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If
they remarried, they remained or, more commonly, remained on
their husbands's reservation and established a new household
with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of
widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does [583]
not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridepriice is paid
for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well 562
as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, 591
at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to 423
women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women [648]
born after registration). While these rights cannot always be
validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned
Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on
their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given
de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear [648]
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [752] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

756 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

• 75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[177] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
683 or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indígenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of [201] the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, 2). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw 754

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 [769] [796]

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first summoned, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had hiccoughed for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chañchañ. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my hiccoughs." In Alepúe a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 752

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 826 755

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an 755

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fiachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master. 775 787 539

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other *wekufe*, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle. 775 787 775 787 522 [578]

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food 776 787 752

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[753] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies. 776 774 821

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huerwas*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherrans*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot. 776 821 [753]

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Auchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguruvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him. 776 [823]

Another god was *Huenillepengi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chenchengi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered 776 753

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pillí* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had resource to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *quepu* or lancet; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *troquitue*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutra*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *ihue*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trones*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gatuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *ralicultrun*, or drum, inside of which are carried small white stones, *lican*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *llaucanyi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *puvileas*, or shrill reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous thus to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

756 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or
753 some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and made to appear as if taken from the sick person. 756 753

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuvu*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was stouter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices." 681 756 753

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office. 756

Paderasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *hueya*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *punus*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians. [838]

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitun* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 681

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father. 682 [562]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ŋillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ŋenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [753]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

787 many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñ flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

[753] 754 All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñ. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

24 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of
794 their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition
628 of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral
[595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga-
[613] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are
613 necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matri-
[582] lateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious
[178] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-
[754] congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super-
[753] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame
[754] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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756 *machi*. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[177] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

•753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a [178] [753] result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [756] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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kul·on). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *koftun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile. 847 [754]

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[5] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[6] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation. 843

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place. 864

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *choyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins. 844

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.

[6] Guevara, 1911, p. 285.

[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

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ADOLESCENCE

Latcham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.[23] Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations. 881

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.[24]

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,[25] but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a trait was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems 841 841 754

[23] Latcham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.
[24] Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekü-en·n*, "caught by the moon," *küyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [842] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[26] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[26] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [584] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

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WITCHCRAFT AND CURING PRACTICES

BELIEF in witchcraft, ever widespread among the Araucanians, is still a pervasive element of their culture.[1] A witch or sorcerer, *kal·ku*, seldom operates individually, but is usually thought to be in league with others of his kind. Each *kal·ku* is supposed to train a youngster in the ways of sorcery, but the novice is sworn to secrecy and seldom practices witchery until he is old. Aged women are particularly apt to be suspected of witchcraft. By native definition, a *kal·ku* is one who deliberately harms or kills a person, generally upon request and payment by an enemy of the victim or else because of jealousy. A witch may or may not be related to the injured party, but he who employs a sorcerer must be prepared, if the victim succumbs, to have one of his own kinfolk die to even the score. In this sense, resort to witchcraft is regarded as a gamble.

A suspected witch was formerly tried before a *loñko* and an assembly of his followers. If the testimony of at least two witnesses or accusers was accepted, the sorcerer was supposed to be slain on the day of the victim's funeral.[2] According to one of the accounts I was given, based on stories a thirty-eight-year-old informant had heard in youth, a guilty witch was tied and dragged by a man on horseback from her home to a spot where a blazing fire had been kindled. She was then beheaded, but to prevent any artful recovery, she was cut into pieces and these were thrown into the fire to be burnt to ashes. If a chief did not want to inflict such severe punishment, he could have the accused witch driven off his territory. Together with her close relatives she would thus be forced to wander from place to place until she found a *loñko* who was willing to accept her and her party. Such a chief might be a distant kinsman, an old friend,

[1] Practically every source dealing with Araucanian culture contains some material on witchcraft and curing. Particularly full accounts that supplement this field report are readily available in Latcham, 1909, pp. 350–53; 1924, pp. 770–822, *et passim;* and Métraux, 1939.

[2] Cf. Molina, 1808, p. 78; and Smith, 1855, p. 237.

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754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renüs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renüs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, mon-
[787] sters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 776 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufü*.[3] *Wekufü* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *choñchoñ*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[3] Latcham (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *huecuvus* ("evil spirits") and *huecuvuyes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *dungum* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* 754
is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that 776
these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popu- 754
lar tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the 754
use of various things associated with heat and light. They are 778
known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufū*, frequently involved in the ex- 754
ercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms 775
signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

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754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[753] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

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of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal-ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death.

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renū* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kūmeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufū* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

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776 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by 754 some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at 756 will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power 756 to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Ngunemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Ngunemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same 774 time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way 776 absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this 821

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Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of theurgists; the *hueuvuye* or sorcerer, the *dunguve* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes. 791 754

The sorcerers were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observations took place were performed by them. They wore woman's dress and their hair long and uncombed; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *hueuvus* (hence their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dunguves* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

After the *hueuvuye* come the diviners or *dunguves*, who are sometimes the acolytes or apprentices of the former, though not generally so. 791

The *dunguves* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or mislaid object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machis* or exorcists. Ventriloquism is used by *hueuvuyes*, *dunguves* and *machis* alike. The *dunguves* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist. 756

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727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*),
754 which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarehue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *conya*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*eurerunyapue*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunemapun alkine cheu melepi huye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Penelelmen chi huye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

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764 articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were
754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its
787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart,
764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The
764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and
578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
631 p. 363), no one caví was subject to any other caví; according to Mariño
622 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to the head of the cabí which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cúga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavís respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-
674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
627 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
●754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaykas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40–59.)

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756 claimed to derive her power directly from ŋᵒnéchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ŋillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ŋillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

756 The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would
● 754 seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

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578 "It would not mean the same." Vile expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants preferred not to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are sex words related to men. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists among common insulting terms "ghost," "dog," and "toad," and, as worst of all, "sorcerer." He directs the reader (1946, p. 729) to Guevara (1911, pp. 50-56) for a list including grosser insults.

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Araucanians, "even in old days." He spoke it in low tones in Araucanian. His wife and daughter murmured displeasure, in fact slight horror. He translated it as meaning, "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that one Mapuche can say to another."

578 152 Murder is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Araucanian woman who was married to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarreling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, so the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Araucanian land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The immediate relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant continued: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not uphold anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

754 Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fields through witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous machi (one of three simultaneous wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the machi was accused of poisoning them.

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many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Queule a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a choñchoñ flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

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All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the choñchoñ. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating 10 pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 278

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indigenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of [201] the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

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796 are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the hens, and the hens are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you see what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no mishap among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the caciques who have left us, and who now see us from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla [about 12 inches in diameter] and a cántaro of mudai. At present the mudai is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spat it into an olla and let it ferment into mudai.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the maqui, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes mudai to the same persons. The mudai which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The machi are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the ŋillatun nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the ŋillatun the machi bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others kiss, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

754 Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a medium (cf. pp. 70, 155). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 124); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medium employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Panguipulli informants knew that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called reniruka.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medium used is the meat of any 4-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried

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in the field. Children everywhere volunteered information which agreed with that already obtained from adults regarding fields that had been ruined by witchcraft. Quoting a 14-year-old Alepúe boy: "They will then search in the field for meat—it is usually wrapped in a rag and can be found. I have helped to look for such a little package. If they find the meat, they hang it over the edge of the fire in the ruka so that it will dry up. This will cause the one who buried it to dry up, also. Others stick it full of needles and lay it in the sun. The one who did the damage then feels the pain of the needles. Soon he begins to feel sick; and soon after that a terrible sickness will come over him which will give him the sensation of needles in his body. His entire body will tremble. If the sun shines, he will go out and stay in the hot sunshine" (something not done by sane persons). A 12-year-old boy, a listener-in, explained: "The kalku can use eggs in place of meat, if he wishes to; but usually meat is used. After the bewitched meat or eggs are in the field for several days, the wheat in that field either turns yellow or shrivels up. If they find the buried meat, they will hang it over the fire and cause the person who did the damage to shrivel up just like the wheat shriveled up. But if the one whose field was injured does not wish to take revenge, but is forgiving, he will throw the meat into a river—people can find out at the machitun who is responsible for the damage; for example, the machi will say that such and such a neighbor is. If the family wants to take revenge, however, it may then decide to hire a kalku to do injury to that neighbor by spoiling his wheat field." "I asked our neighbor, one day," said a non-Araucanian teacher, "why a certain man was losing weight perceptibly. He answered that the man had planted eggs or meat in somebody's wheat field, and that he was now reaping the result of his evil deed. He then told of an old woman near here who was burying eggs and meat in her brother-in-law's land and was caught in the act. The brother-in-law immediately dug up the meat and hung it over the fire. Then the woman took sick with asthma, and began to lose weight; she was sick for two years. By that time the man had pity on his brother (the husband of the woman) and threw the meat into the creek. As the meat took on shape slowly by absorbing water, the woman gradually got better, and finally got well. This happened six years ago [1940]." In Panguipulli area retaliation by shriveling the bewitched meat is not known. A common form of revenge there is to poke two sticks at right angles through one of the eggs found in the field and then to hang the egg over the fire. In consequence the one who did the damage to the field will become blind or have an arm paralyzed.

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754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it
756 is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 115-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of an occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (lleleqkeñ); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *2*). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw 754

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754 but who was like a human, had extraordinary powers. He lived south of here, and persons often went to confer with him regarding sickness. He was talked to from a distance, and answered from there in a strong voice, always. I remember one instance well. The cacique was Chokeri. Either his wife or his sister—I have forgotten which—became very ill. No one knew the cause. So Chokeri sent a messenger to Olul to ascertain the cause. Olul answered that the woman had poison in her blood; they should take her saddle, cut it open, and there find the cause. They did this, and out jumped a big toad. And that was the witchcraft that caused the sickness. They took the toad, threw it into the fire, and roasted it to death. This done, the woman got well. Olul no longer lives. Whoever finds his bones can restore his own health by means of them. I should like very much to find a piece of one, now that I have suffered from a cold for seven weeks; I might get relief."

A 69-year-old woman complained that a jealous man, a neighbor who had powers of witchcraft, had inflicted sickness upon her and her 25-year-old daughter. They were considered rich, whereas the man had only a few possessions. A black vulture had hopped around their yard recently, one they had not seen before. It occurred to them that harm was being done to them. "We were filled with fear," she said. "That night, while we were in bed, there was much loud knocking in all corners of our house. The next day both my daughter and I were sick. We knew then that the black vulture had been sent to make us sick. We were sick for days. One day while we were feeling very sick, we heard the tramping of many, many horses. It sounded as though horses were going into the shack in which we had stored winter feed for our animals. We went out to see. We could neither see nor hear the horses. We knew that old man, our neighbor, had caused many to die in our area, among them my husband, and we thought we were doomed to die, also. No one in all this area knows what antidote to give for the sickness he inflicts."

754 158 Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians who had lived in close association with Araucanians for several generations knew of only one case of a functional type. Another, a woman who had thyroid surgery in very recent years, was said to have sat for hours drawing Araucanian weaving designs in sand while speaking continuously in Araucanian (non-Araucanians in close association with her for years did not know she spoke Araucanian). When mental ill health did occur, it was believed witches had inflicted it. An 80-year-old woman told of a machi whom everyone feared. "I knew him. One day, when I was already a young woman, he took some apples

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from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, 754
went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and 158
where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being burned."

PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by 755
machi who were either both herbalists and sucurers, or only sucurers. 759
"It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

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are going one by one!" It was customary for the cacique to order the sergeant to unearth the vessel at the subsequent ñillatun. "He may find the vessel half emptied," noted Kolupan. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either chau chau took the other half or the dead ate it—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kolupan," I asked, "that the dead ate it?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!" 796

BLACK ART, HOMOSEXUAL, VIRGINS

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (kalku); today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilaquina man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 322). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain is called dano; witchcraft in general is called kalkutun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it. 754

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The kalku would say, 'Why do you hang me? What you accuse me of, I have not done. These people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kolupan told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Chenketta, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his lofche together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Chenketta wanted to find out if there was a kalku among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, once the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his lance upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the kultrun, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a witch, and was burned to death. Chenketta died. His son Llaitatral was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe [683]

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754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatrul did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

776 Solomonkeros, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (renu), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in hobgoblins, which are called anchimallen. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they 787 appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me anchimallen are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kolupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred, like sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'sh, sh, sh,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a kalku, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer sober. Suddenly, we both saw a radal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants sus- 754
pected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ- 763
choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say "Tua, tua, tua." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

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763 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I
787 dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

● 754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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562 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
621 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[572] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 613 [622] [648]

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery. [665] 613 578 [754] [692]

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 178 613 [578] [622] [681] [622]

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED *		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The [527]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous ar-
[583] rangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives
[587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and
[754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 836 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 681 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the 692 national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according 754 to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- 682 der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of 839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this 836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said 628 that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. 754 Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is 178 usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the 628 past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum- 692 stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [754]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628]
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[785] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [776]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

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to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *füllatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obligations to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are supernaturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *weku*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment. 794 613 754

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility. 241 535 [778] [534] [793] [782] 241 791

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring 764 [791] [794] [795]

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
[754] cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem-
[954] blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same caliber in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*Nillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is absolutely immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wenu*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 996
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The *machuns*, for example, characteristically engage 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 787
curing clients; but *machuns* also perform in public healing 796
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revitalization rites 755
(*ngillatuwen*) connected with their own "society."

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1951:29). 121 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites beyond, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publicly for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 955 754.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur 613
under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only 582
regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matri- 613
lateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does 582
not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witch- 754
craft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche [609]
distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which 613
regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, 583
pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving 554
group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during 602
the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on 613
other occasions before and after marriage. 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority 571
and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallaken* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallaken* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan:* to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate ñillen with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

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776 of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that
562 they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of
[754] goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775
769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhue*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*),
622 it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean
177 mode of expression.

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans,

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754.
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling [769]
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran:* strange or alien; *alwe:* spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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754 755 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle, usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away [756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed [177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen into Spanish as manifestations of Satan*, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 775 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the [754] presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, [776] death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa* [764] *l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in [787] the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *halku*.

764 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its 775 spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and 152 formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu ava*, *pu lahu*, *huifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *huifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *ava*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with misery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group denies, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the unencumbered transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *ewen*, I will recapitulate the groups most rapidly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (unrelated and members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. *Other obligating groups are also in attendance.* If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of them. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related household participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineage related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
598 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate *in* funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
613 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
602 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] * This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[579] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually [783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
578 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of local ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the free-wheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of wekufe. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its local and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] more chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-given outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a consider-
[198] tion of the relationship between affinity and enmity, or the
• [754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1960c; 1961) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matri-
000 lateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
62 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

λ I [Errata: see category 118, p. 311, for corrections -- Analyst]

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the description material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent initially but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

machi: Mobilizing the Forces of Good

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death *that people place their faith and trust in a machi. She always* enjoys a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the machi enters the body of Julian, communes with evil is protected by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The machi is the most emotionally active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian characteristic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic gear consists of a kultrun (drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of spiritual significance to the machi), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, sorcery or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. Machi, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kallatun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignette above. In the darkened room, the (should) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw some on the fire and, as contents of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was witchcraft-consultation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced witchcraft against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "demonstrated" power of the *machi*.

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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
683 or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

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756 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not
554 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Forces of Evil

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
• 794 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapuche-land, and it is of great daily concern to the people. 114 754

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its *kalku*. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more *kalku* than *machi*.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some *kalku* are more powerful than others. These are the *kalku* of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people connive for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional *kalku*. These almost defy identification by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful *kalku* are women and that among these are some *machi* who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional *machi*'s pole outside their house. 754 [756]

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are *kalku*, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, *kalku* take these recruits to their *refu*, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a *machi*, the feeling of

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754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 776 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *choncho*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[a] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

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The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* ceremony by way of giving thanks to *Ngenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[a] This poses a problem with regard to sorcery by witchcraft. If sorcery is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with regard to function, dysfunction, anomy?

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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others. 578 626 754.1

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community. 538 754 [182]

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these 754 578 [576]

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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
62 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
756 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *rehu*, her haunt,

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *refu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku*
are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches,
corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs,
frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *refu* with impunity. If a *machi* or
anyone else stumbled upon the *refu*, they would be captured
and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted
into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal
witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were
kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have
been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events
are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually,
some person might be associated with these strange happenings,
either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or
because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched
for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a
sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is
brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the
level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will
be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community
continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may
be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the
hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being
practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a
good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted
from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living
in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have
been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation.
This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who
try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because
they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation,
also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live unethically (even for obvious eco-

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683 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

754 156 578 591

The Sisterhoods

754 756 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring machi were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a [172] life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 Kalku are believed to gather in rehu, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as elsewhere, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition [184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *rewe*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *rewe* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *rewe* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships. 754 [184]

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never lie," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the modified opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, diviners form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of ledicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group 756 [178]

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their
[755] members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillentun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least
•754 in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and
182 freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what *individuals* and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings. 121 182 754

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *diablo* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *brujo* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandero* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately. 754 829 648

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from 754 [128]

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalence of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 30 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult

[756] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Misdemeanors short of murder is the thing which continually engage the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the mostly malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*dinero*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have witchcraft in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other considerate mostly have the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only ethnically referred to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have some local and extralocal widows, perhaps more local than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harassed, they are indulged, shunned, ridiculed. Part of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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000 community are not dealt with more humbly. A witch is a terrible
764 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
713 the entire community.
621

764 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
713 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I knew of no case in which murder by witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's sorcery within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a hulfu to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover, and one's sorcery, if he does not avenge himself, cannot be identified easily. Elders can seldom be certain of his sorcery in such cases, have tried to subside as one's fortune improves.

764 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
713 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
613 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one
685 member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
690 satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
648 appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

764 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sublinea-
713 ges—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly
578 integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a hulfu or an extended family group. The greatest danger to sublineage solidarity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
(473) subsistence (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it
(721)
(581)

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for discension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and counterchargs of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and dramatic personae of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involve a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embarrassments by downplaying the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential lineage, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might likewise incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that [626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among 754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious 754 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to 593 gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause 593 another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche 642 land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous [178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal form of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first ostensibly with their own wives, pretending to discuss them of their actions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumptions) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been satisfied—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a clearly active principal. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation company. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated consistent lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own lineagroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder by witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (no two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to

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754 intercommunitional level, fear of witchcraft seems to
621 involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related
578 through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not.
However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to
exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the
community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to
this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with
strangers—or individual matters—also give rise to fears that
sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are
usually short lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through mar-
621 riages contracted several generations ago and then not subse-
578 quently renewed are those more often involved in mutual
accusations of murder by witchcraft than any other segments of
Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own kelle.
These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery.
Actually, though, the more petty, condemnatory cases which
occur between intermarital women are generally more troubles-
some, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involv-
ing as they do consanguinals. Intercommunitional embroilments,
when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community
existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution
of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While
placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation
easily serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these
grounds, internal hatreds which involve minor accusations of
sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude,
then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either
disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local
groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is
621 not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific
578 ends. Rather it is attributed to the force of evil and a failure on
782 the part of the community to make proper supplication of their
[illegible] ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During times of general
[illegible] crisis, people rally in fiddlers rites, if this is feasible, or prepare
for fiddlers when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable
machi of the Tirunco region complained to me that during a
period of general trouble the people came to her only for
individual cures and held expensive fiddlers to meet the general

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754 782 785 787 [787]

difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased, since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, so one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to control relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *mishki*, *trafkin*, and *kowkatun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Mishki*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *mishki* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *mishki*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or subhousehold. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people frequently involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unmistakable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *kowkatun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Kowkatun*, a formal and public (during different ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *kowkatun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

756 772 754 [431] [782]

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petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571

A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

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A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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121 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
772 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
779 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
772 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
754 this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation
756 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
772 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
812 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorceress by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimonte*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations. 842 [847]

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakache* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman." 842 755 [278]

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *ankafe nontru adonte* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelahuche*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son. 842

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakache* may also be known as *wakawaki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 204) identified as *Pappobrus sagittatus* Sw.; family Gramineae.

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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

newenmapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[3] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[5] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[6] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche,

[3] Cf. Latham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[5] The Spanish term is *pategua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[6] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat 756
him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, con- 757
ferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty 756
people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of 755
the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul-truñ*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yapew* or *kefafaw*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

[10] Hosse, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of *machitun*s consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114–40; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 350–70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340–48; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303–21.

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tient, massages his body with fragrant leaves, sucks out, *fochañ*, whatever infection she discovers (or pretends to find), gives him a drink of herbs, and prepares to divine the exact cause and nature of his ailment and the cure for it. This is the great climax of the *machitun*. By way of preparation the shaman drinks copiously of ripened urine, *fai willeñ*, mixed with a solution of ginger and cinnamon, and gives some to her helpers. She then sings and beats the *kul·trañ* more and more vigorously, jumps over the patient from one side to the other, and works herself up to such a pitch that she is supposed to go out of her mind and become possessed, *kūimin*. Thereupon, she begins to speak with the voice of the spirit that has possessed her but never does she reveal the name of her familiar.

At this stage another person engages her in conversation. He is an experienced and trustworthy man, who was previously selected for the task. He is called *duñumachife* ("interlocutor" or "interpreter"), and he must be a good speaker and endowed with a powerful memory. This man asks many leading questions of the entranced *machi*, cleverly urging her to tell as much as possible about the case, and remembering exactly what she says. After a time the *machi* stops talking and begins a violent dance. Very often she suddenly rushes out of the house to climb up and down her *rewe*.[12] She then dances around the pole, accompanied by a sturdy young man whose special function it is to catch her when she finally collapses and to hold her tightly until she returns to normal. *Machis* are said to select as special assistants men whose embrace will give them pleasure.

Members of the patient's household now provide the *machi* with water so that she may wash and restore herself. When she is ready, the *duñumachife* relates verbatim all that was said while she was possessed. The *machi* pays careful heed, explains the meaning of her remarks, tells what she has learned from the spirit's statements, and prescribes such remedies and treatment as she considers necessary. This concludes the *ma-*

[12] If a *machi* cures at home she uses her own *rewe*, but if she works at the patient's house, she generally orders a duplicate post to be erected in his yard.

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chitun, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampines*, who work with herbs; *nilwes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[18]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and poderasty was common.[14] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[15] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

[18] Molina, 1808, II: 52.

[14] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Mosbach, 1930, pp. 330–49.

[15] Cf. Hosse, 1939, p. 113.

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Pangipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 30 years in the area told that along the beach of Pangipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 293

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bombilla apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (ñtue) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal. 756

Always in April the machi here (Colhuipe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a trueo. My father will not allow us (ahsin) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 10 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and feet of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two canelo trees. These trees were decorated with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off its bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of bare skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yabonin. The machi stayed under it nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultrun and shook the wedu, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihues are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like palo and saplings, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the palo be old. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepín area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepín Inalf, a 70-year-old woman. In Pangipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Colhuipe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is 755

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755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had [164] one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihue stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultrun (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

755 (5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally,
778 however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green bendlike one, called llanka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llanka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

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you. If you lay yourself upon the roof of the house, I shall see you. Even should you ascend nearly to heaven, still I shall see you.'" 755

(8) A prolonged inquiry into the cause of the sickness and the condition of the patient.

(9) Yelling by all present. "All persons who attend the machitun walk around the ruka and cry out with all their might. This is done to chase the spirits of sickness away." It is not a palm-to-mouth cry, "it is just yelling loud!"

(10) Performing the peron (dance). "Everybody who has come to assist with his presence must dance."

(11) Rubbing the patient's body either with the plant or its extracted juice. The plant is heated over a fire until limp. Plants used are: Palqui; malva del monte; laurel cornin; pedwe. "The machi used pedwe in rubbing my brother; I saw it," said a 14-year-old schoolgirl who had collected a specimen. "Yes," added the 7-year-old brother, "I remember when the machi rubbed me with it." Quilmay; chillim; chaura. "I saw my mother being rubbed down with chaura by a machi," said a 10-year-old girl. Ortiga menor; traftrafell. "I saw the machi rub my mother with traftrafell when she was sick," said a 12-year-old boy. "My mother looked at this [specimen] and said it was the same as that which the machi had used." Wautro. A 12-year-old boy who collected a specimen in an open space on hills noted, "I collected some of these plants for the machi in the same place last year [1945] when she treated my mother. The machi held the leaves close to the fire until they were soft, and then rubbed the sap on my mother. I saw her do this. I had forgotten what plant she had used, but my father told me yesterday. I showed him this one [specimen] and he said it is the correct one." Romerillo; qimawe; paico; fellfellco (not identified; found in very wet places, usually floating on water); ñuico del diablo.

(12) Oral medications. Of plants for oral medication pahil was the only one known to informants. The juice of its stem was mixed with a small quantity of water to make the patient vomit.

(13) Paying the machi, sometimes in advance, the customary or requested payments of money and four-footed animals. Araucanian informants thought that a machi was well paid for his treatment of the sick. "The machi who treated the sick woman whom you saw yesterday demanded 600 pesos and several heads of cattle in payment —and her family is a poor family, something the machi knows." In such cases relatives and friends who attend a machitun often contribute money to help defray the expense. "Chileans have said to me that the machi sends sickness to people so that he will be called to make the machitun for which he will then be well paid."

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An occasional machi employs bloodletting. He makes a slight incision in the area of pain and lets blood flow. An occasional machi sucks the spirit of sickness out either through the skin of the area of pain or through a small abrasion made by him in the skin.

A Pangipulli woman in her thirties who had no faith in machi related the following:

My father, as a young man, was very curious. He went to attend a machitun. The machi, a woman, after sucking the sick person at the place of pain for a long time, drew from her mouth a long snake and put it into a pottery vessel. Then she asked, "Are there two brave young men present?" My father and another young man stepped forward. By this time she had tied a cover very securely over the opening of the vessel. She handed the vessel to the young men and told them to go to a place some distance from there, to build a fire there, and to burn the vessel with its contents. Under no condition were they to look into that vessel; if they did so, the evil spirit of sickness would climb out of it. The young men left with the vessel. When they were out of sight my father said, "Let us look in!" But the other man said, "Under no conditions will I look into that vessel"—he was very much afraid of it. Then my father hesitated, too. Instead of looking into it, my father dashed it against a stone and broke it. Both men ran away. After a short time they went back and examined everything carefully. They found the snake to be cachayuye, a Pacific sign, so prepared as to look exactly like a snake's head at one end. Being wet with saliva, made it look gray like a snake. "It takes an intelligent, sly person to be a machi," my father has often said; "a stupid person could never be one." Another time, my father saw a machi going about in the woods stripping bark off trees; she was looking for larvae or worms. Many she discarded, but some she kept—probably unusual ones. Later, while treating a sick person, she produced these, pretending they were the result of her sucking. When I was still a child, my father told me and also his other children never to believe in the powers of the machi; that if we examined their performances, we would find them to be humbug. My father has reported to Chilean authorities the outrageous fee charged by the machi for their machitun. In consequence one machi was in prison until her fine was paid. If the machi had true power to injure another, this one would most certainly have injured my father. My father said no injury has even been done to him.

The following is a complete account of a machitun as conducted in Alepín area:

Somebody in a ruka is sick; a man leaves from there with two horses. When he arrives at the machi's place, he goes into the ruka immediately, takes a bench, and sits down very close to the machi. [This is contrary to the custom which requires an invitation to be seated.] The two shake hands in a friendly way. The man then looks the machi straight in the face and begins to talk to him; he begs him to come to perform a machitun over his sick relative. The machi looks directly at the man, too, listens for a little while, and then turns away from him—but he is still listening. The man continues to talk using all the friendly words he knows, coaxing the machi to come with him; he uses expressions like these, "You are the only man who can help my sick relative. You

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want come to help." After each flattery the machi again faces him and listens to him. Then the machi gets ready and goes with him. Each accepts one of the horses the man brought, and the two ride along in silence. They arrive at the ruka of the sick person. Before entering, they erect a pole somewhat to the side of the door—a pole considerably higher than the door; usually it is a sapling of some kind that is handy. At the upper end of the pole, a white cloth [the machi's banner] is tied. Then the machi enters the ruka and sits in a place prepared for him. Next, everyone present that has the ability to speak well takes turns to sit alongside the machi and begs him to do all he can to save the sick person—each does so singly. Each person tells the machi that he believes that he (the machi) is the only one who can help this family in its grief. All must ask for this: the father and the mother, every brother, even though there are six or more, and all persons present, even if there be twenty. The machi does not turn away from them, but listens each one and listens attentively. He says to each one, "With chau's (God's) help, we shall see what we can do." Then some person from outside the household, who speaks Mapuche well, acts as a liaison between the sick person and the machi. [The informant's brother had died during the previous year, 1945; since there was no mourning in attendance, the informant had acted as the liaison.] Above the head of the sick person, in line with the body, a symmetrically shaped top end of a canelo is planted; at the foot end, either laurel or maqui, depending on the choice of the machi. Along the full length of the patient are wooden dishes filled with a selection of twigs—the choice is again that of the performing machi. Always there is a variety; and always among them are twigs of several plants that have a very abundant odor and of one that grows in cracks. Persons present also hold armfuls of the twigs. All is now in readiness. The machi begins to beat his kultrung, and sings his first song. He sings four appropriate songs to four specific tunes at four different times. The wording of the songs is devilish; and no one but a machi is allowed to sing them. It is at this point that the machi goes into a trance. His entire body trembles; his face changes so that he no longer resembles himself, nor would he be known by others.—He looks like this until he goes out to the hearth at the end of the machitun, when he again looks like himself.—From now on he knows nothing that happens until he returns to himself. It is for this reason that he needs the liaison: it is the duty of the liaison to take notice of all that happens and later to tell the machi about it. The machi now sings his second song and beats his kultrung, while he sits alongside the patient. At intervals, often during the ceremonies, he leaps about the patient, first on his knees, then on his feet; and then he jumps onto hot coals in the fireplace—he is barefooted but does not burn his feet. Then he takes from the fireplace a burning stick of wood, like a small branch of a tree, and brandishes it in circles while walking around the outside of the ruka first and then around the ruka on the inside. After this he takes glowing coals from the fireplace and drops them on the ground wherever no one is standing. Soon he drops some on the sheep pelts that cover the sick person. (The fur side is down, as always when a sheep pelt is used as covering.) Others stand by with brooms ready to sweep the hot coals off as soon as they are dropped on the pelts. Next, to intimidate the devil of sickness in the person, the machi takes a branch of canelo in one hand and a big knife in the other, and stands alongside the sick person. Then he takes his kultrung and sings a third song. In between the machi calls for certain specific twigs from those with armfuls of them, which these hand to him. And now

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355 comes the same amount. The machi tells the people, through the Inkona, how serious the condition of the sick person is; he tells that the sickness begins at such a time, that it is now at its height, or will be then, or then. He then indicates who caused the sickness. He mentions no names nor describes the person in any way, but he points with much emphasis in a direction and says, "That is the direction in which the one lives who is the cause of this sickness." Every one is amazed. After that, the machi tells whether the patient will recover or not. Sometimes what he says comes true; sometimes not. This conversation has taken about a half hour. Now he takes his wand and shakes it while he kneels at the side of the sick person. The sick person strips himself, or if too sick, is stripped of all his clothes. Then the machi rubs the body from head to foot with twigs while he sings his fourth song. All this takes about an hour. And this is consultation, especially if the machi is a man and the patient a woman, or vice versa. (I did not tell you this during yesterday's interview because I was ashamed of it as a practice of my people. But after I got home, I thought about it, and I decided that I should tell it. Once I saw a motion picture in which the Pygmies of Africa knelt before their chief while a great thunderstorm was raging. I decided that since these people were willing to have their ways written up just as they are, and since the condition is our way of doing, the truth should be told; and so now I have told it to you. But to continue.) The machi now rises from his knees and again talks to the Inkona predicting that if the sick person has not improved in five—or maybe four—days, that he will not get well. Then he turns to all persons present and says to them that they must help him, so that the person will get well. After that he hops to where the pole with the banner is and comes out of his trance.—While in his trance, he is like a man who is intoxicated: he loses his faculties of mind and says and does things that he knows nothing about when he comes to; others must tell them to him. He drinks nothing intoxicating at any time.—He now walks into the ruka and sits down near the Inkona—he is like an ordinary man now; just like the other people that are there. Now the Inkona must tell him all that he (the machi) said while he was possessed by the devil.—I know all this because I have been the Inkona several times. If it were not for the sake of my relatives who ask this of me as a favor, I would never attend a consultation; the whole thing is repulsive to my nature.—After the machi has heard all that the Inkona has to tell, he says, "It is all very well." Then the head of the house will say to the machi, "If the patient recovers, we shall pay you." This will be whatever they had decided to give him, maybe ten or ten or more pesos. Very seldom does a machi specify the sum. This is true for all machi in the area [Alapin], except for one woman. If the patient does not recover, the machi is given only 50 pesos. This is to pay for his efforts, his time, and the distance he traveled. If the people have no money, they give him an animal. The consultation begins just before sunset, and lasts until nearly midnight. Some machi tell the people that assist by their presence to sleep then, but one in Maipulihue will not let them sleep. If the people do sleep, they are awakened long before sunrise and the same ceremony is repeated; it usually ends after the sun is somewhat above the horizon. By the time it has ended a young calf has been slaughtered and meat and tortillas prepared. The machi and all those who helped are fed. Half of the calf, however, the machi takes with him and also at least two, if not three, big-sized tortillas. Then everyone leaves for home. One man accompanies the machi; there is no ceremonial leave-taking by the machi. No conversation is carried on between

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the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first commanded, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had hiccoughed for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chañchañ. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my hiccoughs." In Alepúe a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 752

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 826 755

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an 755

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355 herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

355 Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of hardier plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

278 The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian
757 herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepín area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Avellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in grazing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Chileans had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

——— Chillías, collected close to brooks in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

——— Chuhiri, found in pastureland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Esparto, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Fucsia, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Lingue. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

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from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, 754
went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and
where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. 158
One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being harmed."

PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by 755
machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. 759
"It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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755 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are
759 often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional
[826] plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

278 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies.
757 Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[993] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[785] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. There- 796
fore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (fiekurewen) connected with their own "society."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29). 121 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 755. 754

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
•755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are [illegible]ven supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the l[illegible] ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. [illegible]ttempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body [illegible]uid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*). 756 [534] [178]

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe. 756 787 [198] 756 [789] [756] [823]

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance. 755 756

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi- 756 [178] [462]

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [752] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

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756 845 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] [554] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and [197] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams •755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
755 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
159 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated
756 form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
787 way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a
[553] dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

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761 787 [763]

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

75 761

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

75

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

123 755 754 [198]

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114 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There
178 are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear
462 in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on
756 this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

17 According to the best documented sources dealing with the
756 events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach
462 and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many
[755] female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
79 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

954 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [155] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their
• [155] members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipuran* (whence the Spanish, *bailes de machi*) or *pillentun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *tukuwewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipuran* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregating, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expansion of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipuran* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Teltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipuran* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 754 182 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologized, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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T 164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the continued illness of Graviel and the others. Towards evening A 755 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then retired.

A 173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Meña, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked an armed man.

A 431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintuhual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

1: Titiev
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SG4 Araucanians SG4

[For participation of the machi (shaman) in organized ceremonials, see category 116, pp. 130-140.]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

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of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If 754
the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's 754
narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. 756
Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal·ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death. [763]

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renū* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kūmeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufū* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

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CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, conferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul·truñ*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yapen* or *kefafan*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

[10] Housse, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of *machituns* consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114–40; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 350–70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340–48; and Housse, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303–21.

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755

tient, massages his body with fragrant leaves, sucks out, *fochañ*, whatever infection she discovers (or pretends to find), gives him a drink of herbs, and prepares to divine the exact cause and nature of his ailment and the cure for it. This is the great climax of the *machitun*. By way of preparation the shaman drinks copiously of ripened urine, *fai willeñ*, mixed with a solution of ginger and cinnamon, and gives some to her helpers. She then sings and beats the *kul·truñ* more and more vigorously, jumps over the patient from one side to the other, and works herself up to such a pitch that she is supposed to go out of her mind and become possessed, *küimin*. Thereupon, she begins to speak with the voice of the spirit that has possessed her but never does she reveal the name of her familiar.

At this stage another person engages her in conversation. He is an experienced and trustworthy man, who was previously selected for the task. He is called *duñumachife* ("interlocutor" or "interpreter"), and he must be a good speaker and endowed with a powerful memory. This man asks many leading questions of the entranced *machi*, cleverly urging her to tell as much as possible about the case, and remembering exactly what she says. After a time the *machi* stops talking and begins a violent dance. Very often she suddenly rushes out of the house to climb up and down her *rewe*.[12] She then dances around the pole, accompanied by a sturdy young man whose special function it is to catch her when she finally collapses and to hold her tightly until she returns to normal. *Machis* are said to select as special assistants men whose embrace will give them pleasure.

Members of the patient's household now provide the *machi* with water so that she may wash and restore herself. When she is ready, the *duñumachife* relates verbatim all that was said while she was possessed. The *machi* pays careful heed, explains the meaning of her remarks, tells what she has learned from the spirit's statements, and prescribes such remedies and treatment as she considers necessary. This concludes the *ma-*

[12] If a *machi* cures at home she uses her own *rewe*, but if she works at the patient's house, she generally orders a duplicate post to be erected in his yard.

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chitun, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control. 756 755 [465]

All *machituns* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampives*, who work with herbs; *vileus*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[13]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[14] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[15] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely 756 838 [143]

[13] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[14] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Moesbach, 1930, pp. 330–49.

[15] Cf. Housse, 1939, p. 113.

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756 838 that they are homosexuals. For all that, their services are much in demand, and many natives regard them as more efficient than are women. Nevertheless, the great majority of contemporary *machis* are women who seem to be sexually normal.[16] They marry, bear children, care for their households, and follow the usual feminine occupations, except when engaged in professional activities. A suggestion of homosexuality is revealed in their relations with novices and assistants, and whispers of adultery during *machituns* are not uncommon, but the older pattern of marked sexual abnormality no longer prevails.

756 The person who becomes a *machi* must have a strong will and character, partly because of the danger implied in the close conceptual link of witch and shaman, and partly because of the long and arduous training program. Many young women deliberately avoid all *machis*, and so difficult has it become to secure recruits that established practitioners may resort to subtle threats in order to get newcomers to join their ranks. If they meet a likely girl who is the descendant of a former *machi*, they may tell her that she is going to sicken and die unless she takes up the profession. More commonly, especially if a young, single woman becomes a patient, a *machi* may tell her that she cannot recover unless she agrees to serve as an apprentice after her cure. Coercion is not necessarily employed in all cases. Some women voluntarily apply for training, presumably because of the high fees they may earn. Another class of recruits includes people who have had narrow escapes from death by lightning. There is a belief that sometimes a frightened woman faints during a severe thunderstorm and finds on recovery that she has acquired the knowledge and power to be a *machi*.[17] If she decides to accept the call, she is supposed to be superior to an ordinary curer.

[16] Compare the independently made summary of the transition from male to female *machis* in Cooper, 1946, p. 750.

[17] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 750): "A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her."

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TRAINING A NEW MACHI

When, in one way or another, a young woman decides to become a *machi*, she offers her services to an experienced and well-known practitioner. Since every highly regarded *machi* has need for one or two assistants, arrangements are usually readily made. The novice goes to live with her tutor for a period of a year or more, during which they work and sleep together. Whether or not they actually enjoy homosexual relations is uncertain. From her tutor the acolyte learns how to diagnose ailments, how to identify medicinal plants, what preparations to make in curing various diseases, how to play the *kul-truñ* and shake gourd rattles, how to communicate with spirits by singing, praying, and dancing, and finally, how to become possessed and to speak with the voice of a spirit. As she acquires these accomplishments the neophyte assists her tutor at *machituns* and *ñillatuns*, and when she has mastered all the required lore, she prepares to give a public demonstration of her skill. This professional debut is known as *machiluwn*, and at its completion the novice emerges as a full-fledged *machi*, ready to practice in her own right. 756

The *machiluwn* centers about the dedication of a new *rewe*. Attention has already been called to the fact that the *rewe* is the visible sign of a practicing *machi*. It is a stout post or tree trunk, with several steps cut into one side, and it culminates at the top in a small, flat platform. Every active *machi* has a *rewe* planted in the ground before her house. It is set at an angle, and cinnamon and other branches are usually affixed to the upper end (Pl. VII, Fig. 2). Occasionally, a *rewe* has the semblance of a face carved above the last step (Pl. X, Fig. 1). At her death, a *machi*'s *rewe* is brought to the cemetery and placed at the foot of her grave (Pl. X, Fig. 1). When a novice is ready to commence her own career, her male relatives prepare a *rewe* for her, and her tutor sets a date and invites guests to observe the ceremony accompanying its erection.

To some extent the procedure of a *machiluwn* follows the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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756 [778] pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *cherufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul·truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

756 796 Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess. Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul·truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kuretun* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi's* first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night. Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[22] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[23]

756 ● 796 [782]

[22] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi's* house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[23] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

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Not many changes have been introduced into the contemporary version of *chueca*. It is still the favorite sport of men, and good players are held in esteem. No longer, however, can men devote themselves as completely to sports as was once the case. Because of the pressure of farming duties, hockey games are seldom played except in the late fall, between the end of the summer harvest and the maturing of the winter crops. The "little summer of Saint John" is a good season for games and Sunday is a favorite day. In communities where Christian influence is strong games are often played after services. No longer, too, are matches allowed to last indefinitely. By agreement contests are generally limited to stipulated time periods, as, for example, two 30-minute halves, between which players rest and change sides. All goals count one point, and the team which has the higher score is the winner. 526

Nowadays, players select their own captain,[14] usually picking the best man of the group, who serves as center. Around the center are clustered the fleetest runners and strongest competitors, while the less skillful are spread toward the goals. Substitutions are permitted if a player tires or is hurt. Older men and boys watch from the side lines and shout encouragement to their favorite team. Spectators usually carry their hockey sticks along, with which they gleefully return the ball when it goes out of bounds. Once in a while a number of elderly men and boys are permitted to join teams of young adults, either for fun or for practice. Matches are most commonly played between factions of the same reservation, but more excitement and betting occur in games between picked teams from two reductions. A contest of this sort, representing a sort of championship event, takes place annually in Cholchol in [541] conjunction with Chile's Independence Day on September 18. On this occasion, I was told, rival *machis* hold ceremonies to help their sides win, and during the progress of a match they [756] pronounce spells to call the ball across the opposing goal line.[15]

[14] There is a possibility that *loñkos* formerly selected team captains.
[15] Examples of hockey songs may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 332–34.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

796 up the ceremony altogether. There is no consensus, either, with respect to the appropriate time for these events, although a slight preference is noticed for dates in the fall when the moon is full.

●756 796 Even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi* there was no agreement among early writers: "Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *ñillatun* rite. And Robles Rodriguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *ñillatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being."[19] Whatever may have been the situation in other days or other parts of Chile, it may be categorically stated that *machis* invariably play key parts in the *ñillatun* observances now held in the vicinity of Cholchol.

796 A further difficulty in treating of the *ñillatun* stems from the lack of standardization. Details of performance vary widely, depending on the time and place of the ceremony, the wishes and instructions of the *machi* in charge, and whether the main objective is to give thanks or plead for help. To illustrate some of the differences and to bring out the complexity of the rituals, accounts will be given of two celebrations which I had the opportunity of observing.[20]

THE ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, the Reverend Harry Donaldson and I rode horseback from Cholchol to watch a *ñillatun* ceremony at Coigue. We had been invited by Ramón Chihuaicura, who conducts the mission school in Coigue, and the occasion was rather special as a new field was to be dedicated. After resting and taking yerba maté with our host, we proceeded to the schoolroom in which there was a large, white wooden cross, inscribed in Spanish on the crossarm with a verse from Matthew 11:28. The lettering was in green, and just be-

[19] Cooper, 1946, p. 752.

[20] Contrast the general summary of events in Cooper (1946, p. 743) with the two descriptions that follow.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VII

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FIG. 1. The home of the *machi* at Cautinche. Her nonprofessional status is indicated by the absence of a *rewe*. Only the poles in the middle ground reveal her calling.

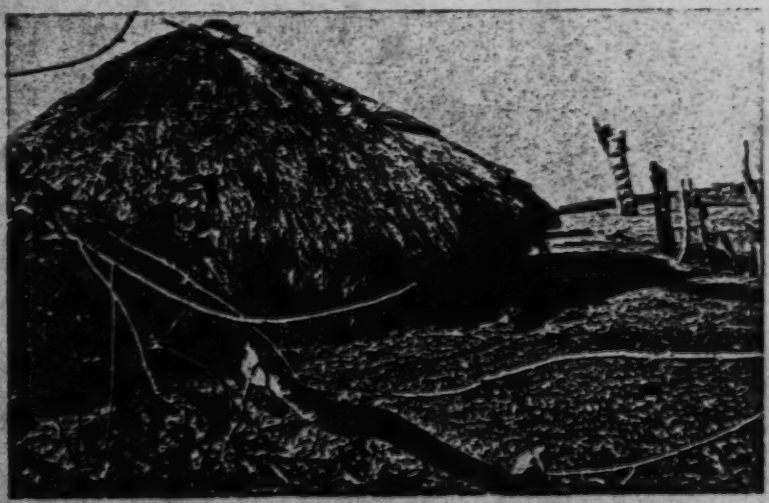

FIG. 2. The home of a Carrarriñe *machi*. The *rewe*, surmounted by twigs of sacred trees, is set at an angle before the *ruka*.

[end plate 7]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VIII

756

(Rudy Hirsch photograph)

A *machi* climbing her *rewe*. The *machi* holds a *kul·trufi* and drumstick. Her *kul·trufi* is decorated with traditional markings.

[end plate 8]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IX

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FIG. 1. A male *machi* and two assistants. The one at the left holds a small gourd rattle in each hand. J. M. Collío identified the *machi* as a hermaphrodite nicknamed Alamo.

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FIG. 2. Juan Levin ("Sekuta") Paineo playing a *llollkin* of his own make at Carrarriñe. The pail of water enabled him to clear his instrument.

[end plate 9]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE X

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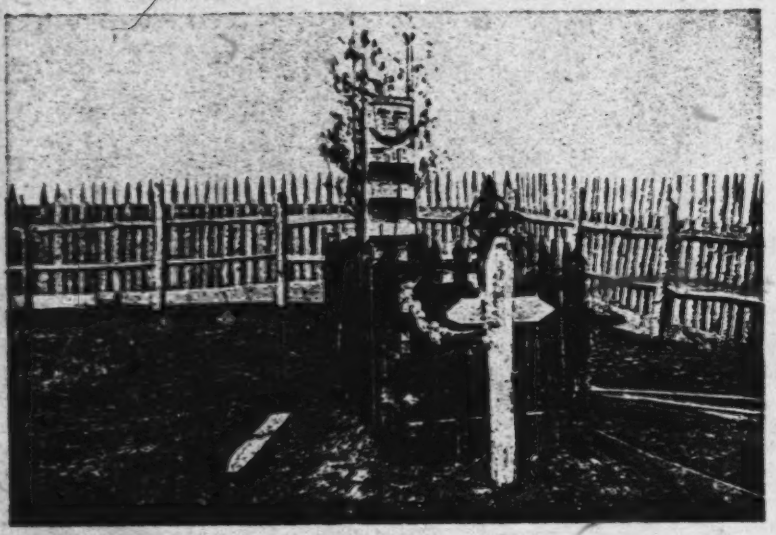

FIG. 1. A *machi's* grave in the Malalche cemetery.

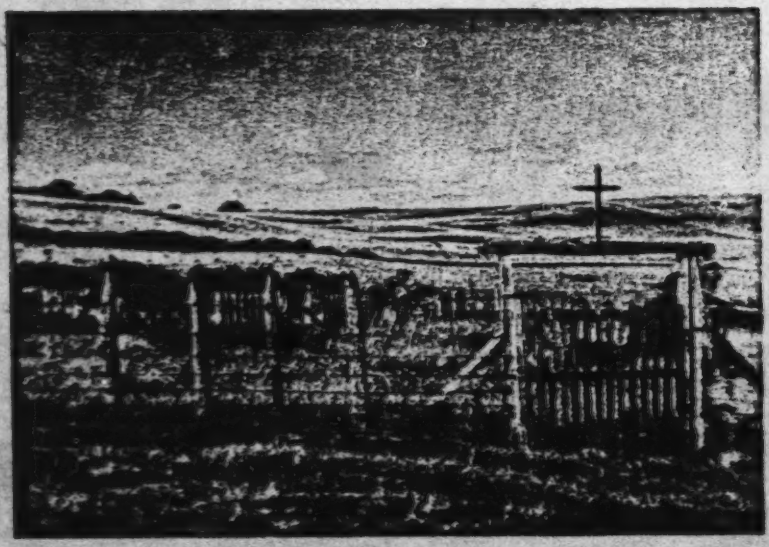

FIG. 2. The original cemetery at Cautinche. Although no Christian was ever buried here, the entrance is marked with a cross.

[end plate 10]

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE

533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

[756]

[4] Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5] For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6] The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

4: Latcham SG4 Araucanians SG4
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[For role of the machi (shaman) in divining witchcraft, see category 116, pp. 365-368.]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

000 776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Ngunemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Ngunemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

774 776 821

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of theurgists; the *huecuvuye* or sorcerer, the *dunguve* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes. 791 754

The sorcerers were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observations took place were performed by them. They wore woman's dress and their hair long and uncombed; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *huecuvus* (hence their name) over which their arts gave them certain powers, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dunguves* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

After the *huecuvuyes* come the diviners or *dunguves*, who are sometimes the acolytes or apprentices of the former, though not generally so. 791

The *dunguves* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or mislaid object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machis* or exorcists. Ventriloquism is used by *huecuvuyes*, *dunguves* and *machis* alike. The *dunguves* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist. 756

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established *machi*. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had resource to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *queupu* or lancet; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *troquitue*, a small three-cornered stone which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutra*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *ihue*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the *machi* expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *troncu*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gatuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no *machi* begins his operations, is the *ralicultrun*, or drum, inside of which are carried small white stones, *lican*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The *machis* are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *llaucanyi*. During the greater part of the *machitun*, or healing, they play on *puvilcas*, or shrill reed pipes, while the *machi* beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous thus to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own ministers or servants.

756 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or
753 some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and made to appear as if taken from the sick person. 756 753

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuvu*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was stouter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices." 681 756 753

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office. 756

Paderasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *hueya*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *punus*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians. [838]

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitun* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 681

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father. 682 [562]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ;* the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu.* 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *huecuvuyes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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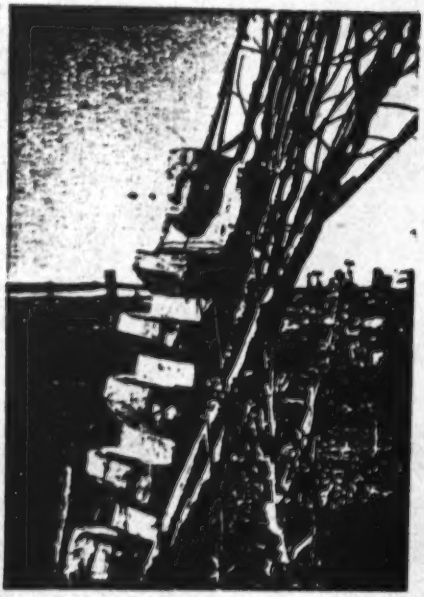

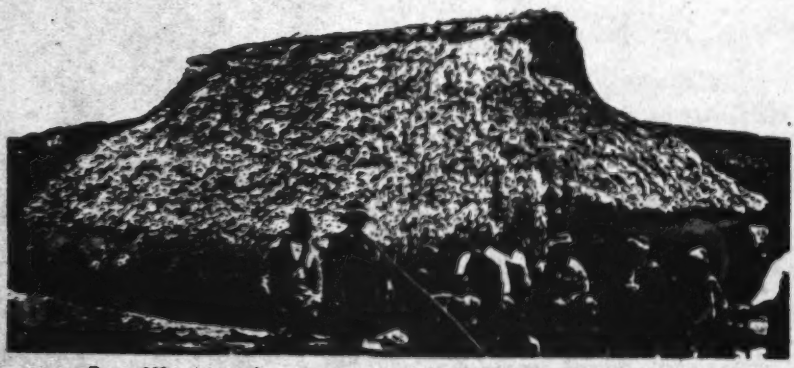

PLATE 158.—Araucanian graves, rewe, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rewe, or machi's ladder. *Bottom: Mapuche* dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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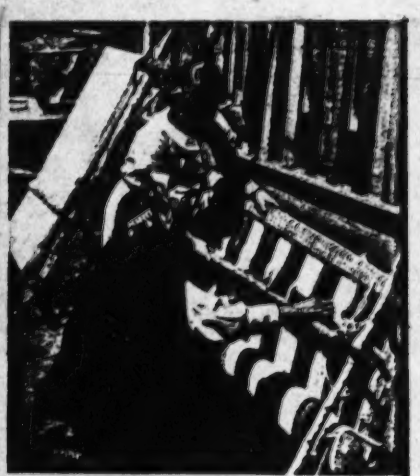

PLATE 156.—**Araucanian Indians.** *Top (left): Mapuche* female shaman. *Top (right): Mapuche* woman weaving. (Courtesy Grace Line.) Bottom: *Mapuche* girl. (After Looser, 1927, opp. p. 3.)

[p. 734 D]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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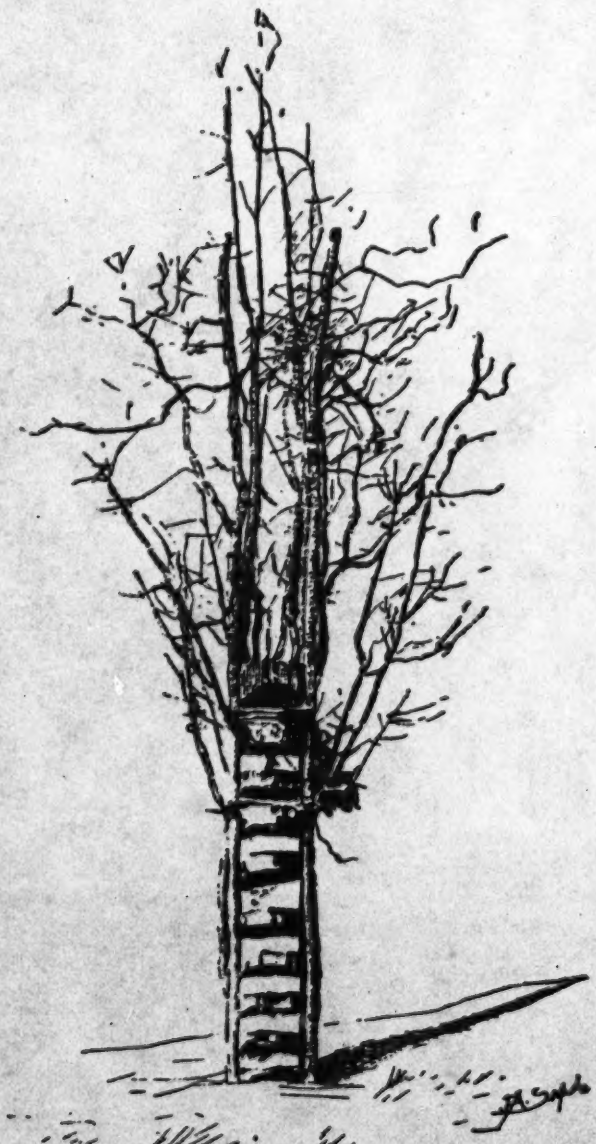

FIGURE 83.—A *Mapuche* rewe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

● 756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
[778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos: Félix

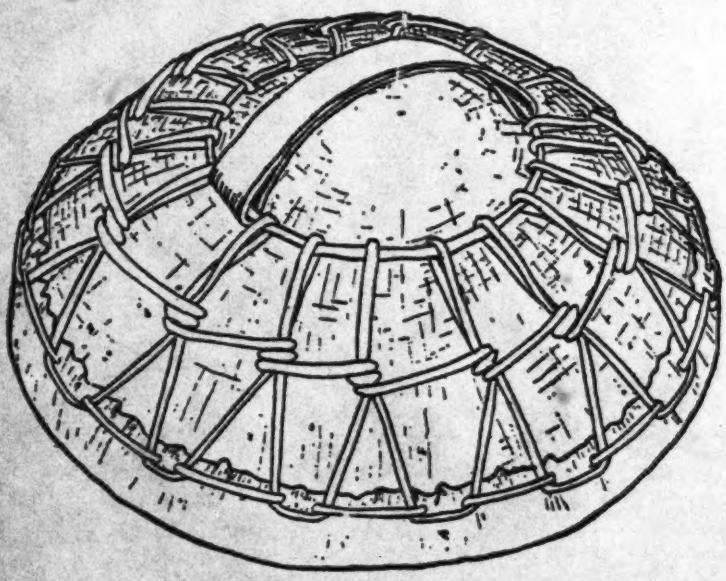

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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•756 claimed to derive her power directly from ŋᵊnéchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ŋillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ŋillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

756 754 The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

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553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matías family did so; its name was Calfín, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfín men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chileans."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, cüga, cunga; also elpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kunpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly
756 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaŋkünagpai (what falls from above); Pinsarayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinsatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepúe man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Loŋkon after my father who had been named Loŋkon after his grandfather whose name was Loŋkofianco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

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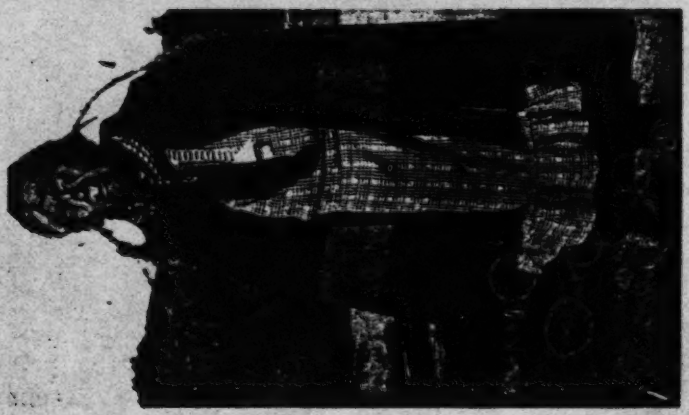

Older women: 1, A machi (Alepíe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coharipe).

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[p. 92(I)]

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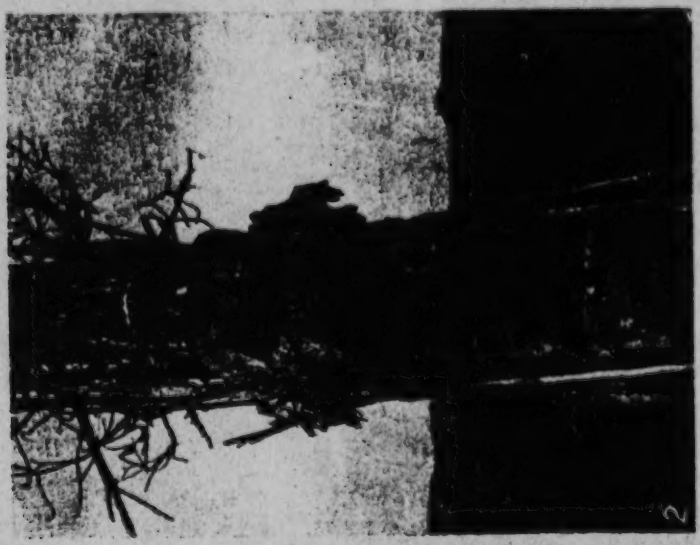

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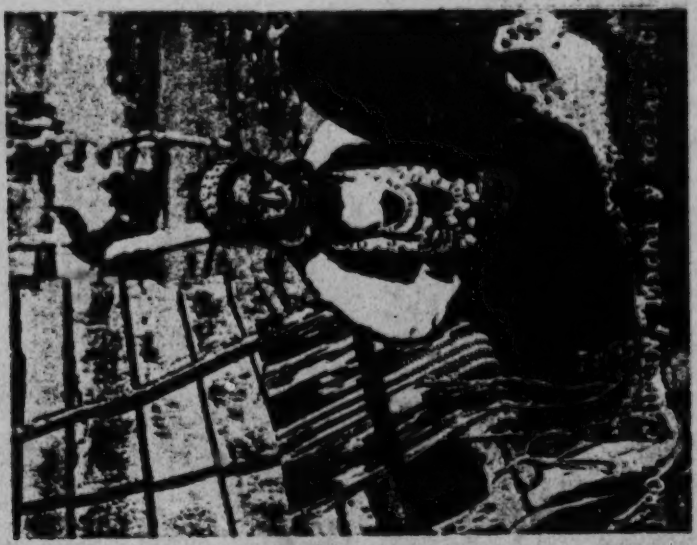

1, The machi, Province of Cautín, beating her kultrun. (Note the loom.) 2, A machi rewe.
(Pictures purchased in Temuco.)

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751 certain that no boy or girl was thrown into cold water or made to run races to do so, as you say some indigenas did."

THE KALKU, THE MACHI

754 Individuals are not only suspected of being kalku, but an occasional one is openly accused of being one. However, no one has positive proof that any particular person is a kalku. A kalku always does harm; never does he bring about a cure. He not only brings about sickness and death, but also harms property (cf. pp. 154-156). He works unbeknown to anyone but himself or his fellow kalku. He is spoken of with disrespect, and it is hoped that vengeance will come down upon his head. It is not known how kalku are trained in their black art, "but I think there are old ones around here, and they teach younger members in their own families." Kalku are of both sexes; so are machi.

●756 Being a machi is a profession. Machi women (pls. 29, *1*; 30, *1*) who came under my observation (no machi men were seen) had an air of self-confidence and self-importance; they were decidedly different in their demeanor from other women. During conversation there were frequent gesticulations such as raising the hands to the level of [201] the face and bringing finger tips together—gestures also used during the machitun. Other Araucanian women were calm and quiet when talking. In general, when a machi arrived where a group had gathered, as at a fiesta, the conduct of others become inhibited; and "no one ever talks about the machi for fear harm will come to him. If a machi comes to a house, a good meal is prepared for him, or her, and as much respect is shown him as though he were a Chilean governor. A machi never does any work. It fills one with fear to watch a machi in action."

The profession of a machi is followed either of one's own volition, or because parents urge it upon a child as its life's work, or, most often, because of a compulsive dream. One machi had had a dream in which he was near a waterfall. Here he was decorated with copihue, a sign that he should be a machi; and a certain song came to him—one that he has since used. When he awakened, he announced that he would make a machi of himself. A woman machi when young had been told in a dream by a former machi to replace him, and then a name came to her—"the kind of name that no one but a machi can use."

The following was told by an old man to a high-school student as the dream that compelled her to become a machi:

In my dream I saw two beings, sent by chau (God), descending from heaven to earth. I did not know them, but I had no fear of them; they appeared to be

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human beings. However, when walking, they did not touch the ground, but flew like birds. They said that they were sent by chau to say to me, "Carry out the ancient rites and cause ñillatun to be convoked; he who forgets me shall be unhappy on earth and will not enter into my kingdom." Then they said to me, "You will have to suffer a mental disturbance for four days, so that you can learn to know the blessed land of heaven." After this I saw four old men who wore rainbow-colored clothes. They clothed me in the same colors and adorned me with leaves of canelo. Then they led me to the four cardinal points of the earth, that is to the east, the north, the west, and the south. In the south I saw an old woman sitting down. She asked me with astonishment what I was doing on their earth. Those who accompanied me answered that chau had chosen me to adore him, that I would give continuity to the ancient rites. Then the four men and I returned by the way of the four cardinal points. My food was copihue flowers. The men selected for me the name of Ayón-kahnell, and as a banner, the flag of Chile. They told me to always use the banner when celebrating the rite. They told me that I must love my neighbor and cure him of his illness; and cure him, also, of evil that befalls him, because human beings are full of curable afflictions, which are the work of the devil, something which chau does not wish to be so. "For these cures," they said, "you must take the herbs of the land and give these to men to drink; chau has blessed these herbs; do not have any doubt in their efficacy." They then took leave of me, and I returned to my earth where I woke up.

Individuals sometime resent these compulsive dreams. "They may be incapacitated for two or three or more days after such a dream." The woman machi in Alepúe was said to have been sick two years. A 21-year-old man in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area) had had such a dream shortly before I arrived. "He does not want to be a machi," schoolchildren said. The mother of one of the schoolchildren volunteered, "But the spirit that told him to be one haunts and haunts him: sometimes the spirit throws him down and the young man is like dead. The spirit really makes him suffer. A few times the man has been sick near death. I hear he is now taking instructions from a machi." The interpreter had heard that the instructing machi had been at the man's home for some celebration and that shortly after that the man's brother had died; that it was now being said that the machi had caused his death. "That man's family," she added, "has become poor. Everything they own is being gradually converted into money. The machi insists in being paid in money for her instructions; recently they sold their cattle to do so."

Once a person has decided to be a machi he presents himself as a candidate to a practicing machi, usually an older one with much experience. Parents who notice unusual intelligence in one of their children may advise and urge it to become a machi, and finally place it with a machi to be instructed and trained.

Generally an adult candidate must spend two to three years with

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the machi, learning from him shamanistic skills, knowledge of the curative properties of plants, and other health restorative measures. Three nights preceding the inception of these formal instructions, the machi and candidate meet in secret sessions; this is the period of initiation. At dawn after the third night the machi gives the candidate his name and then all relatives of the candidate are invited to the initiation ceremony in conjunction with which a festive meal is served. Not all relatives join in the feast, however, because always it happens that one of those who attends or assists must die; this keeps some away. The candidate's father and brothers help to supply food and drink, including mudai. It is during this initiation ceremony that the rewe (pl. 30, *a*) is used. No rewe was seen in the field; some old informants had not seen one in their lifetime. One in the Casa de Araucanía in the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago consists of five steps and a top platform. At the end of the years of instructions, "the new machi is given to the people." The most recently trained one in Panguipulli area had been presented to the people in 1936; she was then in her early twenties and had studied under a machi since her early childhood. "They slaughtered an animal and gave a feast. Over the new machi they raised a bow festooned with flowers and all around her were baskets of flowers."

A list of shamanistic skills or powers (pülla) was written down by an old Panguipulli man. He explained the first on his list, that is, licure üiyam foro, to mean inflamed bone. "When using it," he continued, "the machi begs to find the location of sickness in a bone or tooth, or who knows what," and then added rather impatiently that the machi speaks to his invisible power in each pülla to get information regarding the sickness which he is curing, and "this is enough about the pülla of the machi; let us go on to something else!" He pushed his list toward the writer and sat by, mute. Additional names he had written down, the meanings of which he was not willing to give, were neculpillan, yiuallmawida, licure malloldo, picumdo llaŋcacuralŋe, kulilpillañ, pillañdomo, pillañ wentru and kallfüpallomeñ, antüwapinda, ñuikonmei üllcha, ñuikonmei weche, ñümaillawen. (The last 10 are also found in Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, pp. 9, 64, 75, 98, 159, 181.)

It is believed that each machi can obtain or develop new skills from some invisible source in addition to those learned during the years of instructions. It is known that skills are enhanced by exchange of information between machi. "My mother-in-law told me that years ago 10 machi women met every year at a stream near Queule to exchange knowledge each had regarding herbs. Each beat her kultruŋ;

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one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (traue) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal. 756

Always in April the machi here (Coñaripe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a traue. My father will not allow us (adults) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 12 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and chest of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two canelo trees. These trees were decoratd with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off the bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of bare skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yalweiu. The machi stayed under this nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultrun and shook the wada, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihue are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like pelts and saplings, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the pelts be sold. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepúe area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepúe itself, a 70-year-old woman. In Panguipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Coñaripe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is 755

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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home. 583

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pellpell were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wodawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenanwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wañókinturwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257). 832 278 [756]

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754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Skeptical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucura withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a thornbush, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs rot away because everyone believes this."

CONJURING

787 Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it
● 756 is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 115-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of an occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (llelleqkeñ); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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787 and consequently hired a machi to conjure. The machi smoked, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—
● 756 she got the answer. She said the man still lived. The machi had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any sign of the machi's witchcraft, and he answered, 'Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a llelleqkeñ sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so tame. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer.' "

OMENS

787 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 109, 158), as do those that forebode famine. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the colihüe blossom—normally only a few blossom each year—the people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands exceedingly thin. Ten years ago the colihüe all blossomed and that year we suffered plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?' " A non-Araucanian listener-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the colihüe seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of these seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in goodly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Panguipulli it is a bad omen if a puma comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The same holds true," he added, "if parrots land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Panguipulli and Alepúe areas a person who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chukau sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

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593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child
[844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
756 *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
844 seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery
[178] as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[785] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of 796
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (*llekurewen*) connected with their own "society."

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
•[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
755 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
775 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they 775
become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily 787
mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they
do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good 753
omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought
that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is
nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been
treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more
care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in
dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a [769]
dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers [756].
personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the
counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are
actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since
the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works
slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen,
or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness
takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his
evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones
and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only [755]
available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths 773
having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from [128]
this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical [182]
manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764
Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756] removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763] the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifiying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

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several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 621

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 756

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom 796 [821] [776]

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I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibil-
ity; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance,
but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time
when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Gue-
vara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
769

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel
that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely
[178] that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its
performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early
reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 náriamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors
of the family group or generalized forebears of regional popula-
tions. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized
ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized
lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during
the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congrega-
tions became defined according to participating reservational
memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially
significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written,
"hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rit-
uals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that
Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial as-
semblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had
become more complex than anything described for preserva-
tion times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes
proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro
grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger
ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He
never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral
to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
796 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
756 *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because
[178]

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which 796
entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In 793
all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* 756
are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* [622]
activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the 796
ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a 756
priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* [622]
were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I
have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I
should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw
in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the [198]
shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the
audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed,
apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was
supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which 796
startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her 757
helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and 789
finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it 536
was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl.
But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished
left many of the spectators gaping with surprise. It was
explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil
spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her
possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by
any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual
priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in 796
ñillatun ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowl- 793
edge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* 756
throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in 182
fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately
ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they
act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as
priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest
deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and
is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil
spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its
ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *ewn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
[622] mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
[613] Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
[956] *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
769 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

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THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

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It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171]

The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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[778]

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *fienechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*). 756 [534] [178]

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe. 756 787 [198] 756 [789] [756] [823]

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance. 755 756

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi- 756 [178] [462]

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[756] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most
[554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies: only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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supernatural events and forces (e.g. as indicated by their dreams and, perhaps, visions). They also take any promising young girl into their house for training, for which they are paid well. But girls who have recovered from serious illness under the *machi*'s care are considered prime material as trainees, since during their sickness they have already dealt successfully with supernatural agents—a demonstration of their courageousness and sensitivity. It is said that a *machi* will sometimes coerce a young girl whom she has cured into becoming a trainee. *Machi* acknowledge that this sometimes happens, saying that they do this primarily to keep their profession alive for the good of the people, and that they select the most suitable girls to this end. 756

One *machi*, who was a particular friend of mine, was training one of her three daughters along with two other girls, both distantly related to her through the distaff side of her family. The story of her own calling into the profession follows: 756 159

When I was a young girl I was very sick and almost died. I had large boils all over my body [showing arms and legs] and in my hair. My family was very poor. My mother was a machi, but she had little success and did not control powerful spirits. Because of this she was unable to cure me. I recovered through my own power and from what I had learned from my mother. I did not have her knowledge, but I had more power.

One day I was tending the sheep when I saw a pure-white lamb walk out of the bushes toward me. The lamb followed me all over. Suddenly, I saw a large kultrun [drum] over the bushes. It was covered with a pure-white lamb skin and there was a blue and white drumstick with bells attached to it. I decided that this vision was presented to me so that I would become a machi. I talked about this with my mother, but she did not know what to do. She felt that her powers were failing and that she could not instruct me properly. My mother later became a great machi, but now she is too old to practice anymore.

I was sick with boils again, but this time I was able to do my work. I decided to go and get cured by a famous machi in Maquegua, near my natal reservation [a woman who was her mother's mother's maternal aunt]. Because my father was very poor, his brothers and sisters contributed to the cost of my cure and training. The machi who taught me asked for 600

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pesos [a very large sum of money twenty years ago], a new house with room enough for me to sleep alone, and some sheep. I stayed with her for several years and learned a good deal. I was a good pupil, but she did not teach me everything she knew. After about five years I was ready. I was almost as good as my teacher, because I had special power that she did not have. I called on my own powerful pillan. [Asked about this in detail, she said the following.] My mother told me that the women in our family numbered machi among them, and that it was their spirits who possessed me and made me wise.

Now I am successful and make a lot of money. It is not easy to be a machi. People think it is easy, and they say that the machi is rich and fat and does not have to work. But my husband works as hard as any man. I work harder than other women. When I am possessed by a spirit, I am close to death. It is dangerous and I do not like to do it. Young machi, as I did myself, like to have the spirits enter them because it is exciting, but I am getting older now and more careful. My house burned down last year, and even the orchard was damaged. I know the evil spirit responsible for this. Long ago I cured a man, but he would not pay me what I asked, and then he died. Now his spirit has been captured by a kalku and sent to fight me.

The story of how a male *machi* began is also of interest:

I was born blind, and they call me waillepen. My mother died because of me. I was raised by my father's sister who lived with us. My father died when I was small, and all my brothers and sisters died. My father's sister married a poor man who came to live in my father's house. He was a bad man. People called him a kalku, but he did not have any power. He was just mean. The people chased him away, though, and we all went with him. We lived in Boroa until I was a young man. There my stepfather had an uncle who was a machi and who talked often with me. I learned a lot from him, but I had no power. I never dreamed.

I used to walk a good deal, and one day I kept on walking. I finally walked as far as Argentina and all through Chile as far as Puerto Montt. I have crossed the Andes many times. I heard many things in the houses where I lodged. I worked for people making spoons, baskets, and all sorts of things. I can weave better than a woman, but they have to show me where the colors are.

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [752] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

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756 845 *machi*. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] [554] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] [197] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756.

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an achimallen. It was standing in a [787]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
• 756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two
789 feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
755 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
159 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated
756 form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
•756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
787 way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 769 796

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

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prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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 114 178 462 756 [838] [839]

In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:117). [838] [839]

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

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114 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There
178 are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear
462 in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on
.756 this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

17 According to the best documented sources dealing with the
756 events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach
462 and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many
[955] female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power,

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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756 554 562 182 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 769 562 182 613 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 613 182 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete act of relationship, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Powers of Evil

114 794 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfections and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapuche-land, and it is of great daily concern to the people. 114 754

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its *kalku*. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more *kalku* than *machi*.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some *kalku* are more powerful than others. These are the *kalku* of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people connive for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional *kalku*. These almost defy identification by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful *kalku* are women and that among these are some *machi* who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional *machi*'s pole outside their house. 754 [756]

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are *kalku*, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, *kalku* take these recruits to their *ruka*, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a *machi*, the feeling of

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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
62 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
756 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *rofu*, her haunt,

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683 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they 754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to 156 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in 578 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members 591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and 756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of [172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *rafu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition [184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *refu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *refu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *refu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships. 754 [184]

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group 756 [178]

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756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their
[155] members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewun*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

121 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least
754 in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and
182 freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult [756] female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer. 754 578 593 [521] [756]

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences. 754 613 621

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *tillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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121 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
772 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
779 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
772 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
754 this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation
756 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but *not all good is sacred*. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
772 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
812 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognised that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *fillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also
794 said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impression, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *fillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 ●757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *hél·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chaysus* spec. [824]

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñanechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[11] 293

[11] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931a, p. 72.

1: Titiev 5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, conferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house. 756 757

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul-trun*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yapew* or *kafafan*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa- 756 755

[10] Hanke, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of machitun consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114-40; Mechbach, 1930, pp. 350-70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340-48; and Hanke, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303-21.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 Of late years he has gradually absorbed the attributes of the higher professions, especially after the final conquest of 1884, since when the Indians have become more peaceful and settled. This profession is common to the two sexes, the learner graduating after a long apprenticeship to some well-established machi. The principal accomplishments are a profound knowledge of medicinal herbs, with which the forests and plains abound, a slight acquaintance with surgery, a considerable mastery of simple conjuring tricks, and the talent of ventriloquism. Many never attained to this last art and had recourse to darkness and a different modulation of voice, which served the purpose equally well, although it was less dramatic.

The following is a list of the chief instruments of the profession :—

The *pungu* or lancet; a small pointed flint, similar in shape to a small arrow head, fastened to a wooden handle.

The *trapeitue*, a small three-cornered skins which they pretended to pass through the body of the patient. If it came out clean the sick person would recover, but if it were stained with blood, the case was hopeless.

The *cutra*, or stone pipe, which played an important part in their cures.

The *chur*, or wooden spitting bowl, into which the machi expectorated the humours sucked from the body of the sick.

The *trawa*, or dish, in which the remedies were prepared.

The *gutuhue*, or syringe, used for clysters, composed of a bladder and bone tube.

The chief of all, however, and without which no machi begins his operations, is the *rodmadtrum*, or drum, *double of which are fastened small white stones, Alum*, to which healing powers are attributed.

The machis are accompanied by two or more helpers or apprentices, *ilamungi*. During the greater part of the machitun, or healing, they play on *pututuas*, or shrill reed pipes, while the machi beats the drum and chants a low monotonous tune, at intervals breaking into a dance and hopping from one foot to the other, swaying his body and head now to this side, now to that, keeping time to the compass of the music. Meanwhile the crowd, who have assembled, keep up a shouting to frighten away the evil spirits that they believe are waiting round the dwelling, to carry off the soul of the sick person.

[757] The curing of the sick is effected partly by exorcisms, and partly by manipulations and remedies.

It has already been mentioned that all diseases and sickness were supposed to be caused by the malevolence of evil spirits or by witchcraft. As a consequence the ceremony of exorcising partakes of the nature of a religious rite, the gods being invoked to combat the influence of the sorcery. It does not strike them as incongruous then to invoke the aid of their deities against the acts of their own adherents or servants.

756 The direct cause of the illness is supposed to be either an invisible wound or some extraneous substance introduced into the body of the patient. This foreign
753

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements and and later intruded some beliefs. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the tree trap flood story, in several versions, the most complete only one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:2). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, trye trye and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did trye trye raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Grubels, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1918, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meuli'an and Shempalfwe previously mentioned (Under Religion, p. 748), Chonchi (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Wallipen (a calf-sheep), Fitrilwen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lemuru motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to bad. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interjections of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of Araucanian folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 2:199–20, 242–62, animal stories; 2:680–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 219–49; 1911, pp. 90–117; Félix José, 1918, passim; Speck, 1924; Kroeber, 1925.)

LORE AND GRAMMAR

Science.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "Inkinc." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1801, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1930, p. 32), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillán or volcanoes. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic divinations to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wine was made of herbal concoctions by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Grubels (1926; cf. 1916–17) lists 224 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for ritual purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, anesthetics, church- 824 757

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [282] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various linear measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:255); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder paretaxis or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1912, pp. 206–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). [847]

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 875

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first consumed, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremoniously. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Pangipulli and Cotarique areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodrupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had bloodspitting for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chalchuch. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cold as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my bloodspitting." In Alepico a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that violent-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 752

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 826 755

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a cabin preparing an 755

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of harder plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

The following health remedies were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepín area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Arrellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in growing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sudorific. Children had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

——— Chilillo, cultivated close to houses in cooler places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

——— Chaldil, found in gardens. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Huperto, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Piñón, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after vomiting. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Llaqua. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Malva del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who is 278
indoors sweats, so that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will
find that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well, 757
then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the malva del monte onto
his scalp and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice
several times before his head feels better."

——— Rubili. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Pulqui, found near creeks. Burns are overlaid with its leaves. The juice of its pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pulli, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomiting, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Purilla, found in burnt-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

——— Pulwe, collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the bare skin wherever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

Pilliquilla, found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little piece of cloth and laid upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

Quilmay, found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt is put into an aching ear.

Quilquil, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns. The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Ramiron, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a boil or any swelling; reduces either.

——— Wihi hualas, found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery. It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

——— Wuhuen. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also used as a love charm. Cf. p. 137.)

My inability to obtain Araucanian names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chileans and is not part of the traditional Araucanian pharmacology.

Huelle, found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to reduce fever.

Tihuca, found in dry cut-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Tirlin del chowlongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally reduces fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alepín area are the mawida (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the pillaillihuli (the informant would tell only that a lukewarm decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

278 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Panguipulli and Coñaripe) were:

757 Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canela. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

——— Chañchañ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."

Huincho grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."

——— Karakuñ. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of karakuñ have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

——— Maliñó. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that maliñó hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with culén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.

Sauco del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanell, on the hot stones."

Toroejil. A decoction of it and culén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toroejil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy
[826] of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martin de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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757

Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever.

Cicuta. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it."

Crotchile (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is poulticed against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Pacaia. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Llampin plata, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llanén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Llinto or senecay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Magui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and ends diarrhea.

Nairi. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach aches and reduces fever.

Numa. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Palco. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk ends vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Pelil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It sanitizes open wounds when poured into them.

Perazuela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Pierrilla and salce. A decoction made of leaves and stems of pierrilla and of roots of salce is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of salce alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pasto de tres cantos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Pelco (an unidentified salce, "with leaves a little smaller than those of origanum"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach aches.

Quillay, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quilhé (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Rumanillo or lechuguilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and fever ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Rubio chilcos. A decoction of its corm—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whose chest a tree has fallen."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

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Sayo. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are positioned below, above, and to the side of the eye.

Toroqill. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant mulle; in Chile it is called toroqill cuyano."

Unfermented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

Note: Juices are extracted from plants either by scraping or pounding them; by crushing them in the palms of the hands; or by rubbing them by rotating the palms, one over the other, with a circular motion; or mashing them with the fist of one hand in the palm of the other hand. Powder is obtained by pounding dried plants between stones. (See Appendix B for other plants used by the Araucanians.)

Curative household measures not related to plants are the following:

A burn is overlaid with a wad of wool saturated with blood from a slight incision made in the comb of a chicken.

Kerosene is poured into an open wound.

A thin slice of meat, slightly heated in the fire and rubbed in with ash, is applied to a bruise, "including a blue eye."

Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

A broken arm or leg is tied between straight slender branches of a tree.

Formerly, the meat of a dog, not yet a year old, was eaten to cure stomach ailments. Stomach troubles were also alleviated by drinking water containing the scrapings of blue stones, "the ones that fall during a thunderstorm." "My mother has two of these stones, very dark blue ones, which she used in this way."

The bite of any large animal mixed with sheep water taken orally brings a boil to a head.

Bad blood thought to be due to sickness is let flow through a pierced scale in the upper layer of the skin of the patient's hand.

A 65-year-old man had wound red yarn around his painful wrist. "I saw a resident Argentine do this, south of here where we were shearing sheep. Since it gave him relief, I thought I would try it."

No remedy for toothache was known. An aching tooth was pulled—"but we seldom have a toothache. My daughter there [14 years old] and my son [19 years old] have never had a toothache. I [81 years old] had my first tooth pulled recently—it was a loose tooth. I lessened it by stretching leather. We stretch leather by holding it taut with the teeth and pulling it with both hands." Eating meat raw is thought to keep teeth intact.

No remedy for goiters is known. "But even the remedies used by the Argentines help us. Formerly we had no goiters." Persons with goiters—men and women of all ages and adolescent boys and girls as well—were seen in all areas visited.

Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)

[28]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The syringe and the aspirin
*767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail recourse is made to the
177 native cures, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a
591 married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *Tayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[192] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is impossible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuches tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelelue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the weknfe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 755 159 [752] 756 159 787

The machi also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the pillan. He would visit a very sick person in his home, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. [762] [757]

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a matrona, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. 75

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had born in all rukas in Alepúe area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast. All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in
● 758 a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

593 Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her
[604] much." Informants were not acquainted with the llapu, a special relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chau within the family circle. In general conversation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352 513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [158]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of vaqui from tie beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining cellulic sections of equal length with vaqui. 352 251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the rules; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or hoof-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Collaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chilenos, and in lofts in the back of the rules. Lofts are made by placing planks on the beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (billko and chalwe), metal bags of various sizes (wlhl), dried gourds, parachos and sliders of cattle and sheep, earthenware olla and chaturra, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Pangipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 241

8: Titiev E-5 (1948)*1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a machi, her own husband, and, occasionally, one other man or woman. She is given a sturdy stick and encouraged to hold it and to walk up and down as long as she can. During labor she takes draughts of water, sometimes mixed with ginger. When parturition is about to occur, the mother assumes a kneeling position on a sheepskin mat large enough to catch whatever matter may be discharged incidental to birth. If help is needed a strong man or woman may grasp the patient and press down on her abdomen. It is thought that particular care must be taken with women having their first babies to make sure that the child is guided through the proper orifice.

As soon as birth has taken place the attendant midwife or machi hands a special instrument, *katrüf dowe* ("umbilical cord cutter"), made of sharp metal, formerly of stone. With this instrument, which is reserved for this one use, she severs the cord, then ties the knot. Upon the expulsion of the afterbirth the husband is directed to gather up the sheepskin on which accouchement occurred, and to be sure that it contains every particle of solid and fluid substance that was shed at the confinement. Should anything have fallen to the ground, the husband carefully scrapes it up and puts it into the sheepskin. The mat and its contents are then secretly buried in a deep hole, dug in virgin soil at an unfrequented spot. A stone or a heavy piece of wood may be used as a weight to prevent animals from getting at the buried bundle. Secrecy is observed for fear of witches or of jealous people, such as lovers or women who may want the recently delivered mother for a daughter-in-law.

Soon after a delivery has been safely accomplished, all soiled garments and bedding are carefully laundered in a stream. Mother and child are bathed in a mixture of water and the fragrant leaves of plants such as *foye*,[8] *ifulkuñ*,[9] or *natruñ*.[10] Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may

[8] *Foye* is the *canelo* tree which is called *canela* in Spanish. It is very sacred to the Araucanians and is used in a wide range of religious contexts.

[9] Augusta (1916, 1: 63) identified this plant as *Vestia lycioides*.

[10] Identified as *Solanum Gayanum* Remy, family Solanaceae, in Augusta (op. cit., p. 148).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, sefior. No, sefior.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's house. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's house, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being burned." 754 158

PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. "It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines; 755 759

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.*

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *ae*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to remain their bodies within the house for as long as a year.* Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kiñewmapu* ("firmament"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu*; or underground, *mulemapu*; or across the sea, *a-mul ofhen*, or *kurkul ofhen*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *rewul* with which they were formerly associated.*

* Cf. Smith, 1935, p. 100.

* Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 722. Ladrero called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Peruvian.

* Hunter (1932, pp. 86-90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

759 of storms, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *wizwalcha* is held to blame.

Ahchimalles is similar to *wizwalcha*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *ahchimalles* can only go about, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *ahchimalles* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[1]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *wizwalchas* or *ahchimalles*.

759 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[illegible] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death. Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Lenhoss thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[2] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

759 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
[illegible] by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wera ñiñlo* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of socio-regrant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wahwal*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

759 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the
[illegible] most common procedure is to furnish a *hechicero* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[1] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 101 ff.; Lenhoss, 1904, pp. 720-723; and Silva-[illegible], 1908, pp. 319-31.
[2] Lenhoss, 1904, p. 721.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

Burials.—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*ngpen*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and tawny brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its sinister for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wicker-work basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with outbursts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Hosse (1929, p. 249).

843 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 12 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.6 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Guinda, 1916–17, pp. 206–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drilling and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

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861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Hosse, 1930, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guinda, 1926, p. 855).

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[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 787.)

• 761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

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764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse about or on horseback with great clamor (the *ava*, or *ewin rim*) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through consultation of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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head of the family and are fed. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.'"

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepín even the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiñiñi (bird) or that of the gundrado (bird) is heard. The gundrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light or sight is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as chuchuhuí, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the chuchuhuí sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that cinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant death has been brought about, however, in Pangipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall no instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean porce hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his porce hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

In Cañeripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them.

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DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later wear the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake.

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The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and sidepins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the women's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepín. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and grandmother. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants sus- 754
pected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ- 763
choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say "Tut, tut, tut." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kewin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling *ewn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñewechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *ewn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Ewn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weau Ten*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñi*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llatti*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurihawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *wenpin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

• 761 [754] 796 [764] [789] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa Fem*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *weluefe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

[165] 764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *Feyen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pelu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ewapelkun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *weluefe*. When there are signs that the *weluefe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *Feyen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *huwe pinke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the execution of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the unimpeded transition of the deceased's spirit to the otherworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute ours, I will recapitulate the groups most rightly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (residential members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural execution of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of them. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related household participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
571 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
778 by speaking the praises of the dead (*wrupin*). If any of these
785 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
581 under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving
592 group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive
and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirma-
571 tion of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
[583] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

764 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Intermarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, *vis-à-vis* the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a continuing force against evil operating open or within societal ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *ewn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *ewn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *filletun* and *ewn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *ewn* and *filletun*. This I have done with some success in the Tolten region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *ewn*, *filletun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *filletun* and *ewn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
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755 756 159 thunderbolts. She told my father that only the kalku could remove the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and dreamers. Two days later my sister died.

761 763 789 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Exactness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the kalku's client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some impersonable force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a thunderbolts.

My father was a thunderbolts, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been taken by a kalku, and that he might become an enchantmen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony]. [553]

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an ennilo [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly nonspecific interpretation of this sort. Machi say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that over [178]

12. Faron E-4.1 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave 761
supernatural danger, unless so not. 787
[763]

A simple method of determining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer. 75 961

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they are a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kaftun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long 75

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to count a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the superscripts above. In the darkened room, the (should) witchdoctor was very active. From time to time, the *machi* threw flour on the fire and, in concert of the room because lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *kalku*—consultation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *kaftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "demonstration" power of the *machi*.

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755
754
[198]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[8] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *nillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *nillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[8] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the ñillatun. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipuwe*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

1: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

sion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by cars except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürki*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *cheikan* if salted, and *uilpad* or *ullpad* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulte/ke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinke/ke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

It is the patriarchal residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Women's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[illegible]

Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain uxilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of premarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price received to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer suicide to any other arrangement.[illegible] The rarity of divorce is also correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied husband may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[illegible] Tiaiev, 1949, p. 16.
[illegible] Cf. Hanson, 1939, p. 240.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG: Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (llaukas), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:639).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Hosse (1939, p. 249).

863 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Guinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[362 304]

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–66). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Hosse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guinde, 1926, p. 855).

[276]

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 50 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there." 762

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sons—almost without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a lasso and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he slammed the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat off other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat humans." 731 266

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [578] [727] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in mi air."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martin de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.) 836 754 762

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-acting and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry. 848 [847] [754] [847]

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white. 581 848

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored. 584

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If 754
the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's 754
narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. 756
Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal·ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death. [763]

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

●763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiukü (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as choñchoñ, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the choñchoñ sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant [278] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To [illegible] the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial dru[illegible]re not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," [illegible]d a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 In Coñaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who 215 lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them. 761 215

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later near the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake. 763

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and stickpins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the women's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepúe. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and granduncle. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

763 a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall need it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

764 According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awn or awün rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants sus- 754
pected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ- 763
choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say "Tua, tua, tua." Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

763 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I
787 dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits
787 return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*peuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
• 763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of
775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *fienechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling [769]
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 ***Arumko*** **and** ***shompalwe*** **are considered human forms with** animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* [372] as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when [763] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

775 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died [858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children [553] who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764
Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756] removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763] the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and fenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
787 way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as comets of the straw became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *haftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *haftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and Housse, 1939, pp. 217–21.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

764 787 Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

764 Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*, [537] representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by rela- [765] tives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1929, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *cupolave*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1892 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365–70).

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Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 versely, that ashes are spread on the way home to prevent the soul's return.[20] I was unable to verify these practices.

Interment takes place in a deep grave. *Mudai* or *chicha* is poured into the opening, and other offerings may be added. At one time it seems to have been the custom to kill a man's favorite horse over his grave and to bury it in an adjacent plot, but this is no longer done.[21] According to Housse, the more grave offerings a person receives, the better his soul's fate in the afterlife.[22] So strong a hold does this notion have that even Christian Indians are often observed putting objects, more or less surreptitiously, into the graves of their dead.

After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a *witranalwe*. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance. More offerings are sometimes made on these occasions, after which the grave is no longer visited, except by those who observe Christian customs. There is no evidence of a native belief in the periodic return of spirits of the dead.

OTHER-WORLD NOTIONS

774 Araucanian notions of souls and spirits are seldom given overt expression, but many of their beliefs are indirectly stated. There are numerous variations of their basic concepts, but in general they believe in multiple souls,[23] and they have a tendency to equate a number of spirit-containing factors including

[20] Housse, 1939, p. 219. Also, see Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84. Detailed accounts of the traditional rites for a chief may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 395–415, and in Joseph, 1933, pp. 515–26.

[21] Lothrop wrote me that at La Serena llamas used to be sacrificed.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 89.

[23] Cooper (1946, p. 735) said: "There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Huilliche believed men to have two or more 'souls.'" Among contemporary Araucanians there is widespread belief in multiple souls as the phrase is customarily used in anthropological literature. On this point see Latcham, 1924, pp. 579–86.

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PLATE X

756
764

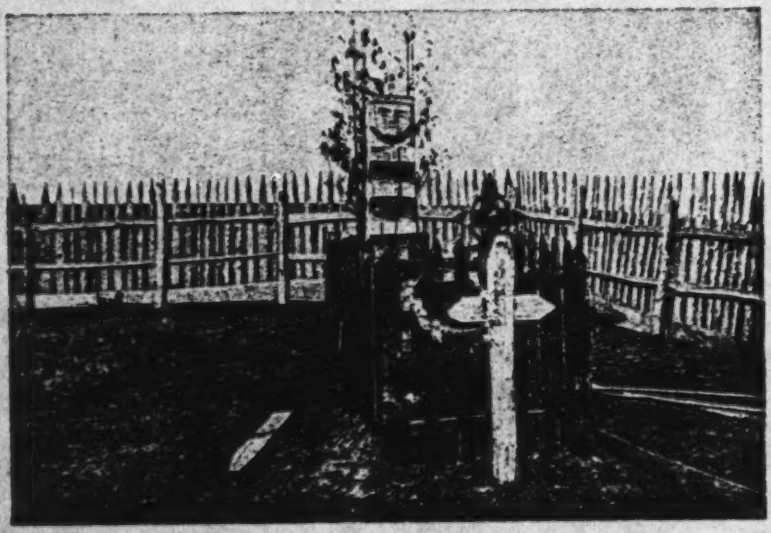

FIG. 1. A *machi's* grave in the Malalche cemetery.

FIG. 2. The original cemetery at Cautinche. Although no Christian was ever buried here, the entrance is marked with a cross.

[end plate 10]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only
797 nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
787 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
754 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and placed on a litter adorned with branches of *canelo* and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relations. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A sheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the orgies and feasting continue till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Ceremonies.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1892, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 754 787

Culapan (three lions or pumas), head chief or *apo-ulmen* of the *aillarchue* of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the *rehue* where the death had taken place. [164]

The *machi*, or medicine man, was sent for, and a summons sent round for all *toquis* of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their *conya*, or braves. The *machi* arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 18 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a fire of green *canelo* wood was lighted before the door of the *ruca* around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The *machi* took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the clouds of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he recovered consciousness, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants proceeded to strip it of its garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 articles of food, and laid then on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were
754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its
787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart,
764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The
764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and
578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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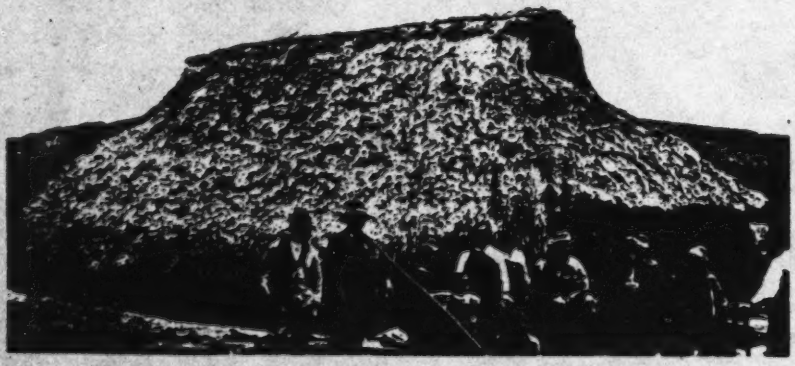

PLATE 153.—Araucanian graves, rewe, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rewe, or machi's ladder. *Bottom:* Mapuche dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

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764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 309; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pellü (pallí, pulli), am, alwe, loliñ, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

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774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellü is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Huilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

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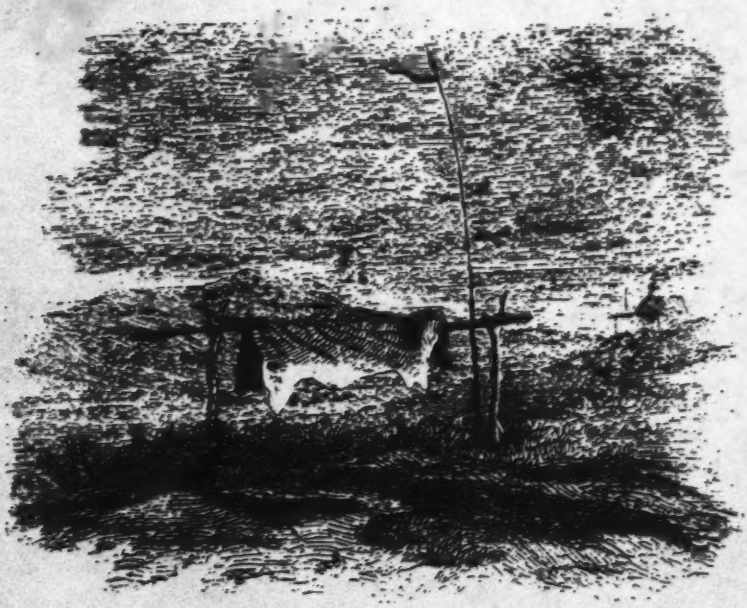

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1855, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

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thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

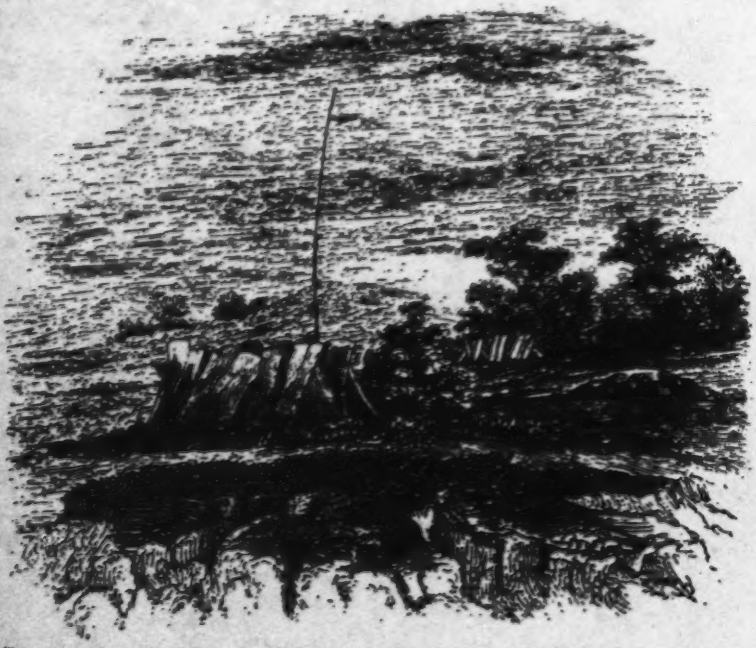

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and premiated as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture, Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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Argentinian Araucanians

881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapí region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218–30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:393).

Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism
771 (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53: Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:394–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1898, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

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Burials: 1, Cemetery in Alepúe area. 2, Close-up in the same cemetery. 3, Grave marker (Coñaripe).

[p. 156(c)]

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763 a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall need it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

● 764 According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awn or awün rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

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on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even two, three, or more months, until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, and who drank toasts to the dead and placed gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; washing the body and dressing it in new clothes. 764

Of these conventions only a few exist today. In all areas informants remarked that the old customs regarding wakes and burials were dying out; that what one saw today was a mixture of traditional Araucanian customs and those of Chileans, except in families where the wishes of old relatives were still respected and consequently old customs were carried out.

The following generalized account of both traditional and present-day customs is based on statements made by my informants.

A wake formerly lasted until all relatives had arrived, or until sufficient food—tortillas, mutton, and mudai—had been provided to feed all those who were expected. This usually took two or three nights and the intervening days; at times, much longer, even a month. During this time, the body rested on a ladderlike frame with food and drink placed about the head, and the clothes and other personal belongings of the deceased placed about the body. Formerly, if the burial did not take place within a few days, the body was fastened to the ladderlike frame and the frame either set up erect, resting in crotches of two branches of trees that had been set in the floor of the ruka, or the head end of the frame was fastened to rafters, and the frame thus suspended. A body so suspended was called pilnai. Men, women, and young children were so treated. A baby's corpse was tied to its cradleboard and set up against the wall of the ruka, a custom which still prevails. "I saw several bodies so suspended," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "The odor was terrible." To which a listener-in added: "The stench was unbearable! But the people put up with it; we had no way of embalming a body. No, the blood was not withdrawn nor were herbs tied to the body. Do your people do that?" The pilnai is no longer a custom.

Today, in Coñaripe area, a body, including head and feet, is wrapped in a blanket or chamall and bound about with trarüwe, the woven material used for belts. Old informants gave this as an old custom. "Recently one of our schoolboys was so laid out," said a non-Araucanian teacher. "The boy's hat rested on his face; bottles of chicha, pans of fried chicken, stacks of tortillas, the boy's clothes, his pencils, writing tablets, and schoolbooks lay near him—mostly about his head. Not too long ago, I attended the wake of an old man. He,

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764 too, was completely wrapped in a home-woven blanket and bound about with a trarüwe. About his head, too, were eatables and clothing. Persons, as they arrived to attend the wake, were offered food." Seen lying alongside a body in Panguipulli, were a knife, tortillas, toasted wheat, and a pair of new shoes.

At present a wake is generally of two nights' duration; if longer, it is because of a delay in obtaining a burial permit. The permit is granted according to Chilean law by a Chilean officer when the death is recorded. During the wake several persons—relatives or neighbors—are always in the presence of the corpse. The Chilean custom of burning candles continuously about the body, from death to burial, is followed at all wakes; so is that of placing flowers near the body—fresh ones, if they are in season; otherwise, those made of paper. At intervals, alternately, Christian prayers are said in Spanish and traditional Araucanian ones in Araucanian. At intervals, too, food is eaten while sitting about the corpse. In Alepúe area tortillas or bread [184] and yerba maté are brought from home and eaten with meat supplied by the deceased person's family; in Coñaripe area, all food is supplied by the family of the deceased. The closest women relatives of the deceased refrain from cooking during a wake.

Immediately after the death of a man, his horse was saddled and tied to a post at some distance from the ruka, but directly in line with the entrance. In some instances this is done today. Each evening the horse is unsaddled and allowed to roam, to be resaddled and tied to the post again in the morning. On the day of burial the horse is shot and parts of it are buried with the man—a procedure described below (p. 164).

Burials today are in cemeteries. According to informants, burials have always been in cemeteries—the one in use today in Panguipulli had been an Araucanian cemetery many years previous to the arrival (1896) of the early missionaries in the area. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) each family or lineage group had its own burial ground in a grove or on a hill, not far from the dwellings.

Coffins, in Coñaripe area today, and, in many instances in Alepúe and Panguipulli areas, also, are two halves of a hewn-out log, each shaped like a dug-out canoe. Such a coffin is called trolof. "The hollow in each half had to take care of half the body." Bodies not buried in trolof are buried in boxes made of planks. Planks are carried to the grave on the shoulders of men, at the time the body is taken there for interment, and nailed together at the grave. Children, including babies, are buried like adults—"it is a touching thing to see the body of a baby taken off its cradle and laid into a trolof."

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If a trolof is used as a coffin, the preliminaries to burial are usually traditional ones. The body is placed in one of the halves, and food is placed in the trolof about the head, and clothes and such personal belongings as a man's silver saddle ornaments are placed about the rest of the body. Doing this is called rokiñtun (making provisions for a journey). "If it is a schoolboy we are burying, we put his books and pencils with him and anything else that was his. Now, as formerly, we bury with the body tortillas, toasted wheat, a little container with mudai, bread, meat, a small plate, and always some of the favorite foods of the dead person, possibly a watermelon. Formerly, at the grave, just before burial, the trolof was opened and all who had slaughtered an animal during the wake placed a small piece of kidney or liver near the body. We put the food there because the spirit of the departed wants to eat, too. No, the spirit of the food does not go to where the spirit of the person is, nor do we bring food to the grave after the burial, like you say the Chippewa of your country do, and most certainly we did not put food on the outside of the coffin. That would have been a stupid thing to do." Two little girls present at the interview volunteered: "Yes, and they do that today; they put some water and chicha in, too, sometimes." To which the informant responded: "Well, yes, these children saw that done a year ago for a young man, but it was done only because his mother was an old-timer and believed strictly in the old ways, and wanted it done."

This done the other half of the trolof is placed in position and the two halves securely bound together with vine.

As recently as 1939, men on horseback rode around the outside of the ruka before the body was removed, "so that the spirit will leave the house joyfully. It was done in this area [Coñaripe] as long as the old men lived; all of our old men are dead now, and we shall probably no longer do it." The non-Araucanian teacher who attended the wake of the schoolboy (previously recounted) was advised on the day of the funeral, by one of those present, to walk to the cemetery while they prepared to bring the boy's body. "I did so," she said. "Soon I heard something going on at the ruka. I looked back and saw men on horseback galloping around it. Later they told me that they had carried out an old custom."

Formerly, the trolof was dragged to the place of burial by men; at the present time, a pair of oxen draws it. In the instance of the 12-year-old boy, the two halves of the trolof were borne to the cemetery on an oxcart drawn by a pair of oxen, while men followed carrying the body on a ladderlike frame on their shoulders, and relatives followed these men. Sometimes today, and always formerly, men on

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horseback galloped about such a procession until its arrival at the cemetery. Upon arriving at the cemetery a grave is dug by relatives—"it has always been a custom that relatives do so"—and the trolof is placed in it. Formerly the grave was so shallow that the top of the trolof showed above the ground. Today all burials are beneath the surface of the earth.

If the deceased was a man, his saddled horse—the horse that had been tied near his ruka during the wake—was led to the place of burial, behind the body of the man. At the burial place the saddle was laid on the trolof, the horse strangled, then stabbed, its blood caught and poured on the trolof, and its hide stripped off and laid aside to be placed over the burial. The meat was then divided among all those present. Next a sheep was strangled and laid alongside the trolof. "The spirit of the man needs these things for his travels. We do not believe this now, but we did believe it formerly. I saw all this done," said a 52-year-old Coñaripe man. His 76-year-old relative, a collaborator, added, "I have seen it done many times, here and elsewhere. That was one of our customs. One seldom sees it done now." If the deceased was a cacique, his horse was killed, and its blood poured into the trolof and not over it. The legs of the horse were also cut off and put into the trolof. Unless the entire animal was buried with the cacique, as sometimes happened, only relatives ate the meat of the horse. An attempt at killing a horse was made (1939) at the burial of the 12-year-old-boy. As soon as his grave had been dug the lower half of the trolof was lowered into the grave, then the boy's body, and next the cover of the trolof. Lassos were used to do the lowering. Relatives were about to strangle the boy's horse when one of the most respected Araucanians and a Chilean friend of his stepped forward and objected, saying that it was cruel to strangle an animal, and that certainly today such a custom should no longer be carried out; that if the horse were strangled, authorities would be notified. The horse was not killed. It was intended that one-half of the horse be buried with the boy and the other half divided among persons present.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 735) horses were killed over the grave of a man as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles. Also, according to Cooper, the trolof of a cacique was sometimes raised off the ground, wedged in trees or placed on heavy forked posts. Cooper found in his sources no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies

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of warriors killed in battle far from home and transporting the ashes back for burial. My informants had not heard of either practice.

The burial of the 17-year-old Alepúe youth (see p. 159) is probably a sample of burials in a plank box—an acculturated type of burial more Chilean than Araucanian. Approximately 30 families, all but six of those who had been expected, had come to the wake. The informant, a relative of the deceased young man, name[illegible]ese and added that the previous year a brother of the deceased had had a fist fight with a man of one of the absent families; everybody knew that for that reason this particular family was not present; but why the other families had not attended, he did not know. Before the body was removed from the ruka, it was laid into a coffin made of planks, "like the Chileans make them," and into the coffin were placed a pair of tennis shoes—"they had put his best shoes on him"—all washable things and his poncho; "in fact everything that had belonged to him personally." His hat lay on his body, not on his head. No food was put into the coffin. "Formerly we did that—we generally put in a container with water or chicha, 12 small pieces of bread fried in grease, and 2 portions of meat of the animal that was slaughtered for the wake. In this case it would have been 2 pieces of this young man's young cow, for that cow was slaughtered at the wake."

Twenty men, one of them a brother of the deceased, walked to the cemetery; four of these carried the coffin on their shoulders; four carried a lighted candle each—one of those that had been burning near the body during the wake; others carried the planks from which a rough box was to be made at the grave. "We do not have a rough box for every burial, but we did for this man." Upon arrival at the cemetery, the brother of the young man pointed out the burial place and the men set to work to dig the grave, taking turns digging. "Always the grave is 1½ meters deep." Two men made the rough box. The coffin was placed into the rough box, the box lowered into the grave by means of a lasso, dirt shoveled back into the grave, and then all went home. The family, except the one brother, had stayed at home. In Alepúe area women and children seldom attend a burial; this is not true of Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas. "Most certainly do all the women and children go to the burial," said a Coñaripe woman; "they usually leave their last tears there. If someone comes to the ruka to comfort them later, however, tears may again flow."

Today, a grave is overlaid with earth, and then, in Coñaripe area, with logs, or is surrounded by an oblong frame of upright boards and the space within planted with flowers or merely allowed to be overgrown with grass; in Alepúe area a gabled one-room house, 4 to 5 feet

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin. 764

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived. 764 766

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries. 764

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultrun was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
433 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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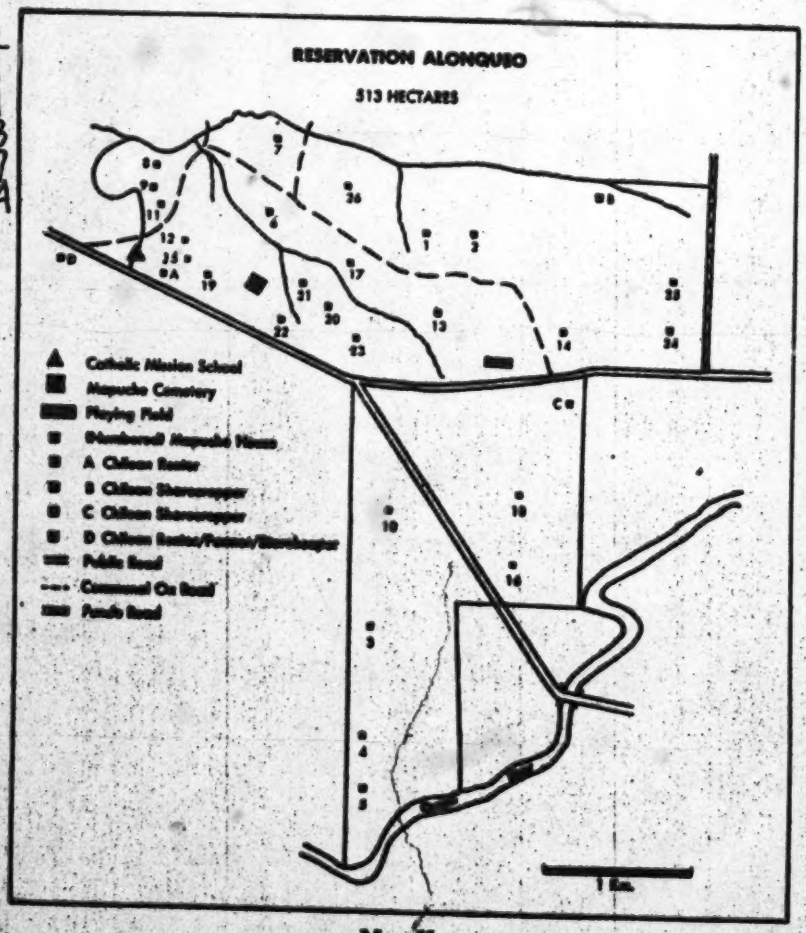

MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community. 613 628 794

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action. [769] [164] [241] [182]

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 776 613 769

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*.
794 Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
●764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[765] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment. 794 613 754

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility. 241 535 [778] [534] [793] [782] 241 771

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring 764 [771] [794] [795]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 775 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living [776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap- [754] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 628 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes- [754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764 628

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182

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794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 798 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

•764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764
Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756] removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763] the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifiying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black 764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much 152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*, 783 during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *ñillatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 574 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *moñetun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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velañ mán (*velañ: velorio* or wake; *mán:* right), lasts at least 764 four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574 auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764 final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the [178] traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [788] state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [801] because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764 urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178 this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corps through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173] wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

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764 574 [637] [602] cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is [261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* [261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 574 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply 764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are 57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally 682 262

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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•764 *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the
613 attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To
829 many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or
[769] made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly,
273 owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin. 764 [273]

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery. 764 766 184

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions 766 556

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

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Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

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In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the [754] presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, [776] death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in [764] the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The [787] Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its 775 spirit is called *l'ayen;* once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and 152 formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769
ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613
cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764].
the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche,* etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769
matter of course during *ñillatun,* and the concept of *kuifiche* 613
may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562
female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn.* In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783]
possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754]
by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613
to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602
is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
[571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
621 to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
182 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 764 754 613 602 783

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 764 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 764 602 613 571

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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
598 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [579] [571]

[4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

764 away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

764 787 Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

764 Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *weupins*, [537] representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by rela- [765] tives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1929, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *cupolave*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1892 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365–70).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 309; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pellü (pallí, pulli), am, alwe, loliñ, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Liŋkoan, Pañüñilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
797 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon
195 death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766] is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855] indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *mürituen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñanechew* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[n] 293

[n] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931a, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Hausse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[34] 774

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[35] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final. [761] [766] 775

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kütralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *w·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renü* with which they were formerly associated.[36]

[34] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[35] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama. [171]

[36] Hosse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Guinde lists 847 [848] [278]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened by this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 880

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

In the early days the body was wrapped in a hide after death; in more recent times, in a homewoven blanket; at present, it is dressed in the person's own clothes. While waiting for burial, formerly, the body rested on a platform of poles built for the purpose. Just before burial it was placed between the halves of a hollowed-out tree-trunk section, known as a wampu. Today a body rests on the platform used as a bed, and is buried in a coffin. 764

Formerly, the day of burial depended on the status of the person: commoners were kept one or two days after death; important persons, three or four days. The body of a cacique was sometimes kept five or six days, depending on the time when people from all surrounding areas, expected for the burial, had arrived. 764 766

Whether depositing a corpse in a cave dates back to early days was not known to informants. "I have seen human bones in many caves," said an old informant. "When I was young I heard old people say that whenever the army was chasing our people there was no time to bury the dead in graves; that a corpse was wrapped in a hide at such times and laid into a cave; that never before that time were people laid in caves." Saiko had seen the remains of burials in caves in many places, and also on rock shelves under rock shelters. Skeletons found in caves are in supine position, as are those found in burials everywhere, he noted. He had been present at excavations, including those of Araucanian graves, in many areas of the Araucanian country, and had himself dug sites of old Indian burial places. In the oldest burials, he observed, stones are found around, under, and above the skeletons; in later burials skeletons are found in wampu. He had seen no urn burials, nor any in which the body was in flexed position. All burials, he said, faced the rising sun. Burials today, with few exceptions, are in cemeteries. 764

Formerly, food, the deceased person's clothing, and all things considered his personal belongings were put into the wampu and buried with the body. "Always a woman's spindle, her silver ornaments, the ollas in which she stored her personal things, and her clothes," were buried with her, noted a 70-year-old woman. A listening-in woman added, "If a man had a trutruka, it was buried with him; and the kultrun was buried with the machi to whom it belonged." A man's silver-ornamented bridle and saddle were placed on his favorite horse, the horse shot at the place of burial, and both the rider's gear and horse were buried with the man. If the man owned other silver things, these too were buried with him. No food was brought to the place of burial after interment. Today the clothes of the deceased are buried in a place so far from the dwelling that the place cannot be seen.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin. 764 [293]

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery. 764 766 184

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions 766 556

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun

796 The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population [178] density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from 764
the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no [767]
professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, [766]
marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, [778]
a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaṇkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygymous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporradic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pəlpəl, weñáŋwe, wədawe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cùga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous 595
households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies [853] in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives [845] will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the 595
care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the 854
household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and [601]
"other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and 595
daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left [167]
the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that [589]
none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- [768]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
768 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
428 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of [618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance [587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
594 made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[431] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
768 All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
[198] of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán's hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Gustavino Pinto, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 480-499).

43 Mascuñán, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Lenhem, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those easy book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulicán, a powerful chief who

11?Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the ruka, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Eco-
[182] nomic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the
613 latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority
621 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among
[606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be-
[609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In
[329] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar-
[595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in
[183] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the
[169] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community. 613 628 794

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action. [769] [764] [341] [182]

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 776 613 769

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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[facing p. iii]

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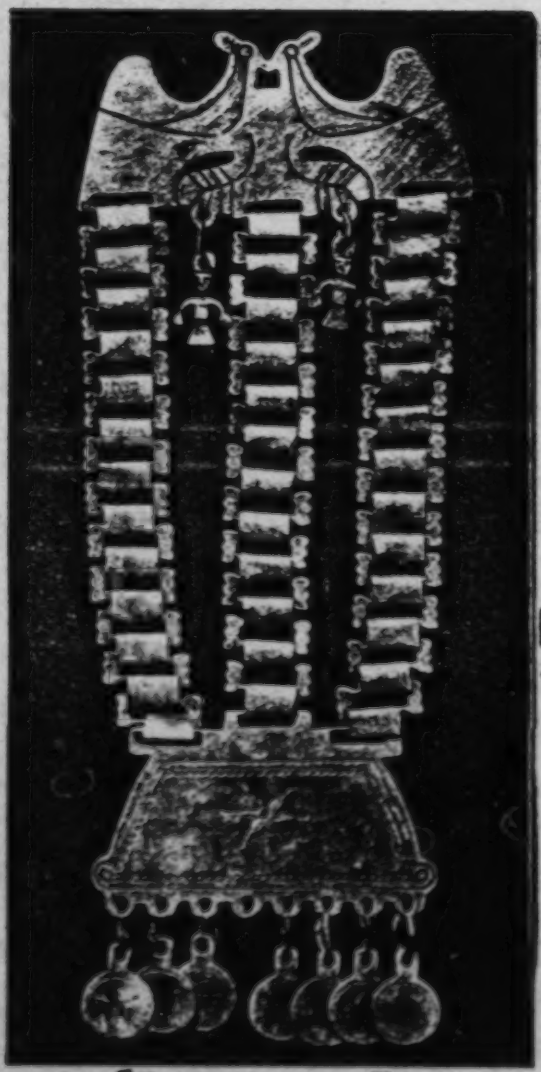

[769]

"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[175] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuñ*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become bluefliesf?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[176] the spirit world. All symboline the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
771 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*weaa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of 796
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (flekurewen) connected with their own "society."

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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
796 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
•769 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
[622] (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

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167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
428 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
423 when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
829 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the
[769] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613 *Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups*

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
[611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[591] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *lafu*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are
773 certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Ñenechen* made and is master of the people; *ñenemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *ñenechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *ñenechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *ñenechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops
[782] and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *ñenechen*, *ñenechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *ñillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *ñenechen*.

776 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is
• 769 through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *keruhue*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuka*. While it is to *fienechen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuka*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillifucha* and his wife *huillikushe*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *kupuka* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillifucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sea), *trelkenfucha/kushe* or, sometimes, *pillenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *fienechen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *fienechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

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776 562 [754] of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775 769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *Genechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*ensulpallun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *kawkaw*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 782 622 177 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*ñuliqueu*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
thereon, a *longko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political impor- 769
tance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the [622]
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the partici-
pant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *longko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *longko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone *glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance* called *longkoporon*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *longko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *longko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *longko* primarily as kinship elders of their matrilineal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity supposed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of humankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. *If a* troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
769 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
776 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
794 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of
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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic unilinity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any fiesta ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
776 analytic significance. An example will prove to indicate some-
794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
184 sometimes *trahuilwebe*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the meantime, *ñuke* known that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
776 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
184 between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shifting of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of one deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, occurs about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of local descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the era long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only there. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *ñenchen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *huifiche* or *huifipella*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenchen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenchen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *ewu*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the *ewu* are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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769 775 776 754 [613] [784] of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 776 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 769 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witrenalwe (i.e. *witren*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witrenalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witrenalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witrenalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witrenalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witrenalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed-kinmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expansions. I have selected these myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and salvation. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expansions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

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Through *wenpin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *wenpin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *ewen* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

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When *wenpin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by escort, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if mules are available. The burial place, *ellue* (cemetery) or *mincheomapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

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The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and chicha.

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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for
the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[789] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses
available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses.
[198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this
[178] altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *awulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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796 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then
[825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls
[821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then
[769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the
[796] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to
[769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kupuke*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibil-
ity; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance,
but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time
when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Gue-
vara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatorio de los corderos, algunos hombres experimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in
which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
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114 796 769 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors [782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers [178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 769 788 796 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational membership, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for pereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun asume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating [178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an 793 authorized *ñillatuife*, on the occasions in which she participates 756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A [178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstan-
tiated references to regional differences in either cultural or
social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *ewn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
.789 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
782 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a
conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche
ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and
ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from
analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological
sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *ewn* and
ñillatun, regardless of differences. An important though by no
means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the
two rituals. *Ewn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the
recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at
least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a
fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors
for the welfare of the living. *Ewn* is more immediately concerned
with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional
deities, and fewerhow. But the two ceremonies are more than
merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a
common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distin-
guishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinc-
tion is generally verbalized, both *ewn* and *ñillatun* embody a
common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral
spirits and fewerhow, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the
dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[194] although there are structural and compositional differences
[illegible] in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *ewn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *ewn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *ewn*) which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *ewn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *ewn*, and associated with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

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Ñillatun

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Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through N_2, with A-B-C horizontally hatched (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hatches and arrows) to show that these form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *filletufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *filletun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[8]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[8] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *filletun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the religiousness of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñllatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the
622 absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
613 mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
154 Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a *ñllatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñllatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
769 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñllatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñllatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figure common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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rule and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by *in-married* women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a listed member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most *in-married* women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances, or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, therefore, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that *in-married* women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, *in-married* women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *hulka*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to *in-married* women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through *in-married* women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations conflict with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral duties, but are able to observe their propitiations during the dilution ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the multilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Rilitude: The Chief as Priest. Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational cure (14, A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during dilution represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Araucanian gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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difference between his conceptualization of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in ñillatun, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shamans. While I hesitate to speculate about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is usually swept aside and has lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninstructed in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own ceremonies are only imperfectly propitiated during the ñillatun. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it lies in control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation separates into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into secondary ethnic enclaves. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an extremely dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the ñillatun ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of ñillatufe (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the ñillatun gradually becomes something else, and both are both political and ritual organizations. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationships are forged in the ñillatun ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu ewn*, *pu lahu*, *huifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *fillatun*, and the concept of *huifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *fillatun* or *ewn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the weksfe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the consecration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
•769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
598 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft, and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the remaining continuum, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are intimated strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
[583] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

786 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
598 unknown. It also occurs between unrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of kinsfolk among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in matrilateral relationship, or a unrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the inclusive upward upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresistible
794 action of the foreboding forces of evil, one of the collectivity
602 of wekufe. The combatting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its local and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a reminding force against evil operating upon or within ancestral souls. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect wake. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in forced participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given wake. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The affiliates and wake congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the moral segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which mourners in any given region participate regularly in both wake and affiliates. This I have done with some success in the Tribilin region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that employed in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of mourners, and considering wake, affiliates, and meetings affiliates. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of mourners which not only participates in affiliates and wake but which is also related through sentimental meetings ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their 751
doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *tupuldauche* or other silver ornaments worn on their breasts.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any 756
community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain 182
that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they 554
frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The [769]
people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at [796]
any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective.

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their 756
wealth is measured in movable goods for the most part, goods 556
received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But diseases usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of

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756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. [462] The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patri- [769] potestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

121 *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
756 correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shaman-
462 ism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
[114] gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thorough-going patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorpor-
462 ated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
756 sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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756 554 562 182 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 769 562 182 613 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 613 182 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

114 791 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[8] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

754 761 769 776 [114]

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *fillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *fillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[8] This poses a problem with regard to vengeance-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

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(grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into *reducciones* and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murdering witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

When feelings are especially strained between persons, even though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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754 628 578 Intercservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalwe*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal cases which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do consiadents. Intercservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 737 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it. 77 787

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune. 792 787

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *hanchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood. 772 769. 782 796 [788] [571] [608]

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy. 772

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
witchs	Mapuche
reservation	tribal congregation

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There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are seen dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *huifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

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There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

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177 family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
554 tion on small multilineage reservations, at an area considerably
672 reduced from pentecostian days, saw the rise of significant
[433] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
[984] matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic interpretive force
or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
177 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
[969] hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and even to the extent that these
796 assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
969 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
than anything described during the pentecostian era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[994] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
social changes resulting from external forces, and their
cultural content is belief.

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186 182 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 771 779 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. [175] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 825 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko fletuin*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of [778] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 779 825 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranufwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to hoed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*tillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same caliber in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[782] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unsuspicious, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñiltun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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792 In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and
979 *mum* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mumkuk*, or simply *wele* and
572 *mum*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and
192 "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukemum* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Weue* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which foreboding evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethergen* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of one's ill). An "evil-handed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *weue kuke* or *wele kuke*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions indefinitely. For the most
792 part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual
779 scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to
577 the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entities are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

• 77 There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which
987 analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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During ritualism the ritual priest (*machi*) cuts off the right 772
ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, 769
while offering prayers to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood 782
of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of 796
the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ritilmapu*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the [788]
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There seems a clear enough association between good pho- 772
nomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, twin trees, dry, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *weluple*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kas* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *rewü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
● 771 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious
773 beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[6] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[7]

[6] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[7] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarriñe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[16] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarriñe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

ÑILLATUN CEREMONIES[17]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 796 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *ñunechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *ñunechen*, or *kume* ("good") *ñunechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[16] See Figure 9, the Huaiquian-Paineo field near house No. 25.

[17] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 742–43. A good account by a native is given in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 371–94.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to 776
dwell in volcanoes.[11] The essential dualism of Araucanian be- 796
lief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible 771
at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent dei- 776
ties: *Kũla-añe-fũcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" 796
or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon'a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of 796
regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several [177]
communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[11] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The assembly songs also serve to call attention to several items of Mapuche religion. Belief in dreams as omens is frequently reiterated, and there is one interesting example of the widely held notion that heart, soul, shade, and reflection form a single complex. Furthermore, there are some references to bird and animal lore, with mention being made specifically of the deer, fox, vulture, lapwing, turtledove, hen, and rooster. 539 771

In conclusion, it may be said that these songs give proof of the high poetic quality of Mapuche oral literature. At the same time they throw light on numerous aspects of social organization and provide important clues to an understanding of the interplay between Mapuche culture and personality development. 539

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give it greater resistance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was rudely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are thrashed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the beaten floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

[462] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and thrashing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been most brought in contact with civilised customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucano keeps considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and brood mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is considerably used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, ascribing everything they did not understand, or that did not

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [777]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirit, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we only remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ŋənéchen (master of men) and ŋənémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ŋənéchen," "Young Woman ŋənéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ŋənéchen (ŋənémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being should be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 782 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ŋillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucaniane*; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the ŋillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapí region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218–30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:393).

771 Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53: Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:394–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1898, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufü. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41). 771

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44). 778

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance. 113

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources. 131

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 268) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement 262

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pilláns hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butanmapos. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a

42 Geronimo Pizarro, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-493).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Núñez, p. 48; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alvaro Núñez de Pineda, *maestro de campo general*, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobio and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those story book affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillánes.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutor would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 791
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [791]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182 000

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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These are the tiers of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[622] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
177 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[775] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[775] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
77 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief. 128 771

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed. 771 184

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropo-social, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date. [776]

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellions spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *ewn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *ewn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *ewn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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178 62 794 [241] [613] 178 62 791 794

century developments and given its character to Mapuche society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that some significant changes have taken place in the structure of ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 613 621

Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages. In any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate understanding of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidol melewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief. 000

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[2]

178 121 771. [177] [114]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that [78]

[2] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

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Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, 121
if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from 771
definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over
the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if 178
not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that 78
among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were 128
selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as 178
exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper 183
relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing 78
with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *awn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, 178
analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is 183
of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do 78

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
793 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect
756 to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a
more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and
appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but
Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly
insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morn-
ing bath never being omitted by men, women, and children,
who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn;
and their dress was much more carefully attended to than
that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are
worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of
any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more
elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-
dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of
ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of
the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered
mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as
by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade
my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians.
They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed
what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he
was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and
brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he
apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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683 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in
578 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of
[172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *reñu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition
[184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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121 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
• 772 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
769 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
772 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
754 this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation
756 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
772 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
812 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to me, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism

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The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honors, designations, prerogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural proclivities of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960:97).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960:89).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding marriage. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of
121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention
772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in
582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association
121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an
182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For
772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly
121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make
582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in
571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal
[577] descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufu	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
hal hal	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

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In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

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LEFT	RIGHT
west	east
north	south
winter	summer
cold	warm
moon	sun
(water)	blood
speech	ritual language
ocean	land
below	above
blue	yellow
black	white
laymen	priest
sin	expiation (ritual)
(outside)	ceremonial field

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. There are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land; sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, north, winter, cold, ocean, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, south, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, expiation, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

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Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

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The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

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772 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared
554 up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

772 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche
562 society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man)
769 dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 There are other indications of male dominance and a clear
562 association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participa-
[623] tion in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "[illegible]e" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

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Kona and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

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Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility" with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48). These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites. 772 554 613 602 578

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ayn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers. 772 431 554 571

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The 583 613 602 554 [114]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious
●773 beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nguruvilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Piñeda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 claimed to derive her power directly from ŋºnéchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ŋillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ŋillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

756 754 The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements end and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the treŋ treŋ flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, treŋ treŋ and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did treŋ treŋ raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Cheurfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 98–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1938.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 82), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillañ or wekufü. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 824 757

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 776 [171]

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepúe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." [775 177]

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaiwülu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created
• 773 the many natural phenomena. *Ñenechen* made and is master of the people; *ñenemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *ñenechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *ñenechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *ñenechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops
[782] and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *ñenechen*, *ñenechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *ñillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *ñenechen*.

776 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is
769 through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *karuhua*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773• [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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773 182 mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

539 184 The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographics. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Galvarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 versely, that ashes are spread on the way home to prevent the soul's return.[20] I was unable to verify these practices.

Interment takes place in a deep grave. *Mudai* or *chicha* is poured into the opening, and other offerings may be added. At one time it seems to have been the custom to kill a man's favorite horse over his grave and to bury it in an adjacent plot, but this is no longer done.[21] According to Housse, the more grave offerings a person receives, the better his soul's fate in the afterlife.[22] So strong a hold does this notion have that even Christian Indians are often observed putting objects, more or less surreptitiously, into the graves of their dead.

After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a *witranalwe*. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance. More offerings are sometimes made on these occasions, after which the grave is no longer visited, except by those who observe Christian customs. There is no evidence of a native belief in the periodic return of spirits of the dead.

OTHER-WORLD NOTIONS

774 Araucanian notions of souls and spirits are seldom given overt expression, but many of their beliefs are indirectly stated. There are numerous variations of their basic concepts, but in general they believe in multiple souls,[23] and they have a tendency to equate a number of spirit-containing factors including

[20] Housse, 1939, p. 219. Also, see Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84. Detailed accounts of the traditional rites for a chief may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 395–415, and in Joseph, 1933, pp. 515–26.

[21] Lothrop wrote me that at La Serena llamas used to be sacrificed.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 89.

[23] Cooper (1946, p. 735) said: "There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Huilliche believed men to have two or more 'souls.'" Among contemporary Araucanians there is widespread belief in multiple souls as the phrase is customarily used in anthropological literature. On this point see Latcham, 1924, pp. 579–86.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[24] 774

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[25] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final. [761] [766] 775

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kūtralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *n·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renū* with which they were formerly associated.[26]

[24] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[25] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama. [171]

[26] Housse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [777]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

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Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

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As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nyunemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nyunemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

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belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously 776
towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of 774
contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these 821
tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the 776
power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work 821
evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their [753]
sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Auchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Nguruvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of 776
a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that [823]
happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huaillepenqui*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: 776
Chonchonyi, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who 753
hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 309; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

●774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pollü (pallí, pulli), am, alwe, loliñ, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellü is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Huilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

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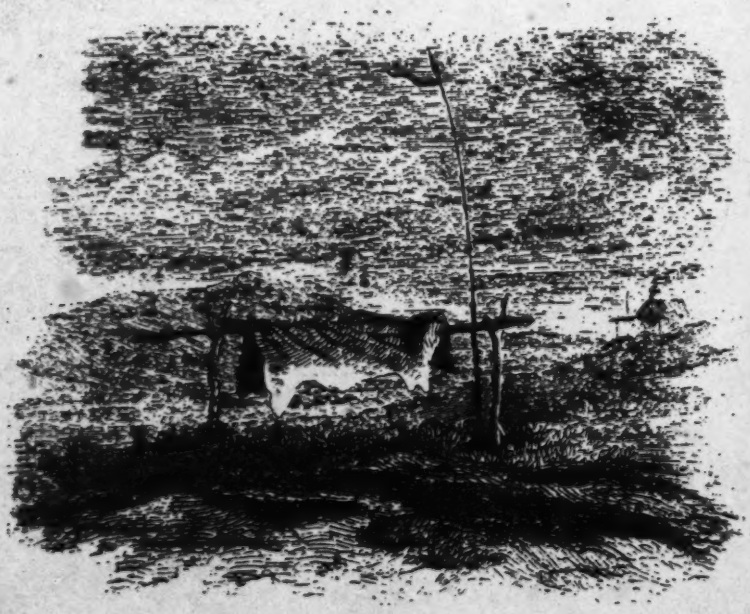

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1855, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(*a*) *Wekufū.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufū (huecúvu, gūecubu, and variants). Wekufū, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ŋənéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufū. Rites in connection with wekufū, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufū away.

(*b*) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
•774 in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufū]
776 (whirlwind [wekufū]), Anchimallen arəmko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ŋen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante"
[787] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(*c*) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

789 (*d*) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[TM] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [774]

Some believe there is a flying snake that dislikes pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, pp. xii-xiii); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild. [171]

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul 842

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

683 burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people [178] fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one [648] litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume 776 are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They [774]. contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and 776 forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there 825 are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *killkill*, *huelen*, 825 *wuthwuth*, *juree*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds 787 of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki*, *tregul*, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
775 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

•774 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
775 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering 774 •
spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit 775
doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact 781
with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the 776
individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who 787
might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But 776
there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently [826]
observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul·on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for 774
instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[24]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. [761] Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was [766] formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[25] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to 775
go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kütralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *n·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renü* with which they were formerly associated.[26]

[24] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[25] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the [771] bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[26] Housse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

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775 While it is universally agreed that the souls of the dead continue to exist in the afterworld, the manner of existence is variously and only vaguely described. As a rule, the belief prevails that men and women carry on shadowy replicas of their lives on earth, following the same pursuits, raising the same crops, marrying, and having children.[27] Informants were unable to say whether spirits die in the other world, but it was explicitly stated that the souls of the dead are not reborn on earth in the bodies of babies. Departed spirits are considered capable of exerting some influence on the living, especially through the agency of dreams. If they are displeased by their funeral services, or if they are manipulated by witches, spirits can wreak harm on mankind, but no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out.

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live on in clouds, and witches are chained in active volcanoes. Compare Cooper, 1946, pp. 736–37.

[27] Molina (1808, p. 81) made a similar statement: "The soul, when separated from the body, exercises in another life the same functions that it performed in this, with no other difference except that they are unaccompanied with fatigue or satiety." See also Latcham, 1924, pp. 580–81.

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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* 754
is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that 776
these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popu- 754
lar tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the 754
use of various things associated with heat and light. They are
known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous 778
category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the ex- 754
ercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms
signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to 775
evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

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754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
●775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[753] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [177]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775 ●

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellü is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Hvilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

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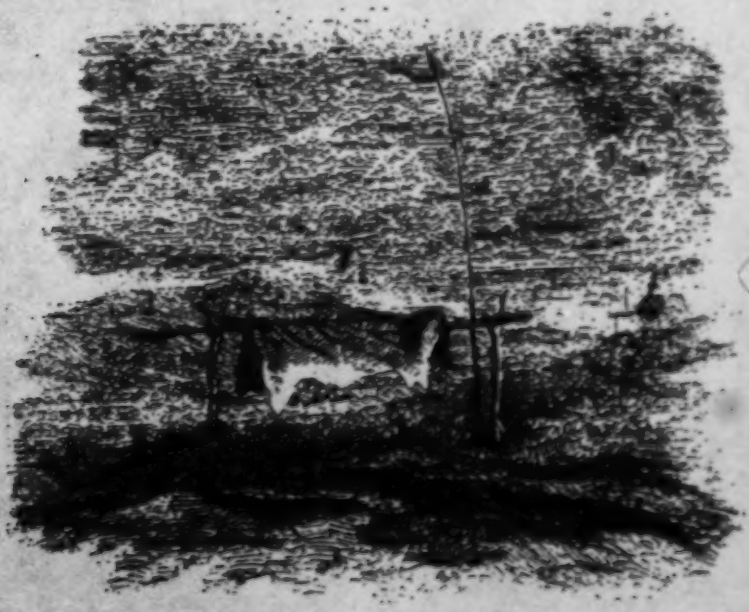

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1853, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (House, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

FIGURE 50.—Mapuche grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1936, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collin: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and promoted as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and terms of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[9] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cofuripe and Pangipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (razlim), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[9] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Araucano (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture.

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepóe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place."

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaiwülu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.)

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques-

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795 tion was asked); the machi that are also kalku, because these dealt with wekufü; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's ruka; the wekufü themselves.

THE ÑILLATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

796 Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as ñillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as las rogativas (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our ñillatun."

Until recent years the ñillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An Alepúe man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the ñillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a ñillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a ñillatun at that time, too." Today, the ñillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete ñillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Maiquillahue (Alepúe area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Coñaripe] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next ñillatun."

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764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[774] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, [illegible] to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 262 [171] The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

● 775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (lonjko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the njillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañünau, Meliñamku, Linjkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayún; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintoman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [776]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units [628]
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [775]

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764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
[754] cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes-
[754] tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[775] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuín*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[775] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
77 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

• 775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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776 of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that
562 they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of
[754] goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775
769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*),
622 it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean
179 mode of expression.

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794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
798 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon
195 death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

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775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits
787 return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*peuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of
775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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•775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Tolten River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *nillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
61 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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769 of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.
775 When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because
776 of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence
754 of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily
[613] sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in
[784] the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in
776 order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition
769 of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and
naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of [585]
ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This
is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage
ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent
congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth,
death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of
matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of
life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775.
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west
and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the
vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—
hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to
Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent
ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be
otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of
the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in
contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in
the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are
numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *fiesechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *fiesechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal [771] may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the [793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual [754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of [789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces [756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as [178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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825 witifu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 **Avunko and shempalow** are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *ochimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The **shempalow** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Chenufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other meteorites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire originating from *chenufe* portends death when burning near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to
[K3] designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attri-
.775 butes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and personistic spirits in the conception and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the disincarnated souls of persons who died
[552] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children
[553] who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimalfen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimalfen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimalfen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
775 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[956] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
775 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

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The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with *witranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of fachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden
bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the
house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a
gallop, drank the ñachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the
wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral
to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the
secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are
alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation
offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubri-
ous, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The
Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean police-
men, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is
the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying.
After a startling experience, people can return to the relative
security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continu-
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578]
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility
against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A 752
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and
people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from
that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night.
The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñii*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the [754] presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, [776] death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa* [764] *l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in [787] the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its 775 spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and 152 formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *reñu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *reñu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *reñu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. *No action need be taken* 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live uxorilocally (even for obvious eco-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

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Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *nillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikayen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

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The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
● 776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kal-on*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *pataguas*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1932a, p. 72.

1: Ti v E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *renüs*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *renüs*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, monsters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many [787] birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufü*.[1] *Wekufü* occur ● 776 in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *choücheü*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[1] Latcham (1909, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *kuwenu* ("evil spirits") and *kuwenuyes* ("sorcerers"). He also set up separate categories for *dungum* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* 754
is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that 776
these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popu- 754
lar tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the 754
use of various things associated with heat and light. They are 778
known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *welufü*, frequently involved in the ex- 754
ercise of sorcery, are *wiranalw* and *alchimalw*. These terms 775
signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *wiranalw* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *wiranalw* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to bedevil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *wiranalw* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *wiranalw* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarrihe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[14] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarrihe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

Sillatun ceremonies[15]

798 Woven together into the great composite of *sillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 776 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *fuwachew*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *fuwachew*, or *kimei* ("good") *fuwachew*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[14] See Figure 9, the Huinquinto-Painen field near house No. 25.

[15] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 740-43. A good account by a native is given in Manquilef, 1930, pp. 221-90.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to dwell in volcanoes.[18] The essential dualism of Araucanian belief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent deities: *Kūla-añe-fūcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon·a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[18] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [772]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. 776

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucanian. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pillí* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witch-doctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerer, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witch-doctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly so great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witch-doctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanians was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Ñpumapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Ñpumapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquake, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was considered to be a corporeal deity, one and unity at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle because in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

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4:Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies. 776 779 [S2]

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of canelo, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sickness, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or disease in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherrues*, figured as snakes with human heads. These gnid were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the harbingers of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot. 776 [S2] [S3]

Another of their deities was *Huairu* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Anchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only benefactor. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Ngurvilu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild ox, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him. 776 [S2]

Another god was *Huallipangi*, the spirit of the rain. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a ewe's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Cheuchenpi*, a human head whose ears served, as wings, a species of vampire who lurked round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered 776 759

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 753 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's life blood.

Cob-cob (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pikuckonyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Ao*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

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The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

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The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 717 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pictsichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *hueuvenpu*, or sorcerers, the *dunguen*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

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RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ɥanéchen (master of men) and ɥanémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ɥanéchen," "Young Woman ɥanéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ɥanéchen (ɥanémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public
782 ɥillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the ɥillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

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1911, pp. 236–46; 1929, 1:438–46; Housse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 371–94; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 9–36.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called ṣen'pin, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia maqui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 83); the erection of the llaṣillaṣi, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated execution of the awña, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia maqui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast. 776

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ṣillatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and en falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e. g., Housse, 1939, pp. 105–10; see also infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ṣillatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the konchotun rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this konchotun rite is performed as part of the ṣillatun rites, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ṣillatun "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 390).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal. 776 177

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillañ or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously. 776 177

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FIGURE 84.—A *Mapuche* Inquilmo. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 229.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Fathers Adeodato da Bologna and Octaviano de Nizza (*Félix José*, 1910, pp. 252–56) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 45–46) and Smith (1855, p. 273), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

> They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . They also call him Gueno-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Bota-gen, the great being [sen, "master"]; Thalaven, the Thunderer; Vilvemvoe, the Creator of all; Vilpepilven, the Omnipotent; Meliqulo, the Eternal; Avenlo, the Infinite, &c . . . . He is the great Tequi of the invisible world . . . . [Molina, 1801, p. 180, cf. 1878 a, p. 265.]

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Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it. Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvoe (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names: Pepilfóo, Barbará, 1878, p. 181; *Filpepilfoe*, Milanesio, 1896, p. 41) and Vilvemvoe are pretty surely of Christian origin. But others, such as Guenu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227, Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gun (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man," Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Oubnetrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864, pp. 82, 145; Cuchauentrú, "great man," Manzilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta huentrú, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen, Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of *gnechen*, *infra*), have a more aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 139, 178–79), Milanesio (1896, pp. 41–42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113–14), Manzilla (1877, 2:32), Cox (1863, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp 82, 145–46, 237), Barbará (1879, pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:259), De la Cruz (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767–68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Puelmaiche*" observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114), who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the *Araucanians* over many years:

> These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampas] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches Toquichen, which signifies governor of the people . . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche* *gnechen*, "master of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians* as Gennetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 139), Gne-che (Milanesio, 1896, p. 41), Gónechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 109, "great Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche* *vendungen*, "master of the land," and variants, with regno ne-pu (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ñiñatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being; Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ɣenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The ñuqa, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648 p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [753]

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776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(a) *Wekufú.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufú (huecúvu, güecubu, and variants). Wekufú, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ɣenéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufú. Rites in connection with wekufú, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufú away.

774 (b) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufú] (whirlwind [wekufú]), Anchimallen aremko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ɣen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante"
[787] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(c) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 780.)

789 (d) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

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606 cluded from those with whom one might joke; such persons were those older than oneself, persons affected by in-law taboos (in Cofaripe area), and persons to whom one owed conventional courtesies. More specifically, a man may joke, but does not need to do so, with the younger sisters of his wife; with those older than his wife he is to show reserve. A woman may joke with the younger brothers of her husband, but need not do so; she is to show reserve when speaking to the older brothers of her husband. A man will not joke with his brother's wife, even if she is younger than he. Children of the same age who are cross-cousins may tease each other when they meet, but never may a younger one do so to an older one. A woman may say to a young girl relative whom she may meet, "Are you out looking for a man?" But never may the girl say it to a woman. Neither could a young man say it to a girl cousin, "for it would show very bad rearing. It is really not allowed."

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING, HIS ABODE

776 The Supreme Being was spoken of as both the creator of the world (gnenemapún) and the ruler of the world or lord of all creation (gnenchén). (Cooper's sources, 1946, pp. 742-743, and Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 58, are in agreement with this.) "They are identical," said the informant, "just two names for one person." Prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being under both titles. In general, however, prayers were directed to gnenchén for matters pertaining to the earth: "I say, 'You, gnenchén, who are in the middle of heaven and are mightiest, grant that what we have sowed will bring harvest; and that our animals will multiply. Send us rain and sunshine.' That is how we pray when we pray directly to God." Nenemapún was prayed to "when there was sickness in a family, and in general for protection for a family in all things." Generally, today, God is spoken of, and is addressed, as chau (father).

According to Cooper's sources the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order of things; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him (1946, p. 742). My informants were agreed that punishment was meted out to individuals and/or all the people while they were on earth. "Nenchén sends punishment by sending weather like we are having this summer [drought]," said one; "He punishes us because so many Mapuche do not like to pray, and are not praying." Another, a 70-year-old man, said, "My grandfather was a real Mapuche; he

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could speak no Spanish and he knew nothing of any Christian religion; but if I did not obey him, he would say, 'Nenemapún will punish you for that.'" A man, an assistant to the cacique who led a ñiñatun in Alepúe area, found, upon his return home from the ñiñatun, that cows had eaten his garden. "He was very angry about this. When, later in the season, the lack of rain and intense heat caused a potato failure, people said that it was because that man had been so angry immediately after the ñiñatun." 776●

No informant had given much thought to the appearance of the Supreme Being. "I do not know what chau looks like. Prophets [leaders in the ñiñatun] sometimes in dreams hear a voice like that of a man; sometimes they see a figure like a man; they say the voice is that of chau, and the figure is chau. Other prophets have told us that chau cannot be seen. The people do not known what he looks like."

All informants were agreed that the Supreme Being had with Himself a woman, spoken of as wenumapu fuke (wenumapu meaning heaven or regions above, and fuke, mother). In relationship to her the Supreme Being is spoken of as wenumapu chau. Cooper's sources agree with this statement, and state also that these two had sons and daughters (1946, p. 742), something with which not all my informants agreed. An old Pangipulli informant had not heard of such children; "but we know that chau has with him a woman to whom we pray as if she were our mother: we ask her to ask chau to give us what we want. She is chau's ñuhen or mujer [wife or woman]." Alepúe informants, however, spoke of children. Quoting them: "In heaven there is God father, God mother, and their sons and daughters." "I remember my grandmother going to the brook each morning and saying prayers, they were prayers addressed to God father, to the mother in heaven, and to their sons and daughters." The interpreter then questioned: "Already in the early days the Mapuche had the belief in the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God?" To which the informant replied, "No, not like that; it is not the same—it is a family. We always thought of the people in heaven as being a family."

God is prayed to not only directly but also through intercessors, "such as the women I just told about, and the deceased prophets." When an old Pangipulli man was asked who of these ranked first, he answered, "God is first and all the rest are equal. We can pray directly to God, but I usually address myself to the deceased prophets—they say that the deceased prophets are in the pilhú—and I ask them to intercede for us."

The location of the abode of the Supreme Being is not known; it is

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•776 spoken of as wenumapu—a word used also when speaking of sky, celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the abode might be the place called pillañ, but an old Pangipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wenumapu," he insisted; "in pillañ are the deceased prophets, the old women who used to beat the kultrun in the ñiñiton, and other good persons. Pillañ is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 166.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alepúe man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Collaripe informant; "they prayed to Him in the ñiñiton; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

PRIVATE PERSONAL PRAYER, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the fireside or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put mine in an olla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fei, chau' [here, God], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. School boys and girls 11 to 13 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a 4-footed animal is slaughtered, the one doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for an increase in his herd and flocks. "I saw my father take the steaming blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Pangipulli even still throw a spoonful of broth or stew or a little piece of any prepared food on the fire before beginning a meal: "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alepúe informants.

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 776 [171]

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepin man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." [775 171]

According to a Pangipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kalaiwilin." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillán; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kiñeñmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to fit the equivalent of hell-fire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kiñeñmapu: The ladies (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775

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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chachai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

60 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolugar, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is pifen.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone she not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the house of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS AIDES, SACRED FIGURES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as Ixta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as quenchin; at the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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ñiñatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ñenchén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuñe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ñiñatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuñe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuñe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuñe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ñiñatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's house in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ñiñatun when everyone attending the ñiñatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ñiñatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ñiñatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ñiñatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm came. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was burned." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 778 781

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Llakatral did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 80-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman revengefully, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

● 776 Sokomokorra, witches of "people who lived north of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (rewe), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulafquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in lobgoblins, which are called ambinalles. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they
787 appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me ambinalles are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

Several informants had had visions, among them Kelupan. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred. The sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'ah, ah, ah,' like frightened sheep do. Since sheep are frightened only when they see something bad, I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a ballet, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer sober. Suddenly, we both saw a rahal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tabling separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudaw* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though household agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

[596]

Elpu is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpu*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *descendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *descendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is almost equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to infer from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

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Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "ancestral" patrilineal

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Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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611 [217] known. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *rwkin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *rwkinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 621 101 [214] To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariquano (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Huaipin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariquanoche (pure), or Huaipinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Huaipinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

[213] [215] [216]

114 [2] In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings. (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and ambilineal principles of integration, (2) biased and haphazard translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] Pelehuche is used in a manner which tends to identify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in Ritutun for fifty days. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [969]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [964]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*eum*) rites and [341]
agricultural fertility (*küllatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 969

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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *Genechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *Genechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *Gene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

993 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *werapin* or orators who represent the patri-
956 lineages of the decreased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *werapin* have no special powers of their own and
[993] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[994] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performa-
nce which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[855] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*ñewgulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *nawi*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the postharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *dewachen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*ñuillfyache* and *ñuillfache*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *dewachen* is asked to restrain them. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a tribal, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as responsible members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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764 975 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture by kalku who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one ceremonial, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the ceremonial is to speak the prayers of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 238 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are purely responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, considering as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambience. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

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think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy. Ab 781

Not only the Abiponeo, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guayeurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichè. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubè. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

Ab E 776 171

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief. 128 771

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed. 771 184

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropo-social, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date. [796]

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Ñenechen and the *Pantheon*

• 776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

[177] [128]

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Ñenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

[191]

Ñenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitations, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *weu* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas. 796 796 797

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression. 796 [829]

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *kurufua*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They [811]

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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 773 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. Nenechen made and is master of the people; fenemapun made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of fenechen. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that fenechen was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of fenechen, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, kupukefuche and his wife, kupukeche—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before fenechen on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with fenechen, fenechen himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche emotions and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during ñillatun which are directed as a congregational enterprise to fenechen.

[782]

776 769 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's local ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of kupukefuche, the kewhue—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu ewe, pu lahu, huilliche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuche*. While it is to *machehen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuche*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillfuche* and his wife *huillfache*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *kupuche* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillfuche/hache* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfuche/hache* (god and goddess of the sea), *trallenfuche/hache* or, sometimes, *pillenfuche/hache* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufuche/hache* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kayenfuche/hache* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *machehen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As in the case with *machehen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche likes the wives

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of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *weas* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of unspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *fillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate something of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*, sometimes *trekelfuche*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. These he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal population. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

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Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

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The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, there is no confusion in establishing

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *dewachen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater independence with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipella*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intermeters before *dewachen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the center, *dewachen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shamans and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *eran*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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of the sun are ordered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the bewildering powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own directions, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

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Supernatural Beliefs Defined

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Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapuchcland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapuchcland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to *animistic* spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

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Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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779 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *fewachen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *fewachen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

• 996 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
995 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
995 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
996 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill
683 them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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burned and dismembered at the order of a *machi*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

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Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and servitement of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

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The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Pivichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

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Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *cometen*, *kilikili*, *huelen*, *wetheweth*, *juve*, *parino*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *laiku* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *tregul*, and

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Id: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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825 whistle are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
789 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 Arcoiris and shamplulow are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a strange creature on one occasion, then as an ambimalfin (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The shamplulow is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* Chesqle comprises such natural phe-
987 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other assembling whirlwinds, stone men (supposedly descended from the sky) and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of Antu and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean duende, and there is a tendency to generalize duende to cover all wekufe as well. Fire emanating from chesqle portends death when passing over a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [1063] 715 Ghosts. While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children [658] who died before the naming ceremony (lakutun) and received [553] no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Farron E-4.1 (1956-1994) 1964
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ancestral spirits "at rest." Also serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *wilwadiw*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. Pulla is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wuse pulla*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become lethargic and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Powers

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Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but actual contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have broaden with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a witch. But there are also benefficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

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One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I was outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

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The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with *witranalwe*. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of ñachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the *witranalwe* to help him carry the sheep back to the 787
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the *witranalwe* to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden
bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the
house for the *witranalwe*. The *witranalwe* approached at a
gallop, drank the *ñachi* at one gulp, and then toasted off the
wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral
to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the
secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are
alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation
offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubri-
ous, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The
Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean police-
men, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is
the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying.
After a startling experience, people can return to the relative
security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with continu-
ally. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578]
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility
against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A 752
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and
people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from
that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night.
The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *weru loako* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 775 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse. 787 753 [769] [756] [755]

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption. 773 [128]

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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539 eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her refú. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Tramaleufu and Winkaleufu, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a ñillatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word ñillatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way ñillatun originated among the Mapuche.

[776] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *lafkenfucha*, whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquián, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquián. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquián managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquián was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquián partook of the meat. Then Manquián began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. 539
When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, [illegible] he turned completely to stone and died. He told them [illegible] to their houses afterward. They did his bidding.

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a ñenechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and [782] we offer him meat every year, when there is ñillatun.

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond 539 776.
between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *lafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 621

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 756

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom 796 [821] [776]

12 Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for [776] *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

12. Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

764 121 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 776 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[2] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

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The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[2] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front. [777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

T A 648

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

T A 525

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

T A [777]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from 764
the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no [767]
professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, [766]
marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, [778]
a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* 754
is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that 776
these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popu- 754
lar tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the 754
use of various things associated with heat and light. They are 778
known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the ex- 754
ercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms 775
signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to be devil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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756 pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil
•[778] with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *chrufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul-truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

756 Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern
796 latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul-truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kurewn* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi's* first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *rañiñtripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[5] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarriñe, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *lonko* or cacique would send his *werkenu* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *lonko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *Ñanechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimantuwe*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[6] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[5] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que vuelve el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[6] *Pimantuwes* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 36–38.

PLATE XIV

FIG. 1. Main altar of the *ñillatue* at Malalche.

FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

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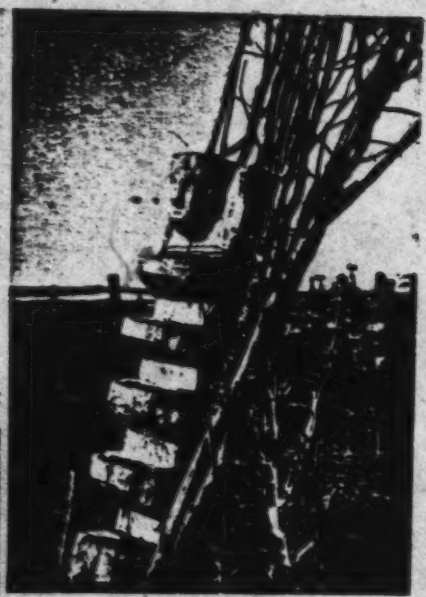

PLATE 188.—Araucanian graves, totes, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rows, or machi's ladder. *Bottom:* Mapuche dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

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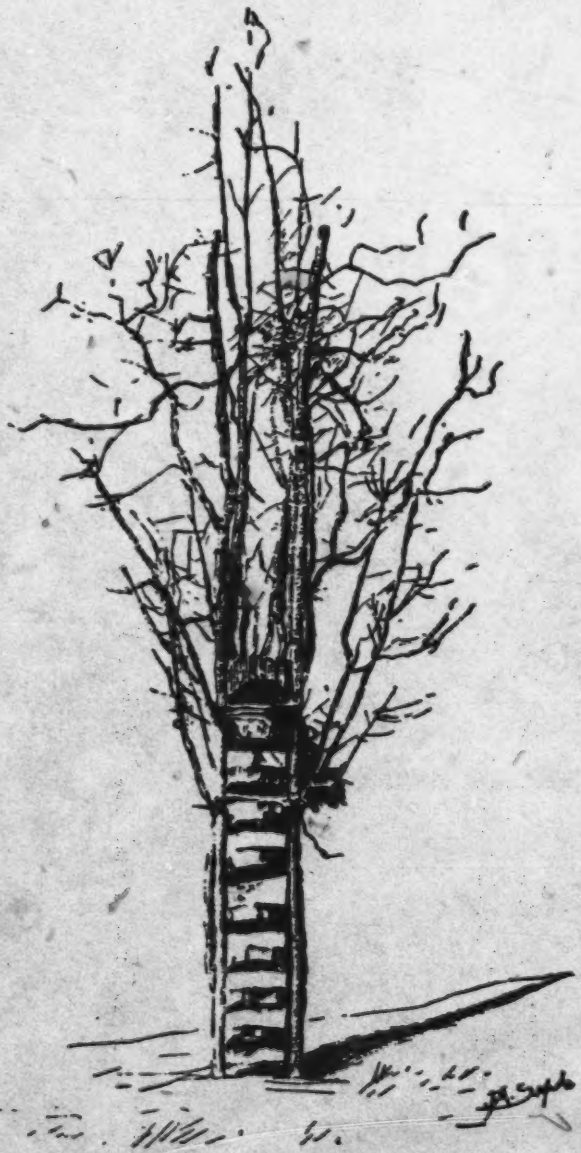

FIGURE 83.—A *Mapuche* ruwe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

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disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1883, p. 85; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

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788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
• [778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos; Félix

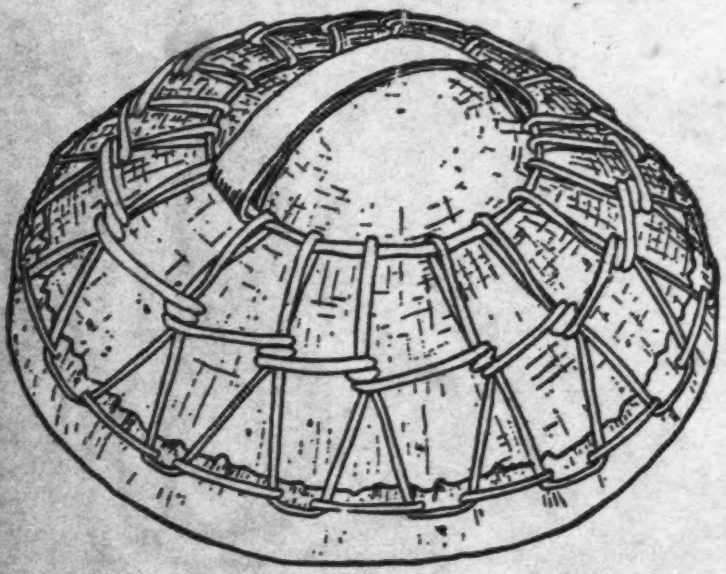

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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Argentinian Araucanians
Pehuenche

the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufú. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41). 771

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44). 778

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance. 113

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources. 131

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 268) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement 262

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755 a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had [164] one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihüe stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultruŋ (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

755 (5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally, however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are ●778 of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llaŋka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llaŋka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

755 (6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

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ŋillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ŋənechén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuʃe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ŋillatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuʃe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuʃe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuʃe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ŋillatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's home in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ŋillatun when everyone attending the ŋillatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ŋillatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ŋillatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ŋillatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was lamed." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 778 781

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and
[781] refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly.
788 They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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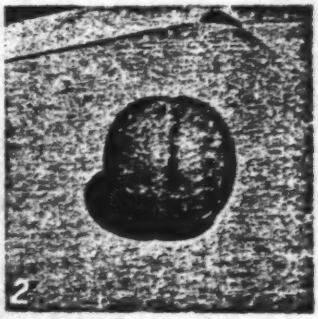

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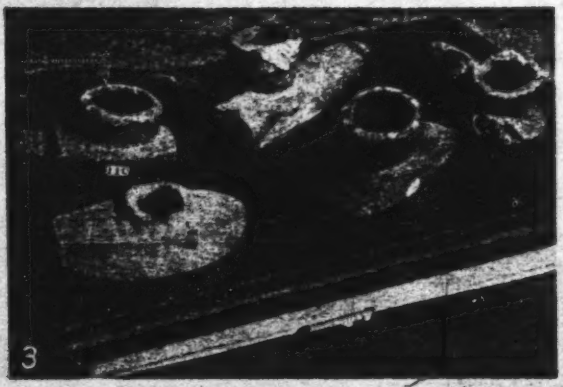

778

Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [776]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units [628]
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

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796 jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders 798 (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If [824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to [782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
796 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper super-
625 vision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses
[198] available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

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THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

756

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171] The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by [534] Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal [778] skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *fienechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*). 756 [534] [178]

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe. 756 787 [198] 756 [789] [756] [823]

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance. 755 756

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi- 756 [178] [462]

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reñu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reñu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *reñu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships. 754 [184]

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group 756 [198].

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that those names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Lonsoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nyurwilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huenilipengi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichengi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nyurwilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *kacuwegen*, or scrovers, the *dungunes*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

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186 182 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 771 779 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaitamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. [775] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 825 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaitamko ñetuin*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become bluebirds?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of [778] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 77 825 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gaugeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluebird. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction
• 779 between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland? [577] [182] [602]

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

121 769 771 779

In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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121 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
772 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
779 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
772 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
754 this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation
756 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
772 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
812 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
kai kai	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke:* heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume:* good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[8]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[8] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
771 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
771 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
777 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the
Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Now, Mapuche ritual values, 121
if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from 771
definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over 178
the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if 78.
not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were 128
selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as 178
exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper 183
relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommoda- 78
tion to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *awn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, 178
analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is 183
of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do 78

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
•78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

ŋillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ŋənechén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuʃe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ŋillatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuʃe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuʃe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuʃe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ŋillatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's home in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ŋillatun when everyone attending the ŋillatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ŋillatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ŋillatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ŋillatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was lamed." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 778 781

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 788 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly. They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* 756
sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. 796
Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night.
Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb [782]
is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[22] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[23]

[22] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi's* house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[23] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming 796
or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced 535
eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *awn*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls [782]
and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started 796

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one
727 cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[722] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *prou* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *prou* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rukas*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *ennes* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 209; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1929 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pelli (pelli, pulli), am, alwu, lelid, siwid. Such differences of meaning

5:Cooper E.-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ŋənéchen (master of men) and ŋənémapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kushe (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ŋənéchen," "Young Woman ŋənéchen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ŋənéchen (ŋənémapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanos and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ŋillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices.
782 The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the ŋillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268–69; 1908, pp. 303–10;

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulican saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 28).

46 Olaverría, p. 23.

47 Nájera, p. 60.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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776 spoken of as wenumapu—a word used also when speaking of sky, celestial regions, heaven. Several informants thought the abode might be the place called pillañ, but an old Panguipulli man was certain that it was not there. "God is in wenumapu," he insisted; "in pillañ are the deceased prophets, the old women who used to beat the kultruŋ in the ŋillatun, and other good persons. Pillañ is in all the volcanoes around here [Andes]." (Cf. also p. 166.)

There was no belief that deities of minor importance lived in animals, plants, or minerals. Quoting an Alepúe man: "We believed in one God in heaven, always, even in our old religion before we knew of Christianity; we prayed to no animals, nor to the sun—the sun is a natural thing. Nor did we think that there were spirits in trees or rocks or water." "The Mapuche in early days believed in the true God," said a Coñaripe informant; "they prayed to Him in the ŋillatun; it was the same God we pray to today. Those who write about us today say that we did pray to other beings than God, but we Mapuche know that we did not."

PRIVATE PERSONAL PRAYER, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Not only do persons offer prayers as individuals, apart from group prayer, but on occasions, one or several persons make minor sacrificial offerings jointly with private prayer. When thunder and lightning occur in the daytime, someone in the ruka will throw a handful of wheat or corn either onto the fireside or on hot coals that have been removed to the outside of the ruka. "I put mine in an olla and set it outdoors, and say, 'Fei, chau' [here, God], which means, 'God be merciful to us,' or, 'God, I offer this to You so that this storm will pass by without injuring anyone.'" The offering is made only once during a thunderstorm and is not made at night. School boys and girls 11 to 15 years of age had made the offering; those 8 and 9 years old had not.

When a 4-footed animal is slaughtered, the one doing so will sprinkle a little of the blood heavenward and say a prayer for an increase in his herd and flocks. "I saw my father take the steaming blood of a cow and sprinkle it toward heaven as an offering to God. This done, he went on with the slaughtering." Old persons in Panguipulli area still throw a spoonful of broth or stew or a little piece of any prepared food on the fire before beginning a meal: "It is like a prayer of thanksgiving for what we have, and of asking for that which we may still need." This custom was not known to Alepúe informants.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pərun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the pərufe barely move, while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifəlka, the machi beat their kultruŋ, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ŋillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the pərufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the pərufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the pərun until the küntron has ended.

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A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four colihüe. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ŋillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ŋillatun."

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After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, 796
to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the
leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they
are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The
two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their
prayers to chau and to wenemapu fiuke (the woman with chau). "It
looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the
men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and
ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of
mudai and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they
gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each
time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied,
pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell
"Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off
their horses, and each takes a colihüe from the middle of the row at the
porufe. With these in their hands both dance around the porufe four
times. After this all the participating young men run round the porufe,
each one carrying a vessel of mudai, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!"

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred 796
fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then
divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first 782
piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the porufe for chau.
All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred
fire (pl. 31, 3). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten
by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that
dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the
tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the mudai, too, is con-
sumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers
or pottery vessels.

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first
day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by
being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. 796
"Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing
or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recur-
rence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered [801]
a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743),
the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the ñillatun. It
was not known to have been used in areas I visited.

The konchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two
men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly
it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and
[781] refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly.
788 They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing. 396 502 782

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, 2), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback. 482 492 505

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (panı or trapial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the huemul (shunam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (truli or pūdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these. 224

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (raki); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganzu; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pideñ); flamingo (pital); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu). 223

Implements used in hunting were the boleodora (l'əkai), the bola perdido, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting. 224 441

A boleodora—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, 4), a ball was fastened to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fiire and chacay because they give
372 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *2*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May
[533 my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but
782] burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231 [992] 262 [787]

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231 [554] [262]

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233 [731] [232] [231]

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311 [648] [167]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[994] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[987] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[796] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

794 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation,
638 that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- [775]
its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [622]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [776]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- [778]
monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [613]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* [628]
tun annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- [613]
vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units
involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like-
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or [534]
drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances.
At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this? 177 182 648 105

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters. 177 105 [191] [782] [342] [556] [291] [292] [182] [186]

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations. [241]

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 177 182 114 105

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must al-
[769] ways be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are
773 certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Ñenechen* made and is master of the people; *ñenemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *ñenechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *ñenechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *ñenechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops
• [782] and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *ñenechen*, *ñenechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *ñillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *ñenechen*.

776 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is
769 through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *karuhua*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and
naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of
ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This
is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage
ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent
congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth,
death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of
matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of
life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782.
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
776 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food
776 offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for
787 herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place,
752 where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of
these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the
[782] opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as
[777] a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely
as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local
[122] people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had
been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority,
including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a
Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the
shompalwe had taken all but her foot into the water to live with
him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No
funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able
to identify the foot by the shoe.

75 It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave
774 the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either
circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch,
and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able
to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a
comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered),
[538] thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in
stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and
754 death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers,
venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits
who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual
[682] poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in
the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are
resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the
substance administered is really fatal.

775 Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are
776 captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the
transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They
are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into
witranalwe and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in
dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and
they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding. 539

Manquiín was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquiín, now a fieschen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a father of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is fillatun. [782]

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquiín's people, and their god of the sea. Manquiín is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *Iefkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of local filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study. 539 M76

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words: 796 [178] [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of *Nillatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory. [114]

In the following pages is a generalized account of *Nillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors. [114] 796 184

A General Description of Nillatun. *Nillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask ancestors and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the community. Clearly a major aspect of *Nillatun* is the offering of food to ancestors, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, above they take place prior to the ripening 796 241 178 796 241 782 [178]

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796 24 [782] [198] ed grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

796 622 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concurrence and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 241 78 [62] Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a preliminary *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and Ñenchen and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered preliminary if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*werkamuel*: guardian of *werv*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *werv* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 62 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage therein, and jointly participated in by

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796 jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders
798 (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If
[824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to
[782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for
the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses
available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses.
[198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one. 796 789

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum). 796 535 [301] [824] [534]

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled. 796 [535]

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a 796 782

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796 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
• 782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then
[825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls
[821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then
[769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for
[776] *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to
[769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
796 whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
159 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
756 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated form.

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754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an indivudual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *füllatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it. 77 787

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune. 772 787

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood. 772 769 782 796 [788 571 608]

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy. 772

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranafwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of
152 remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black
764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much
152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*, during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who
783 are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *füllatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the
574 arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *moñetun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am*, *pu laku*, *kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *ewn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obligations in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show complete lack of complicity in the causative of death of a member of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untroubled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite. 761 964 754 613 602 785

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal responsibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *ewu*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (residential members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from complicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an unmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups. 964 613 602 [761]

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation community. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), including the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through 964 602 613 571

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at
his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
592 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
•783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*wenpin*). If any of these
95 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at
the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to
the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible
participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of
freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for
another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance
at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance
by witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
613 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
602 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
abundance as an inevitable part of the ceremony. It is through
this communion of gastrolatrously that the social solidarity
necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in case of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

581 *This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the contact
594 under consideration. It tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
591 and safer, years for a man to marry into a fully established wife-giving
group. We therefore have a redistribution of social obligations by complete
and multiple alliances between two hundred lineages, and the reduction
loss of the resulting effect this among the membership. The amendment of
alliance groupings with ritual congregations, to the extent that this occurs,
balances both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater social
standing and trust, which makes for more successful alliances sanctioned
by the shared order.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the wekufe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the innocence of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. [783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
613 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. Inmarried women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
●784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[832] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931c, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collio. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time. 846 [278]

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong. 854 [278] 852 854

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13] 846 [784] [833]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Baldus fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and Hanson, 1939, pp. 217–21.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the 525
latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, 526
playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were 526
wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey.

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches [784 ●
that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players 525]
had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations.

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320–23) and Manquilef (1914, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfü must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child poke at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Arapaho custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 262 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

769 775 776 754 [613] [784] of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 776 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 769 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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857 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a stout piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 868 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 457 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

764 away, or when fear of a contagious disease makes it seem wiser to burn the bedclothes.

764 Formerly it was a common practice to call in a *machi* or some special practitioner to perform a kind of autopsy in order 787 to determine the cause of death.[17] Although this custom is no longer widespread, a simple rite of divination still prevails. As soon as death has taken place, two dishes of parched wheat, carefully smoothed over, are put at either side of the head. Before sunrise next morning they are closely examined. If they show impressions of feet, or if the corpse's head has inclined sharply to one side or the other, it is supposed to mean that another death will soon occur in the neighborhood.

764 Burial is delayed for several days so that all who have been notified of the event may gather at the home of the deceased. Meanwhile, there is much feasting and drinking, with symbolic participation by the corpse. Preparations for interment are made as soon as relatives and friends have had time to assemble. The body is enclosed either in a conventional coffin or in an old-fashioned "canoe" made by bisecting a stout tree trunk lengthwise. Each half is then hollowed out, the body is put into the lower half, and the upper segment is fitted over it and tied on as a lid. Food, wine, tools, and offerings contributed by friends and acquaintances are placed inside.

On the day of the funeral the coffin and all associated gear are placed outdoors. Two pairs of orators, known as *werpins*, [537] representing the dead person's matrilineal and patrilineal connections, then deliver lengthy eulogies, during which they recite the life story of the departed one, call to mind his ancestry, dwell on his fine character, and make public his expressed wishes for the disposal of his property. There is much wailing by rela- [765] tives, sometimes augmented by professional mourners. Araucanian men as well as women are expected to grieve by weeping, and mournful blasts are emitted on the *trutruka*.

[17] According to Edwards (1909, p. 49) the personage who performs this office is called *expulmer*, but Smith (1855, p. 236) stated that *machis* make autopsies. A lengthy account of such a ceremony that took place in 1891 is given in Latcham (1909, pp. 365-70).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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754 696 a broad-minded or kindly individual, or a leader who was willing to take a chance in order to augment his following.

Nowadays, for fear of retaliation, witches are neither killed nor driven away, but they may be induced to leave voluntarily by means of intensive whispering campaigns, or because their neighbors obviously shun them. In fact, it is part of the education of children to warn them to have nothing to do with people suspected of witchcraft. There is reason to believe that some of the Chilean Araucanians who go to Argentina are people under suspicion of being sorcerers.

WITCHCRAFT ACTIVITIES

754 Witches' sabbaths are supposed to be observed in underground caverns or *rewés*. Almost all caves or depressions in the earth are likely to be regarded as *rewés*, wherein dwell all manner of dangerous beasts whom the sorcerers use as familiars. Greatly feared in this context are a wide range of animals including lizards, snakes, foxes, butterflies, partridges, dogs, rats, and, particularly, any creatures of unfamiliar appearance, monsters, or freaks such as two-headed calves. The cries of many [787] birds, or the appearance of animals that unexpectedly cross one's path, are widely held to be portents of sickness and death. So deep-seated is the fear of unusual animals, that some Araucanians who visit the zoological gardens in Santiago come away convinced that the keepers and, by extension, all Chileans must be powerful witches.

754 776 Sorcerers exercise their power by controlling evil spirits, the entire class of which may be termed *wekufú*.[9] *Wekufú* occur in many guises, especially in the shapes of the aforementioned beasts and monsters, but they may also take other forms. Conspicuous among these are *piwichen*, a terrifying vampire, sight or sound of which is a sure portent of death, and *chadchad*, which is described as a human head equipped with wings. To see or hear it while it is in flight portends death. Whether

[9] Lenhen (1929, pp. 351 ff.) distinguished between *kuweiwe* ("evil spirits") and *kuweiwyen* ("monsters"). He also set up separate categories for *kimpewe* ("diviner") and *machi* ("witch doctor" or "exorcist").

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Woman's Counterreply

feula anai koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme fütа.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[18]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed pikmal kam ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him. [626]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

787 Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilisation, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

787 *Superstitions.*—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all lower races, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog bayed by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (pilli) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. *If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit* (Anewen) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their *dive* from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white owls (blackbird).

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any ceremonies, each man taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Suicide.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or accident, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huaurcu* or evil spirits had constituted it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been
● 762 practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first
759 thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*vapor*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *coscle* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its circle for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huaurcu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assembles before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with outbursts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

4 Latcham F-5 (1898-1899) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

and placed on a litter covered with branches of canelo and laurel. The litter is borne to the burial ground on the shoulders of four of the nearest male relatives. When the procession leaves the house the whole assembly utter shouts and lamentations, which are kept up till the funeral is over. 764

The graves are dug to the depth of about 4 feet, and are generally square in form.

The presents brought by the mourners are buried with the corpse, together with supplies of food, clothing and arms, to provide for his long journey. A cheep is sacrificed over the grave, and sometimes a horse, or the latter is buried with the corpse if the distance to the coast is considerable. With this sacrifice, the burial proper concludes, but the cajas and feasting continues till the provisions provided are entirely consumed, and sometimes last for several days.

Coronation.—The following account is abridged from notes taken on the spot during my stay among these Indians in 1883, when I was fortunate enough to be a personal witness of some of their principal ceremonies. 759 787

Colapan (three lines or pennes), head chief or apo-ulmen of the ullmenhue of the upper Cautin, had died suddenly, probably of apoplexy, during a feast in a neighbouring village. This manner of death, so uncommon among the Indians, there being no visible cause to explain it, was immediately set down to witchcraft. The corpse was brought home, attended by the whole population of the tribe where the death had taken place. [164]

The machi, or medicine man, was sent for, and a messenger sent round by all reputed of the neighbouring villages to assemble with their cempu, or banners. The machi arrived a little before nightfall. He was dressed after the fashion of the women, and had a puma skin hung round his loins and dragging behind him on the ground. In his right hand he carried a wand about 10 inches in length, covered with snake's skin and garnished with human teeth. Two assistants accompanied him carrying the instruments of his profession.

At sunset a few of green canelo wood was lighted before the door of the room around which more than a hundred persons gathered. From this fire arose a thick pungent smoke, which completely shrouded the entrance of the hut.

The machi took his stand in front of this fire, with arms extended, face upturned, and eyes unblinking for more than half an hour, inhaling without flinching the dense of suffocating smoke that enveloped him, and seemingly lost to everything around him.

Suddenly he entered unceremonious, and rushed into the hut where the body was laid out on a bed of skins. What he did there, no one could tell, but after a short while he reappeared, showing signs of mental and bodily exhaustion.

The corpse was now brought out and laid on a rude bier near the fire. One of the assistants presented to each of the garments, after which he made an incision in the side a little above the hip, placing two sticks in the lips of the wound to hold them open. By this operation the liver was disclosed. The gall bladder was taken out, slit open, and the contents received in a small saucer-like

4 Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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wood. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the machi would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the machi. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the machi declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*ceweweyqui*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the machi seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and measuring the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of crouching Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the consternation, the machi moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gencuapen ulkim chu culqui hoqo*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Pendiluwe chi hoqo*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the paringe of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

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Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion. 754 787 535

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up. 754 787 532

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *ñuita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it. 754 787

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony. 764

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alkue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of lances, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, calves or other

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 arauchs of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*ouauen*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*moutonas*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huenuvu*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were 754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its ●787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, 764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamelqui*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

622 darkness, dragging their struggling companion by the hair, and showering blows upon her if she showed any signs of unwillingness to accompany them. The 787 following morning the sitting was renewed, and a number of small coloured sticks were distributed among the electors. Each man received two, one blue and one red, the colours representing the candidates. The oldest chief went round the assembly with a skin bag, into which each individual dropped one stick, the other being broken and cast away. When the round was completed the sticks were paired and thrown into the fire. After the pairing it was found that there were nine blue ones left over. Quilmanqüi, whose colour was thus victorious, was now proclaimed the elected chief. More speeches followed, and the feast was kept up several days longer at the expense of the new chief, who not only assumed the title, but also inherited all his uncle's property, including the wives and unmarried children.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(a) *Wekufú.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufú (huecuvu, gücubu, and variants). Wekufú, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ɥenóchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufú. Rites in connection with wekufú, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufú away.

774 (b) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Marúpuantu (twelve suns), Meul'on [wekufú] (whirlwind [wekufú]), Anchimallen arumko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ɥen'ko shempallwa, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Ngumpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'on, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapuantu"
● [781] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–48.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 262).

(c) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 790.)

789 (d) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

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disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Hosnse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 229–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [78]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 316–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a moro (*Agriornis lividus lividus*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 56) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–18, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–49; Hosnse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [826] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–65) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The former were by Epenamún (Erville, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1862, p. 88; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 783

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by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resemblance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

Mapuche-Hvilliche shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Hvilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances, and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewa, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

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war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanos: Félix

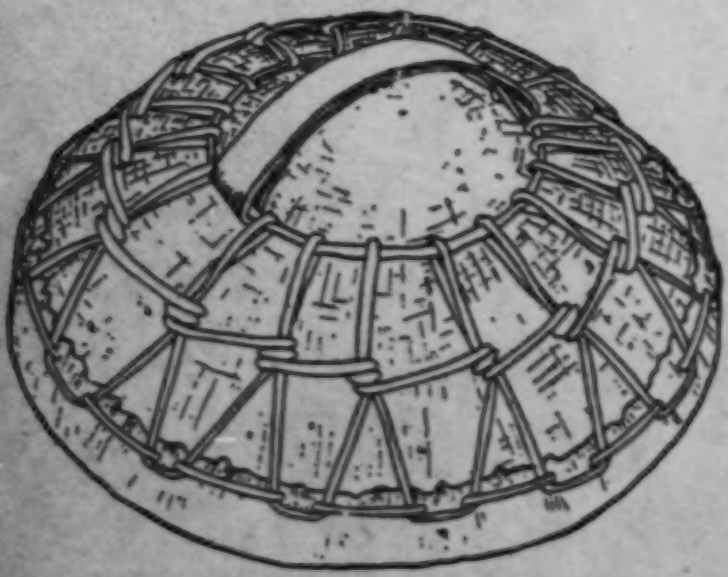

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques. 631 721

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition. 769 787

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñan depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three hunumapus. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a 771 177 727 [26b]

42 Gerónimo Pizarro, "Noticias sobre las encomiendas de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. 489-491).

43 Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 48; also see Lenhoff, *Le problème chilien*, pp. 193-194. Cooper (pp. 742-752) makes a valid attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

44 Bascuñan, pp. 39-41. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Alonso Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñan and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those many book affairs, chosen too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulicán, a powerful chieftain 164 167

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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [531] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [541] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Cotarije area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called kufun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Cotarije area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

585 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her hundred children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanian thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips cut of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 3-6).[2] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn?"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cañeripe and Pangipulli areas potential food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepín area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (crabs), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent efforts, all men and women of child-bearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[2] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M., Ioway, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952.

[28]

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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

869 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for
685 punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a
273 son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
276 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
438 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.'" Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the foremost of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would have not to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MIXERITY

[illegible] The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a puberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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821 the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the stores to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (rumrun) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanín is white [snow-covered], and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every volcano and called each pillañ."

Schoolchildren knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alepúe woman in her forties called the morning star wiñ yelfe. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called ropinapen, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alepúe woman called Orion wiñewitrau, a word which Félix José records as perhaps meaning the Southern Cross (1916, vol. 1, p. 251).

[787] An eclipse of the sun omened something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Collaripe man noted that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we hardly took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

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Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *2*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast. 526 442 [868]

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots. 526

HEALTH

OMENS OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chuchuli, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by 787●

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787

many, but the bird is seen by no one." "In Quenle a machi was locked up by Chilean policemen because a chofchofi flew round and round a place, trying to get in. It was worrying the people."

[583]
784

All ill health, both physical and mental, it is believed, is due to the spirit of sickness, which is inflicted by a sorcerer upon someone against whom there is ill will. The sorcerer may be a machi (certain machi are sorcerers) or an outright witch, known as a kalku. The ill will may be the sorcerer's own, or that of a person who has hired the sorcerer. If a medium is used, no one but the sorcerer knows what it is. Many suspect it is the chofchofi. One instance was related in which the medium was known. "My wife's sickness [abdominal tumor] was inflicted upon her by a machi," said a man. "Here is how it was done: a neighbor woman [26 years old] cut off two opposite corners of my wife's chamall, and the machi used these to bring sickness upon my wife." Another instance was related in which the medium was not known. Four girls of two families were known to be jealous of a young woman because a man had married her and not one of them. When the young woman became sick her family accused these four girls of hiring a kalku to bring sickness upon her, and intended to hire a machi to discover whether these were the culprits. "Certain machi, you know, have the powers to make such discoveries."

In general, it is believed that the spirit of sickness is transferred from a sick person to one that is well. Two schoolboys, when questioned by their teacher one morning for the reason of their bruised faces, merely cast angry looks at each other. Girls in the school volunteered the information that the two boys had had an angry fist fight on the way home from school the previous afternoon. One of the boys then said, "Yes, when my mother was sick and we had the machitun made for her at our home, his father was there." "Yes," interrupted the second boy, "he was even good enough to help your family pay the machi by donating to pesos toward the price of your machitun." "Yes," said the first boy, "and then when your sister died, your family said that the machi took the devil of sickness out of my mother and put it into your sister."

Kalku were known to bring about an immediate death, or a prolonged sickness with gradual loss of vitality and weight and ultimate death, by putting poison into food or drink. Araucanians themselves warned non-Araucanians who worked among them not to drink milk or eat milk products, such as cheese; for an Araucanian with ill will might have put poison into the milk—neither taste nor eye could discern it. They were advised, too, not to eat eggs given to them by Araucanians, unless the eggs had been stored for three days. Poisoned

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754 Although all informants were willing to tell about the evil effects of black art, no one was found willing to discuss the manner in which it was performed—probably because of lack of knowledge or of fear of being suspected of being a kalku. When a man more than 100 years old was asked about the manner of exercising witchcraft, there was much quiet laughter and exchange of glances among listening-in relatives, men, women, and children, and remarks were made in undertones in Araucanian. After some hesitation the old man said, "A kalku can be either a man or a woman. Kalku are wicked persons. I do not want to be asked anything more about them. I do not believe in them." Simpatical persons said that they had no belief in the powers of the kalku but noted that certain things that happened to persons and fields could hardly be explained otherwise. Even non-Araucanians remarked about this. Said one, "I myself saw a wheat field in Pucara withering away while adjoining fields were producing a crop. The Mapuche said that they had found rotten eggs in it; that these had been treated with witchcraft." Said another non-Araucanian in another area: "It is really true that an entire field sometimes becomes yellow, while adjoining fields stay green. How this can happen I have never been able to explain to myself."

A non-Araucanian teacher told the following as an example of transfer of misfortune through black art: "I have walked through pastures and woods with children. Invariably when we see a handkerchief or a piece of cloth—maybe it will be lying on a hedge or on a threshold, or be caught in a fence—the children say, 'Do not touch that! Do not touch that! Somebody put it there to do you harm!' They believe that it is bewitched with the misfortune of someone and that anyone who takes it will receive the misfortune of that person, and that then the other person will be rid of it. I have seen such pieces of cloth or handkerchiefs wet away because everyone believes this."

[illegible]

787 Conjuring is confined to the machi, but occasions for resorting to it seem few. In the early days it was done at a machitun only; today it is resorted to during the machitun (cf. pp. 113-121 for the machitun), and also while the machi smokes or dreams. "I know of no occasion," said an old man, "in which a machi changed her spirit into a sparrow hawk (Falcinelli); she might have chosen any favorite animal. Here is what happened: A woman here [in Chile] was told by another woman that her (the first woman's) husband, who was in Argentina, had died. The first woman wanted to know whether this was true,

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787 and consequently hired a sandi to conjure. The sandi smoked, and then either in the smoke or in a later dream—I cannot recall which—she got the answer. She said the man still lived. The sandi had sent her witchcraft over to Argentina to find out. Before the year ended, the woman's husband came back to Chile. His wife asked him if he had seen any sign of the sandi's witchcraft, and he answered, "Yes, I was coming through the woods one day when I saw a falcon sitting on a fallen tree trunk. The bird sat there a long time and looked at me. I wondered why he was sitting there so tame. What could it mean and who could it be, I thought. I went home, but I kept thinking about the bird. And now I have the answer."

787 Both good and bad omens are known. Those related to sickness or death seem to have much significance (cf. pp. 119, 138), as do those that foretelle famine. A 70-year-old Pangipulli man told about one of the latter: "Any year that all the cullinle blossom—normally only a few blossom each year—the people are overtaken with hunger. This is unfailingly true; something happens to the wheat fields. We can never tell just when the damage is done to the wheat, but at harvest time there is practically no grain left to be harvested; it stands accordingly thin. Two years ago the cullinle all blossomed and that year we suffered plenty. Already now the people are saying, 'What will happen this year? Have you seen how the wheat is thinning out?'" A non-Araucanian farmer-in added, "What he says is true. But what happens, I think, is that rats and mice come to eat the cullinle seeds; they are attracted by the abundance of those seeds. We know that foxes and birds of prey come in greatly numbers that same year, and we see them eat the rats—but by that time the rats have already eaten much of the grain. The foxes become a pest then, they stay around and eat the chickens."

In Pangipulli it is a bad omen if a pawa comes out of the woods and walks into a glade or on some cleared land. "and walks around on it; it is a positive sign that the man who owns that piece of land will be forced to relinquish it to a Chilean," said the informant with some resentment. "The same holds true," he added, "if pawas land on a piece of land and do a great deal of chattering there." In both Pangipulli and Alepin seeing a pawa who is making a journey on horseback can expect to have a good journey if the bird called chalcan sings his call note to the rider's right; misfortune will befall him if the bird does so at his left.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the
● 787 fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and ruddy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

BIRTH

775 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means
845 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease,
262 for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something
[171] the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
781 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 3 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his house."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a horse, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHOICE, MOBILITY, FOURTH STAGE

Choices were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made five together and played together like all girls do." 572

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534 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 50-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kelapan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martín de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take wax from the bottom of a tea bottle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of wax.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a person, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the mourners crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the house of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kelapan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

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794 she showed signs of nervousness because of the noise or because of something she saw her children do. Lickanrol did away with killing persons suspected of witchery."

I was told by an 8-year-old woman that she heard that a woman, a suspected witch, was coming to visit her. "I made a cross of garlic (ajo) on the bench where she was to sit. That kept her away from here," said the woman evangelically, and added triumphantly, "and I have not heard since that she plans to visit me." The interpreter was convinced that the informant herself was a witch, for how else could she know what to do to keep a witch away.

776 Salamanderos, witches of "people who lived south of us," formerly lived in the Araucanian country. They were said to be small people, half human and half animal and were fierce fighters. They lived in certain caves (cuevas), traveled underground from lake to lake, "like from Lake Huechulaquen to Lake Lacar," and went from what is now Argentina to Chile through passages under the Cordillera.

776 There is a belief in kalquchillos, which are called sarkimalles. "They seem to be made of fire, but they do no harm to anyone. When they appear they are all over, everywhere." "My mother," said a 65-year-old woman, "told me sarkimalles are round in shape and appear like fire. They leave small footprints in the ashes around the fireplace. When people see them or the footprints, they are frightened."

787

Several informants had had visions, among them Kalaquen. "When I was a young fellow," he said, "I was herding sheep along a well-traveled road. Suddenly, before sundown, the sheep stirred. The sheep do when they are frightened, and made sounds of 'eh, eh, eh.' The frightened sheep do. These sheep are frightened only when they see something bad. I looked around and then I saw what they were seeing: I saw a fellow, a woman dressed in black. By that time the sheep had scattered in all directions. Then the woman vanished. Nothing more happened that day. Another day, at sunset, a man and I were walking home—the man was no longer alive. Suddenly, we both saw a rudal (tree) turn into a giant man. He was dressed in black, too. I called out, 'What are you? A person? Living or dead? Are you a good or a bad person?' He vanished without answering."

776 A woman in her fifties had often heard old Araucanians tell, when she was still a child, that a woman who was still a virgin walked along a road and met a snake. The snake was walking upright, as all snakes formerly walked. The woman commanded the snake to crawl on the earth, and ever since then snakes crawl on the earth. The interpreter, a non-Araucanian, had often heard the same story told by old Araucanians.

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DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. 761
Always a person is the causative agent. Quilapaine informants suspected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some 794
persons and death to many. His activity was unusual, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of causes of death always included a being called chuf- 763
chuf. The sounds of chufchuf are like the call of a bird in flight and 787
are heard only at night; commonly, chufchuf is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding chufchuf as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call chufchuf. One morning years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard chufchuf say "Tut, tut, tut." Then he flew past me and said "Ih-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard chufchuf say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when chufchuf is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whenever sends chufchuf intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe chufchuf is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard chufchuf. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of chufchuf, it is believed that death is caused in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kalaquen's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

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763 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I
787 dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1956) 1964
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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[763] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same caliber in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[782] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the *inten* of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early conversion-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits
• 787 return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*pewma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambitions or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of
775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 789
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is portaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 789
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling [769]
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been portaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *füllatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
61 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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burned and dismembered at the order of a *longo*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

683 [78] [648]

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

776 [774]

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Wallepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *wallepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

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Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *kilkill*, *huefen*, *wuthwuth*, *juwe*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wiki*, *trepul*, and

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825 wiñfu are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and
787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shempalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anthimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shempalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phe-
787 nomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when
[372] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.
[763]

Ghosts. While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to
775 designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the conception and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died
[858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children
[563] who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits "at rest." Alue serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept witranalue, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pelle* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wenu pelle*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but actual contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

LC: Faron E-4.5 (1951-1954) 1964
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seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with witranalwe. It is a generally known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male witranalwe.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him." The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of ñuchi [blood] when you kill the animal."

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 787.
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden
bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the
house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a
gallop, drank the fachi at one gulp, and then toasted off the
wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral
to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the
secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 787
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are
alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation
offers. Other encounters with *witranalwe* are often more lugubri-
ous, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The
Mapuche jokingly call *witranalwe* the mounted Chilean police-
men, who sometime ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 787
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of
levity in recounting tales of meetings with *witranalwe* and other 522
wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is
the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying.
After a startling experience, people can return to the relative
security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are everpresent, however, and must be dealt with contin-
ually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend [578].
themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility
against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the *shompalwe* described earlier. In the Liumalla region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my
residence of a young woman lost to a male *shompalwe*. A 752
woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and
people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from
that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night.
The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wera kuako* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witrenalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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for the sheepdrive, and after once killing their first victim they 775
become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily 787
mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they
do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good 753
omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought
that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is
nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been
treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more
care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in
dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a [769]
dream, a person usually posts frequent libations and offers
personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the [756]
counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are
actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since
the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works
slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen,
or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness
takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his
evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones
and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only [755]
available resource.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths 773
having many local expressions. I have selected these myths from [128]
this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 121 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [764] [796] [764] [789] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa Fem*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The beguiling envy of *weluple* is always with them. Almost every house—from sorcerer's point of view—has its kelle.

[165]

764 795 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *Fepun*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pelle* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ewupellun* (roughly, "to the spirit they go") is automatically and separately practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *weluple*. When there are signs that the *weluple* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *Fepun*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, sorrowful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kowe pinke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

12: Form E-4.3 (1952-1954) 1964
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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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786 [593] noted the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most [554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies: only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi*'s drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The [787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an [276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my lakn [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dreams, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things. 756 159 787

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my lakn, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelchue [Tolten], where I married a widow with children—three. Now I have several children by my own women. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things. 756 159

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams. 756 159 787 [752]

This machi also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself. 756 159 787

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi. [752] [757] 75

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756 845 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] [554] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] [197] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services, when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.

The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.

I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two
•787 feet high.

When I finally [illegible] my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very [illegible] and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it [illegible]uld be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
•[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
159 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated
756 form.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
said that she could do nothing, but that my father should
159 call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
763 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
787 way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the
exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher,
the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of
autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to
comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been
caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story
points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a
thungulmachin.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

754 It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
683 or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and
779 *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and
577 *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and
192 "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most
772 part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual
779 scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to
577 the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

77 There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which
• 987 analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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 T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that he would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time. T A 787 825 T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chooeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been A 361 T A 133 137

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawiñ was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

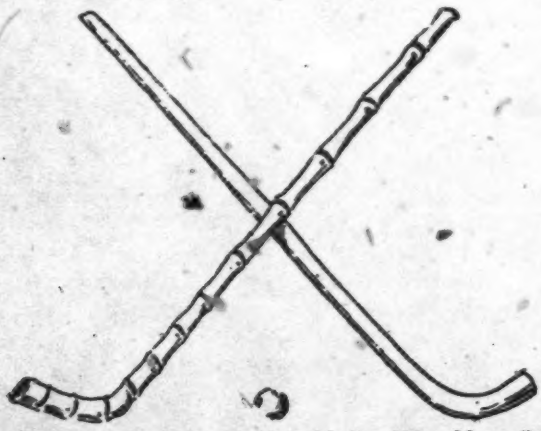

FIGURE 81.—*Mapuche* hockey sticks and ball. (After Manquilef, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (huñno, uño, palican) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of *Chusquea* sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 189–208.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(*e*) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(*f*) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(*g*) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(*h*) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(*i*) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt
201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem-
788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances,
[778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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778 the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and
[781] refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly.
783 They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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velatí mulu (velatí: velorio or wake; mulu: night), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *ademupu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [788]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [801]
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corpse through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173]
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean velorio, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. Konchotun, a formal and public (during *tillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

[431]

[782]

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754 602 571 788 622 182

petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *kowchotun* are practiced between males; *mishe* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571

A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

791 772 754 182

A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the slaying of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and portends good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and portends ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ñillatufe* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *kowkotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, [illegible], true men, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai-kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 6, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Mamuncurs Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintubeal's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintubeal's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinobel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(*a*) *Wekufū*.—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufū (huecúvu, gūecubu, and variants). Wekufū, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ŋəněchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufū. Rites in connection with wekufū, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufū away.

774 (*b*) *Animistic spirits*.—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufū] (whirlwind [wekufū]), Anchimallen arəmko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ŋen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante"
[787] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(*c*) *Manistic beings*.—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

789 (*d*) *Magic*.—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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[P.ii is blank]
[Facing P. ii]

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Silver breast piece (*trapelakuche*)—decorative heirloom jewelry with amulets, worn by Mapuche women

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789

Photo by Allan C. Shane

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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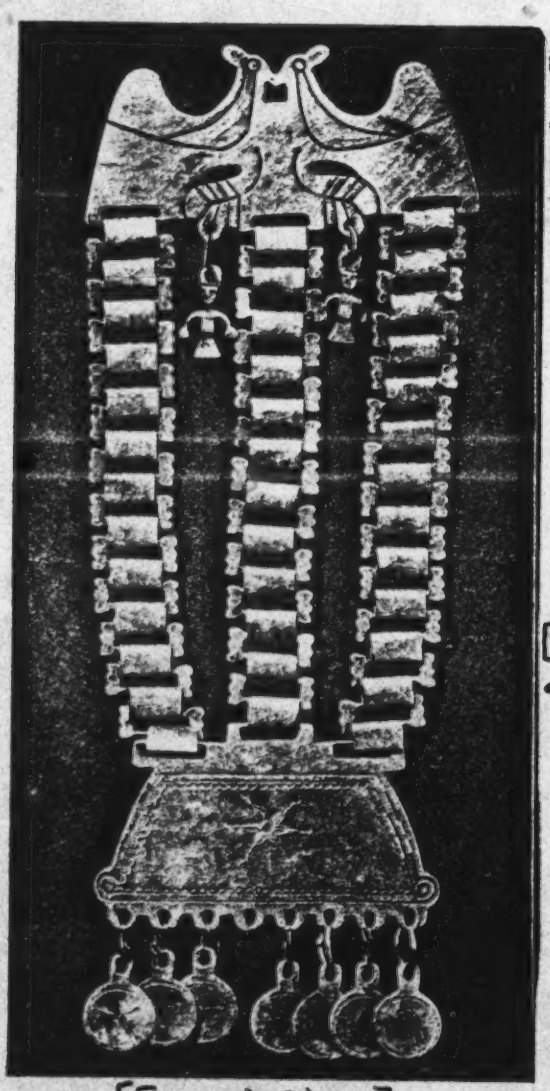
[facing p. iii]



301
1789

[769]

[Frontispiece]

"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789.
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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796 session follows the patern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the oficials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyoneviolates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for
[782] the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[769] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[198] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622]

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 756 [622] [198] 796 756 789. 536

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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[794]
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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

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628

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *fienechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*). 756 [534] [178]

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe. 756 787 [198] 756 [789] [756] [823]

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance. 755 756

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi- 756 [178] [462]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his
[182] position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

•79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Magic and Witchcraft.—As is natural in a race so imbued with superstition and fetish worship, the black art holds a high place in their imagination. Everything not immediately explicable by a natural and visible agency is put down either to evil spirits or to witchcraft. Their thaumaturgy included three class of thaugists; the *machenge* or sorcerer, the *dengueu* or diviner, and the *machi*, witchdoctor or exorcist. This last vocation is common to the two sexes, and has gradually absorbed the other two classes. 791 754

The sorcerers were formerly the sacerdotal class, inasmuch as whatever rites, ceremonies, sacrifices or other religious observations took place were performed by them. They wore women's dress and their hair long and unkembed; dwelt in caves in remote mountainous regions, and were supposed to be in communication with the *hueuvu* (hence their name) over which their acts gave them certain power, compelling them to work their wills. These beings were held in fear and awe by the people, who attributed to them many of the ills that befell them. They were considered the arbiters of national or tribal welfare, and were consulted on all momentous questions. War was never declared, nor peace offered, except in accordance with their advice.

All those who sought their counsel, took with them considerable presents in payment for their advice or help.

Contrary to the practice of the *dengueu* and *machis*, their incantations and spells were secret and mystic, wrought in the darkness of their caves, and hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals, although some of their charms were done visibly, such as seeing visions in a bowl of water, and blowing smoke from their mouths in the direction of the dwellings of their enemies. This smoke was regarded as the familiar spirit of the sorcerer, and the direction it took indicated the path the spirit followed. To enter this caste a long apprenticeship was necessary, terminating in a mysterious initiation ceremony.

The caves where these sorcerers dwell are supposed to be guarded by horrible monsters and evil spirits.

After the *hueuvu* come the diviners or *dengueu*, who are sometimes the analytes or apprentices of the former, though not generally so. 791

The *dengueu* exercise a considerable influence in Indian society, as they are consulted on all doubtful points of social or domestic intercourse, and every-day events. It is they who indicate the author of a robbery, the whereabouts of a missing animal or mislaid object, the probable result of a given enterprise, the perpetrator of any evil happening to the flocks and herds. Their services are paid for in goods. Occasionally also, they are consulted respecting the cause of some mysterious death, but this is generally an attribution of the *machis* or exorcists. Ventriloquism is used by *hueuvu*, *dengueu* and *machis* alike. The *dengueu* perform their divinations outside their huts, their familiar spirit answering them from within.

By far the most popular and most consulted of these personalities is the *machi*, who combines in his person the offices of medicine-man, seer, and exorcist. 756

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a ŋillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Coñaripe man on whose land the ŋillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ŋillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Coñaripe, Llanchahue, Pucura, Pullinque, Tracapulli, Kayumapu, Koiweku, Koskos, Lonkon, Reweku, Kariline, Kikine, Karango, Huechulafken, Limai. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ŋillatun—one locality decides to hold a ŋillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Panguipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshuenco, Huitag, and Payahuinte. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration. 796

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepúe area this plot is in Maiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Coñaripe man: "The ŋillatun for Coñaripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ŋillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ŋillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out summons to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In Alepúe area, the cacique is the leader; in Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, he is a person known as ŋenpin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ŋillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The ŋenpin, according to Félix José (1916, vol. 1, pp. 55-56), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the ŋillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the ŋenpin as a class of priests although they do not ordinarily slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from 796 793 [202]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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his father. "The one in Coñaripe is a man 50 years old; his father was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people acclaimed him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ŋillatun before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ŋillatun. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Whoever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called marew ekull. These tortillas are taken to the ŋillatun and so are ollas filled with mudai. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ŋillatun.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each man blowing his pifəlka almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 32 for pifəlka.) "Not long ago, when the ŋillatun was held here [Coñaripe], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifəlka from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a hen; an occasional family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ŋillatun."

All members of a family attend the ŋillatun, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1946, in Coñaripe, there were 500 to 600 men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even skeptical persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial mudai—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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613 lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their [178] own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to fol- [622] low, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities. take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [928] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[55] [179] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [993] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
794 involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[765] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

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105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[48] [622] [793] [592] [613]

[2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have. [175]

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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
796 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
769 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
[622] (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision. 796 793 622 [756]

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies. 796 793 [756] [623]

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote: 114 796 756

Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.

. . . . . .

Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 114 796 769

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
796 whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his. 796 793 756 [622]

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest. 796 756 [622] [198] 796 756 789 536

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of 796 793 756 182

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
-793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
[622] mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
[613] Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
[756] *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
769 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[629] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
[182] chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from precservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are closely associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values comes at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *machi*, whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most closely responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *lillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
78 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

791 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *lillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
791 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To unde-

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche* [1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *Ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community. 613 628 794

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action. [769] [764] [241] [182]

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 776 613 769

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776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and oc-
casionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congre-
gation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
241 evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
613 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
764 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
756 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal strug-
gle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing perform-
ance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[785] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special lan-
guage through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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24 794 628 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral [595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga- [613] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 613 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matri- [582] lateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious [178] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non- [754] congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super- [753] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame [754] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [791]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as- [794]
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant. 613 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests. 628 [794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 182 771 [571] [794] [613] 619 182 000

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change—the economy—and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political impor- 769
tance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the [622]
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

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794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 796 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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775 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
769 in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

769 As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
776 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
794 myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
61 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

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whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation we find a connection with other deities of a more general importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific, ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature. While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *ñillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

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769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
776 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
794 sometimes *trakalfucha*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as
184 an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
776 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something
184 which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

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continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, *ñenechen* and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or *kuifipellu*. It is clear from context that these words connote "our direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great *ñillatun* rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *ewn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION. LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ayn* and *fillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
77 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
776 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *filletun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *filletun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *filletun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *filletun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *filletun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *fenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *filletun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *fenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences
adhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *ngen* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *ngen* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *ngen*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *ngen*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *wenpin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *niño* being equated with *ngen*, and oration with both *ñillatun* and *wenpin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the ñillatun congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 111 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of ñillatun. Reservations A-B-C hold a ñillatun each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement, often an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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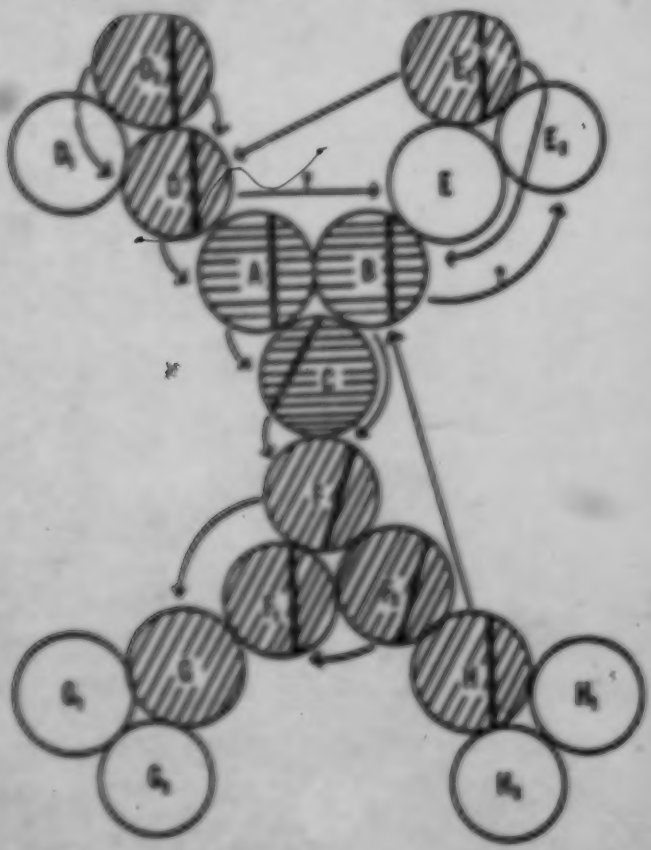
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



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[574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of [623] elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapuchland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of p[illegible] option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
794 about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
[128] confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
177 an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
[166] because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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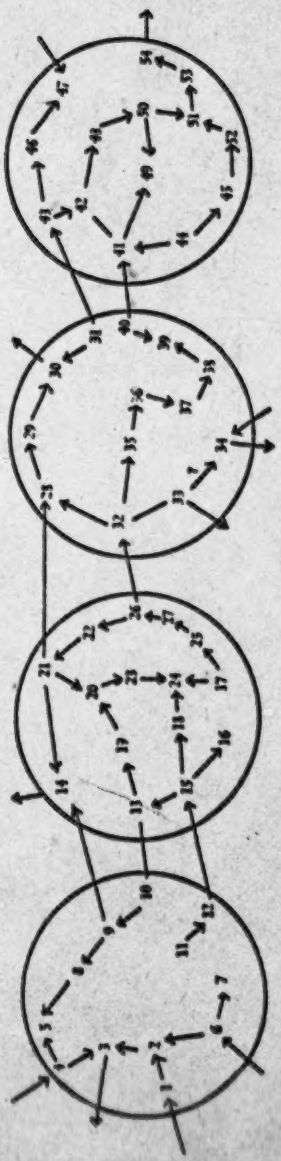

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

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794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
62 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
582 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
[178] alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
794 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

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hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives. 794 582 178 [595]

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category. 621 613 794

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or ethnographics for the development of these ritual congregations or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth- 178 621 794

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178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
62 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighbor-
[613] hoods of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
178 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
62 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate under-
621 standing of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidal melewe:* most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
[622] mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
[613] Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
[756] *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
622 between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
769 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-
[182] chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual lead-
[613] ership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *füllatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from precreservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *füllatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links, many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[704] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
[571] funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relationships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership) population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
• 794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
621 to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
182 *Nillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *ewn*, *nillatun*, and marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially integrative mechanisms, there are elemental integrative forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

• 000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft, and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the screening continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are intimated strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
[783] clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral services.

764 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between unrelated persons co-resident
578 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost everybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a unrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the locus agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
• 764 action of the foreboding forces of evil, one of the collectivity
221 of wekufe. The conflicting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a continuing force against evil operating upon or within ancestral souls. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial disassociation and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the patient own. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Formality

Funeral sites differ from fertility sites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given own. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The affiliate and own congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the social community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which mournfulness in any given region participate regularly in both own and affiliates. This I have done with some success in the Tilitin region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that employed in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of mournfulness, and considering own, affiliate, and marriage affiliates. A ritual congregation is simply that region or aggregate of mournfulness which not only participates in affiliates and own but which is also related through sentimental marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations indicated in Diagram II. These not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and society, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1960) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sets short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of society and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

[Editor: see category 118, p. 221, for corrections -- Author]

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101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
619 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's
582

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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619
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794

794 wife-receivers (*ñillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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177 178 594 613 [433] [582] The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

177 178 622 554 [769]

179 178 796 769 [794] Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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601 great-grandfather is *kūlachi* ("thrice") *l-aku* and so on. To take another example, a man's daughter's son is *cheche*, great-grandson is *epuchi cheche*, great-great-grandson is *kūlachi cheche*, and so on.[6]

601 Mapuche informants are most consistent and self-assured
602 when dealing with direct patrilineal lineage connections. They are somewhat less sure of the correct terminology on the matrilineal side, particularly in the matter of collateral relationships. They are least certain when asked to give terms for collateral relatives in the two generations below *ego*. Yet, in spite of some confusion in recalling relationship designations when interviewed, people like to keep track of all their kin, and they are said to repeat family histories frequently at public gatherings
601 or in private conversation. Whenever the great *ñillatun* cere-
602 mony is held, an occasion is provided for renewing acquaintance with one's remoter kindred. During a pause that always pre-
• 796 cedes the serving of the midday lunch all the visiting men, many of whom come from distant reductions, range themselves in a line. Thereupon, the male residents of the home reservation go down the line shaking hands and exchanging kin terms with each guest. Specific terms are used whenever the relationship of two men is clearly known, but in other cases resort is made to the general terms of direct address that are listed in Table I. Shaking hands and exchanging terms of kinship are not perfunctory. Two men will often engage in a bit of preliminary discussion before they decide on the correct terms to use. On one occasion, when I was invited to stand in the guest line, I was unhesitatingly addressed as *peñi* ("brother") by each adult host, and as *chau* ("father") by youngsters.

KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

602 With respect to the reciprocal behavior of kindred, as in the
582 case of relationship terminology, the central features pertain to marriage customs. Once again, the main factor is the pattern of conduct that exists between a man and his potential mate,

[6] Cf. Latham, 1909, p. 357.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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756 pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18]
[778] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *cherufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul·truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

756 Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern
•796 latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Hosse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul·truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kuretun* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi's* first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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place. At twilight they surround the *rewe*, while the *machi* sings and prays to the good spirits that act as her familiars. Food is then served and the assemblage retires for the night. Early in the morning lengthy prayers are recited, and a lamb is sacrificed. Some of the blood is daubed on the *machi*'s cheeks, the rest is offered to the good spirits, and the flesh is cooked and served in a sort of communion breakfast. There follows a program of prayers, songs, and dances, to the accompaniment of *trutrukas*, *llollkins*, *kul·truñs*, and *pifullkas*. At intervals the *machi* climbs her *rewe* to engage in solitary prayer (see Pl. VIII). As the afternoon progresses the *rewe* is redecorated with sprigs of cinnamon and ginger, and the celebration concludes with a hearty feast.[22] It is widely held that a *machi*'s power will fail and her following diminish unless she is willing to go to the trouble and expense of holding an annual *ñeikurewen*. Apart from this function and the staging of *machituns*, a *machi* is expected to dream and play her *kul·truñ*, to conduct the *ñillatun* rites described in the next chapter, to interpret dreams and omens, and to pray for victory during important hockey matches.[23]

[22] Although I was not privileged to attend a *ñeikurewen*, I could hear the songs and shouts raised at a celebration while I was living in Carrarriñe. On the next day I purposely walked past the *machi's* house and saw her freshly decorated *rewe*, to which a small Chilean flag had been affixed.

[23] Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 750–51.

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ASSEMBLIES, GAMES, AND CEREMONIES

ASSEMBLIES

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LARGE assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun* are important features of Araucanian culture.[1] Their impact on the lives of the people can best be appreciated in the light of certain aspects of their social organization. It must be recalled that Mapuche communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion and a corresponding lack of communal activities. Throughout the year there is a fair amount of intrareservation visiting, but contacts with other reductions are quite rare, especially in the cold and rainy season when roads wash out and travel is all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every settlement tends to be cut off from its neighbors:

> The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings . . . are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants,[2] to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place,[3] to celebrate a holiday . . . or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability. Whatever their particular aims may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.[4]

Notwithstanding the variety of purposes underlying these reunions, they seem to follow a similar pattern, and even the

[1] These words may be variously spelled, and some writers try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All public assemblies have so many points in common that it seems permissible to treat them together. Cf. Robles, 1912, p. 171.

[2] McBride (1936, p. 311) described a congress held to discuss land problems.

[3] A meeting of this sort is reported in Robles, 1912, pp. 171–81.

[4] Titiev, 1949, pp. 3–4.

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events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *rañiñtripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[5] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarriñe, who got it from his grandmother.

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With the approach of the year's turning point each *loñko* or cacique would send his *werkens* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *loñko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *ñuneechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimuntewe*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[6] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

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Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[5] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que muere el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[6] *Pimuntewes* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 36–38.

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574 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift.
•796 Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatews*.

GAMES

525 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of
526 the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *lawo mew*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *lakko purun*. Latcham said that *lawo mew* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

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526 There is a possibility that rituals accompany important inter-reservation games, but no rites are performed for local events.

An opportunity to witness a good contest came on the afternoon of Sunday, June 27, 1948. The weather was clear and the sound of a *kullkull* indicated that there was to be a match on Carrarriñe's main field (See Pl. XI, Fig. 2).[16] When we arrived at the spot we found that there were eight players on each team, representing supporters of two of Carrarriñe's three schools. Fifty to sixty young and old men stood on the side lines and cheered lustily, if informally. Formations and organized plays were at a minimum, except that a player sometimes blocked one or more opponents in order to give a teammate a chance to strike the ball. As this field has a marked slope, sides were changed from time to time. Nothing serious was at stake, and although the men played hard and fast, there was little roughness, and good-natured banter was exchanged between opponents and between players and bystanders.

ÑILLATUN CEREMONIES[17]

796 Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of *machi* lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress. This greatest of Araucanian ceremonies is singularly hard to define in precise terms. Above all, 776 one cannot determine the names or characteristics of the deities 796 or spirits to whom the prayers are addressed. The most widely 771 used Mapuche word for "god" is *ñunechen*, and "heaven" is generally rendered as *wenumapu*. Benevolent deities are often identified by a complimentary prefix, as in the case of *chau* ("father") *ñunechen*, or *kume* ("good") *ñunechen*, and are supposed to live in the sky; whereas malevolent supernatural agents

[16] See Figure 9, the Huaiquian-Paineo field near house No. 25.

[17] Much material has been published on this topic. The principal works are conveniently listed in Cooper, 1946, pp. 742–43. A good account by a native is given in Mosbach, 1930, pp. 371–94.

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are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñunechen*, and are said to 776
dwell in volcanoes.[18] The essential dualism of Araucanian be- 796
lief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible 771
at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent dei- 776
ties: *Kūla-añe-fūcha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" 796
or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kon·a* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of 796
regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several [177]
communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given up the ceremony altogether.

[18] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747–48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 594–98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñunechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

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796 up the ceremony altogether. There is no consensus, either, with respect to the appropriate time for these events, although a slight preference is noticed for dates in the fall when the moon is full.

756 796 Even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a *machi* there was no agreement among early writers: "Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *ñillatun* rite. And Robles Rodriguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *ñillatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being."[19] Whatever may have been the situation in other days or other parts of Chile, it may be categorically stated that *machis* invariably play key parts in the *ñillatun* observances now held in the vicinity of Cholchol.

796 A further difficulty in treating of the *ñillatun* stems from the lack of standardization. Details of performance vary widely, depending on the time and place of the ceremony, the wishes and instructions of the *machi* in charge, and whether the main objective is to give thanks or plead for help. To illustrate some of the differences and to bring out the complexity of the rituals, accounts will be given of two celebrations which I had the opportunity of observing.[20]

THE ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE

On the afternoon of March 24, 1948, the Reverend Harry Donaldson and I rode horseback from Cholchol to watch a *ñillatun* ceremony at Coigue. We had been invited by Ramón Chihuaicura, who conducts the mission school in Coigue, and the occasion was rather special as a new field was to be dedicated. After resting and taking yerba maté with our host, we proceeded to the schoolroom in which there was a large, white wooden cross, inscribed in Spanish on the crossarm with a verse from Matthew 11:28. The lettering was in green, and just be-

[19] Cooper, 1946, p. 752.

[20] Contrast the general summary of events in Cooper (1946, p. 743) with the two descriptions that follow.

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low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word *ñillatuin* ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag. 796

The *ñillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *mudai*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged. [825]

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *ñillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in Augusta (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *ñalñil* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae). [137]

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of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul-trañ* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul-trañ* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.* At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

* For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

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and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Choichol for the night.

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The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and asperging was now so copious as to suggest a miniature shower.*

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At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

* If Chilean communities that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. These designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Colque rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall planting difficult.

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overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul-truñ*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[16]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[17] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[16] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[17] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

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superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ñum*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kutawe*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

•79% turned to the altar, and there was another round of chanting by the *machi*, group dancing to and from the altar, mounted circuits, and more ostrich dancing. Again the emphasis seemed to continue the dominant theme of thanksgiving and supplication, but just as the rites were concluding toward sundown a climax occurred that was apparently designed as an attack on evil spirits. Up to this point the celebrants, in close ranks, had been dancing back and forth as before. Facing the main body was the young couple that advanced and withdrew in the same rhythm as the others. Soon the *machi* began to grow wilder in her singing; she pulled the kerchief from her head and allowed her hair to tumble over her face; and she jumped vigorously up and down. Suddenly she brandished a knife in her right hand and a gourd rattle in her left. She shouted and gesticulated, stabbed at the air in all directions, and pretended to charge at the dancing couple, who backed hastily away. Once she seized the *ka'awe* that her assistant was beating and ecstatically banged it up and down on her own head. She then paused for a few moments while a man (her husband) came forth and pressed the flat blade of a knife against her body at various points, an action that was supposed to give her strength. After that she resumed her wild dance, holding the knife aloft, jumping and whirling from side to side. While the crowd shouted and the *trutruka* sounded, a dozen men took up hockey sticks and clashed them repeatedly over the *machi*'s head. By now the *machi* appeared on the verge of a collapse, and once again men on horseback performed the *ane*, riding at a gallop around the whole sacred area as the *Rillatun* came to a close.

THE RILLATUN AT MALALCHE

On Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24, 1948, the people of Malalche were hosts at a *Rillatun*. We were unable to go on the first day, but from a high spot at Cautinche we could see the ramadas and smoke from the cooking fires, and we could hear an occasional shout or the sound of a *trutruka*. Early Saturday morning, my wife, Ruth Gonzales, and I, accompanied by Juan Antimao, his daughter Josephina, and his son Melinao,

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proceeded to Maloloche.* A double row of ramadas stretched for nearly ten yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Maloloche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *muday*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the feet of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).* Beside her stood two female assistants, each one bearing a *kalwak*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four

* The women rode to an resort driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Bell made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antonio answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

* We learned that this *machi* came from Chaihuí where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk on the day proposed. Juan Antonio told us afterward that she had received sixty pesetas of meat money and many beverages for her services.

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•796 young men danced in separate rows toward and away from the
535 altar, in an east-west direction. One of the men carried a Chilean flag, another a white banner, and the other two straddled bamboo poles as they danced. The rhythm was at all times six-eight and fairly quick, and two *trutrukas* were occasionally sounded by players standing north and south of the altar. Among the male spectators were many who blew rhythmically but monotonously on small *pifulkas*.

Shortly after noon the *machi* began a vigorous dance, once striking an inverted *kalwa* against her head. From her position west of the altar she moved north and then east, thus approaching the six young dancers, whom she appeared violently to oppose. Her assistants spat on the ground and repeatedly asperged the group of dancers. Soon the *machi* dropped to her knees and continued to dance wildly around the altar. She paused for a moment while an assistant bound a dark kerchief over her head and then, even though blindfolded, she resumed her forceful dance around the altar on her knees. When she returned to the west side, a number of men clashed hockey sticks over her head, and one man waved a knife about.
796 The *machi* then began a conversation with an interlocutor, in the same fashion as in a *machitun* or curing service. Juan Antimo said later that her first words were, "I have come," referring to the arrival of the spirit that had possessed her. After an exchange of conventional greetings, the *machi* went on to give instructions for the successful conduct of the *fillatun*, ordering, among other things, an ostrich dance, circuits of mounted men, and the sacrifice of a sheep. She also told the assemblage that the Araucanians were having trouble because they had given up their ancient ways. This must have sounded strange coming from a *machi* who lived in a Chilean town. When the spirit's report was finished, the *machi*'s head was uncovered and after she had rested a bit, the interlocutor repeated the full conversation he had held with her.

796 A short time later, three young men, one very reluctantly,
595 prepared to do the ostrich dance. Except for the use of shawls

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over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming 796
or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced 535
eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *sun*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls [782]
and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started 796

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back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*; two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *kouchatun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[80] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan wentru*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

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[80] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

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phere so pleasing to the gods that they would be more likely to grant the prayers of the people.[21]

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Irrespective of differences in details, both sets of observances were patterned along similar lines. In each case it was evident that the *ñillatun* is a complex performance, containing elements of the major Araucanian ceremonial activities. Within its structure there are included features of the public assembly (*kawiñ*), hockey game (*palikantun*), and curing ritual (*machitun*). There is a likelihood that the lack of systematization and standardization may reflect the breakdown of Mapuche social organization, but such a hypothesis can only be stated tentatively at the present time.

[21] A wide variety of songs used by masked clowns is published in Guevara 1934, pp. 322–31.

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PLATE XI

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FIG. 1. Dedication of a new cross at Coigue. A *fillatun* field is being inaugurated. The donor of the cross is in white shirt sleeves at the left of the second row. The officiating *machi* faces the group, and a *trutruka* player is at the left. A Chilean flag, a black standard, and jars of *muday* and *chicha* are next to the cross.

FIG. 2. The principal *fillatun* field at Carrerrile. The same area is used for hockey.

[end plate 11]

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kalwash* priest. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 13]

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PLATE XIII

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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the dances go on.

[end plate 13]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PLATE XIV

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FIG. 1. Main altar of the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations. 621 592 [591]

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors. 62 [574] [484]

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims 796

[7]For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8]The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9]Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

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Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS

FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

crescine arauanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Año III, Entrega 4 (1913), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 34, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Cacarrica, near Cautín, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

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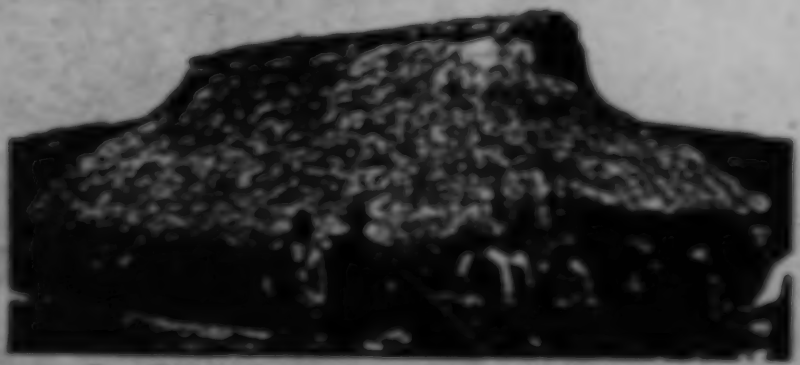

Plate VII—Araucanian stones, [illegible] and [illegible]. Top left: Stone [illegible]. Top right: Stone, or [illegible]'s [illegible]. Below: [illegible] [illegible] (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 4]

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§33 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 123–24; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; §38 Félix José, 1916, many song passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–65) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Sousville, 1928, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European.

§34 Music.—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'rug), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifollka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (2 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hrdlička, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:81–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 202)—the last, pre-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

§35 Dances.—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Barrientos (1882, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:88; 1906, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable drinking (Félix José, 1916, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, below) of wood and of cactus leaves (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:285; 1908, p. 139; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

§27 Recreation.—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

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of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawín was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

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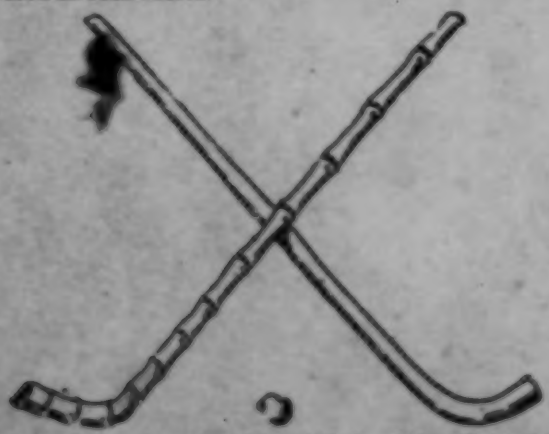

FIGURE 81.—*Mapuche* hockey sticks and ball. (After Manquilef, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (buítno, uño, pelican) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of *Chusquea* sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 199–208.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1912, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

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RELIGION

771 *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Pillañ cult, miscellaneous magico-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 **Theism.**—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were ɥenɔhen (master of men) and ɥenɔmapun (master of the land). Another form of address was chau (father), but he was ambisexually addressed as rey chau (king father) and rey kuche (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man ɥenɔhen," "Young Woman ɥenɔhen," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces ɥenɔhen (ɥenɔmapun)." "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connected the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanoes and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms: the public ɥillatun, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices.
782 The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26–27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Dumeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1884, p. 147, Argentine *Araucanians*; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latcham, 1922 b, p. 222, offering to spirits.)

776 On the public rite, the ɥillatun, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 262–69; 1908, pp. 262–65;

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1911, pp. 229–40; 1929, 1:638–46; Hosse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 371–94; Roblee Rodriguez, 1942, pp. 9–35.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called ven'pin, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia magui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 83); the erection of the llesillaui, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated circuits of the awin, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia magui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, cracking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ellatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e.g., Hosse, 1939, pp. 105–10; see also infra under Huenchulaian, p. 750.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ellatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the huenchulaian rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Southpolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this huenchulaian rite is performed as part of the ellatun rite, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ellatun "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 380).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as embisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillán or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of those writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

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Figure 64.—A *Mapuche* fetish. (After Guevara, 1913, p. 186.)

Most of the Jesuits, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept was so [illegible] clearly followed back well into the 18th century through the writings of Father Ascáchate de Bologna and Ovalle (Vida José, 1888, pp. 189-97) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 43-47) and Smith (1855, p. 370), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

"Pay acknowledge a Supreme being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . . They also call him Guenapillán, the spirit of Heaven, Dungeyn, the great being (lit. 'master'), Thunder, the Thunderer, Wenemvu, the Creator of all, Vilipulvu, the Omnipotent, Kalquin, the Sword, Avunda, the Infinite, etc . . . . . He is the great Tupal of the invisible world . . . . . [Molina, 1801, p. 180, cf. 1959a, p. 166.]

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1884, p. 147), chachao (Manzilla, 1877, 2:23), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *gillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wuno tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Ñañihuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: *Félix José*, 1916, 1:198) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1929–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ñañihuenu, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Merazgay, 1646, p. 296; cf. Falcón, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (*Félix José*, 1916, 1:181). According to Sara (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Merazgay (1646, p. 296), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821] [823] [755]

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795 tion was asked); the machi that are also bulos, because these dealt with wekufü; those who caused another's death through witchcraft; those who killed another by overcoming him physically; those who stole animals, such as cattle, horses, sheep; those who burned down other people's ruka; the wekufü themselves.

THE ÑILLATUN: TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

796 Informants spoke of their tribal religious ceremonial as ñillatun (the Araucanian for "to ask for something") and as las rogativas (the Spanish for "several days of prayer"). "Both mean everybody comes together; when we use either word, we know we mean our ñillatun."

Until recent years the ñillatun (participants being the people under one cacique) was held several times each year: Early in spring to pray for an increase in flocks—more recently in herds also—and for favorable weather during planting time; during the growing season, in the event that unfavorable weather set in; and later in the season to petition favorable weather for harvest time. A special occasion for performing the ceremonial was to avert physical harm, such as might result from destructive wind storms, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods. On all occasions, in addition to the special petitions, prayers were for the welfare of all the people, especially of the families who were in attendance. An Alapde man told the following as an example of a special occasion for holding the ñillatun: "While the great earthquake was going on in Valparaiso in 1906, the earth around here trembled a day and a night. The following day, the Mapuche here held a ñillatun. About 10 years ago, I thought we were having another serious earthquake. I looked at that hill to see if the tree trunks up there [in burnt-over lands] were moving—they were, and soon they were falling over. I knew then that there was a threatening earthquake. We held a ñillatun at that time, too." Today, the ñillatun is celebrated once a year, usually in the spring, as a petition for favorable weather for crops.

The celebration of a complete ñillatun takes 2, 3, or 4 days, depending on the number of animals to be sacrificed. Several weeks previous to the celebration, the men of the families who will participate meet for 1 or 2 days to decide on the exact time at which it is to be held. In December of 1946, preparations were being made for one to be held in Maiquillahue (Alapde area). "Right now [February] meetings are being held here [Cañaripe] to decide on days in April [1947] for our next ñillatun."

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Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a ngillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Cañeripe man on whose land the ngillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ngillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Cañeripe, Llanchahue, Pacura, Pulinque, Tromquil, Kayumapu, Kolowin, Kodow, Lonkon, Rewelen, Kaellon, Kilino, Kurungo, Huechulefun, Linnil. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ngillatun—one locality decides to hold a ngillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Pangipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shodoncon, Huing, and Pupulahue. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration.

The ngillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepin area this plot is in Meiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Cañeripe man: "The ngillatun for Cañeripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ngillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintance and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ngillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out messages to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called these captains and sergeants. In Alepin area, the cacique is the leader; in Cañeripe and Pangipulli areas, he is a person known as machi, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ngillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The machi, according to Félix José (1918, vol. 1, pp. 33-35), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers sermons in the ngillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the machi as a class of priests although they do not or hardly slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from

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his father. "The one in Cobalqui is a man 50 years old; his father was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people unchosen him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ceremonial before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ceremonial. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Wherever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called narrow shell. These tortillas are taken to the ceremonial and so are also filled with meat. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ceremonial.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each man blowing his pifulca almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 50 for pifulca.) "Not long ago, when the ceremonial was held here [Cobalqui], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifulca from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a lamb; an occasional family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ceremonial."

All members of a family attend the ceremonial, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1948, in Cobalqui, there were just to four men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even despised persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial meaks—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony."

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, as the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it."

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following:

The leader, whether he be a machipu or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the capitán and sargento of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucara (Colhuipe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucara. "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The capitán and sargento prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Colhuipe grounds (fig. 2), four collihue are placed in the ground; in Alepín, one canqui tree. This place is called parada (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the collihue, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last gathering the piles were as high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with muday, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the collihue are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. pp. 1). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one in which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are the guards of the place. Pucara had one trutruka in December, and Llaneahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is placed in a place somewhat apart from the parada. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her kalewa (pl. pp. 1), "sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her kalewa, and together they sing (informant sang in Arauca-

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nian): "You, who are above in heaven, give us all that is necessary as food. Give us wheat, corn, potatoes. Give us peas and quinoa. Give us lanko kachu."

A fireplace upon which the sacrificial animals are to be consumed is prepared "like all other fireplaces are, but this one is considered sacred." Embers are kept glowing by a boy and a girl, between 7 and

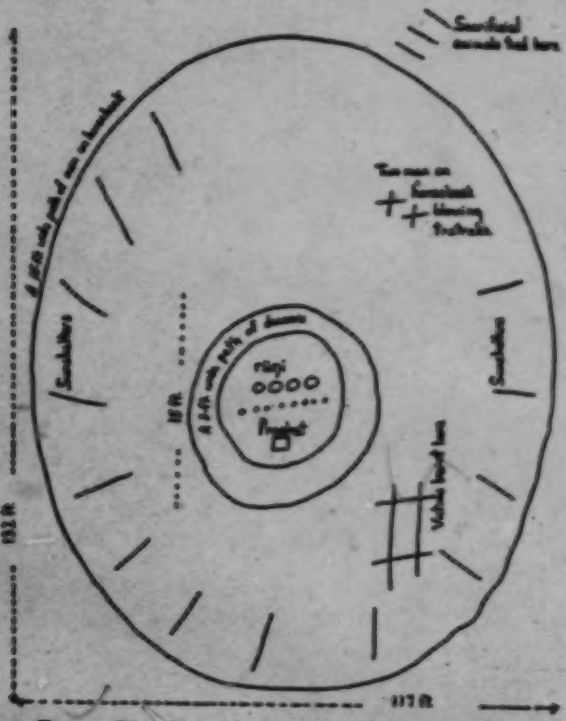

FIG. 2.—The ñillatun in Coñaripe area. (Diagram drawn by a Coñaripe informant.)

10 years of age—"they must be very innocent and guileless still"—who swing branches with leaves over the fire in a manner to make the smoke go heavenward. The Coñaripe prophet chose two of his own children for the December ñillatun. The sheep and hens to be offered are tied to poles at some distance from the grounds and are brought in as needed.

While the above preparations are being made, the families raise sun shelters in close proximity to each other and in an elliptical pattern

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about the porufe as the center. Each sun shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, *1*), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

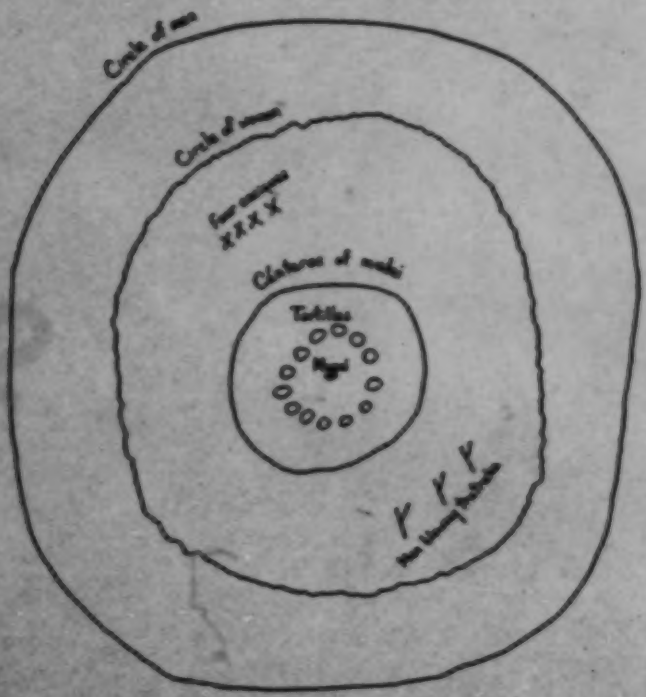

FIG. 3.—The ceremonial in Alapche area. (Diagram drawn by an Alapche informant.)

30 to 80, depending on the number present—mount their horses and get into formation beyond the sun shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the poruin about the porufe and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the

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796 535 porun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the perufe hardly move, while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifalka, the machi beat their kultrun, and the lion blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ñillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the perufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the perufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the porun until the küntron has ended.

796 782 A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four colihüe. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ñillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ñillatun."

796 After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

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tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenemapu fulce (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of muduí and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a collihue from the middle of the row at the purufe. With these in their hands both dance around the purufe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the purufe, each one carrying a vessel of muduí, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!" 796 ●

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the purufe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 31, 3). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the muduí, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels. 796 782

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the gillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited. 796 [80]

The kouchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

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and might occur at any time (cf. pp. 60-63). Today it is performed at the ñiñatun, rarely otherwise, and is an expression of sincere good will between people of two localities. "We had a lewchitun at the December ñiñatun for invited families from Pureo," said a Colicripe informant; "these people now owe us a sheep and [laughing] we must hold a ñiñatun in April to give them an opportunity to pay us back."

The following rather complete account of the manner of conducting the ñiñatun in Alepún area was given by a 66-year-old man with a 47-year-old man collaborating. The diagram in figure 3 was drawn by them. Both were active participants in the ceremonial.

The rucupu of Melmán leads the ñiñatun in our area, that is for Alepún, Chau Chau, Pelhuco, and Malpañilahue. Our rucupu (Alepún) holds second position; the rucupu of Chau Chau, third; and a rucupu from the other side of the Melmán River, the fourth. Each brings with him a capitán and a sargento, the capitán taking precedence over the sargento. The two duties of the capitán and sargento are, first, to inform the people in their respective localities that a ñiñatun will be held and second, to assist in the performance of the ceremonies. The holy pampa is in Malpañilahue—it is a hundred meters square. [The interpreter thought it to be much larger. The informant continued somewhat vindictively:] Every year the owner of the holy pampa extends his fences a little farther into it and thereby lessens the extent of the holy pampa.

The complete ñiñatun consists of two separate gatherings. The first lasts one day. Its purpose is to tell why a ñiñatun should be held and to set the date for the second meeting which is usually held two months later. The second gathering lasts at least two days—it begins early in the morning of one day and ends in the late afternoon the following day. If there is moonlight, the sacred dancing will be continued through the night between the days; if there is no moon, the rucupu will not permit dancing at night.

A ñiñatun is held either because the leading rucupu decides that there shall be one or because one of the other three rucupus asks him to hold one, or because people in a locality jointly go to their rucupu and petition for one. Other reasons, in recent years, for holding a ñiñatun were continuous unfavorable weather, or because our grain was not maturing as it should, or to avert the catastrophe of an earthquake. One can be held for any other reason for which the people may want one. The last ñiñatun we had—the one in October [1948]—was for favorable weather.

The first gathering is held in the open, but the ñiñatun itself is conducted in an enclosure made of saplings, with branches and leaves retained. The saplings are planted so as to slant toward the inside of the enclosure. In the center of the enclosure a rangui about 5 feet high is erected. Anyone who has the good will to do so may erect it. I recall one ñiñatun at which the rangui was forgotten. On that occasion the ñiñatun opened and there was no rangui. The man who had volunteered to get it, hurried out and got one.

After the rangui has been planted, the four lambs that have been brought for sacrifice are brought into the enclosure. These must be white female lambs; they are voluntary offerings by anyone who wishes to offer one; black lambs cannot be sacrificed. White or yellow lambs, about mature enough to be eaten, may also be sacrificed. If anyone brings a lamb of any other color, he is told that he may take it home again.

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The leading cacique makes a small incision close to the heart of one of the lambs, reaches in, and draws forth the pulsating heart. The heart is punctured then, and at each pulsation the leading cacique dips a sprig into the blood that squirts forth, and sprinkles it toward the maqui. He continues this until the pulsations end. The lambs are taken next, one at a time. The head of each one is chopped off and the leading cacique, holding the body in one hand, moves the neck back and forth, sprinkling the maqui with blood.

This done, the leading cacique addresses God Father in prayer—we call him Dios—asking for the blessings of the particular intention for which the gilletun is being held. It includes a prayer asking that the people will be blessed with causes of favorable weather and a good harvest, and that there will be no accidents. The same prayer is addressed to God Mother, asking her to ask God Father for these favors. Then they ask the sons and daughters of God Father and God Mother to intercede with God Father for the same favors. Next, they ask the deceased great caciques, Trauamalefu and Colwefilri, to intercede also. These are two important caciques of long ago. They lived some distance apart and communicated with each other in dreams; they were not from Alepée area, but from somewhere else. After mentioning these two caciques, they mention in prayer the more important deceased caciques who lived in Alepée area. My grandfather I among these mentioned.—I still have his pilelka, and cherish it. I could have heartily he recited these prayers.—At the close of the gilletun, they promise these caciques that in another year they will hold another gilletun. The leading cacique then prays to other deceased persons, whom he remembers as being with God in heaven, that they, too, intercede with God for the people.

Then a lamb is thrown on a huge fire which is about 20 meters away from the enclosure, but within the area known as the holy pampa; the lamb is completely consumed there. [The interpreter remarked that it must produce an unbearable smell, to which the informant answered that the breezes from the Pacific carried it away.] Each sacrificial lamb is killed, its blood sprinkled, and the rest consumed by fire. The sacrifice of the lamb is the essential of each sacrificial act, an act repeated four times during each of the two days.

While the animals are being consumed by the fire, the leading cacique beats a kultrun. The men mount their horses and ride, two abreast, very orderly around the outside of the enclosure and the fire. The women join hands and dance around the maqui to the beat of the kultrun. Any man who brought a trumpet blows it—usually there are two or three that have done so. This part of the ceremonial usually takes a half hour. Then the men dismount, tie their horses to the fences that are nearby, and walk to the enclosure in orderly formation, two and two, those from each locality being led by their captain. Then each man pairs up with a girl or woman, and all dance slowly. This dance is followed by a second dance which is done faster. Anyone who does not follow the formalities of the dance is corrected. If he does not improve, he is suspected of ridiculing it and is told to leave. No one is allowed to ridicule or laugh at anything. This ceremony has taken another half hour. Everyone now rests. All I have told you up to now is considered one complete sacrifice. The identical ceremony with sacrifices is repeated four times, a lamb being offered each time. Between these acts of sacrifice, time is taken out for a rest.

Each woman has brought with her, tied in a piece of cloth, something of everything she has planted or intends to plant—probably a handful of wheat, barley, corn, peas, flax, and two or three potatoes. She places these as her offering near the maqui. Later when the four sacrifices have been completed, these offerings

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796 are dropped on the fireplace where they are consumed—they are consumed after the hens, and the hens are consumed after the lambs. Before the women's offerings are burnt, the following prayers are said in Mapuche: "God Father who art in heaven, you see what we are doing here today, that we are offering you this sacrifice; forgive us our faults; give us food and a good year; do not punish us since today we offer you this lamb and all these cereals and vegetables which you, God Father, gave us. We beg you, God Father, that you give us a good year, that you will not punish us with intense heat, that you will let the seeds sprout well so that there will be a good harvest, that there will be no sickness among your children whom you now see here; that there will be no mishap among your sons and daughters in their work in the fields and on the sea where your sons work. Fill our lives with good living. We beg, also, you, God Mother, to pray to God Father for us. We call also on you, the caciques who have left us, and who now see us from heaven where you are." Every married man has brought a tortilla [about 12 inches in diameter] and a cántaro of muéki. At present the muéki is made of corn, or wheat and barley, ground on the metate; formerly, the women chewed the corn and spat it into an olla and let it ferment into muéki.

Between the two dances during the fourth act, each sergeant distributes pieces of tortillas, which he has cut from those offered at the nuqui, to men, women and children from his locality who danced—those who were merely onlookers do not receive any. After that, he passes muéki to the same persons. The muéki which is not drunk is poured out. Nothing is taken home.

Children join in all dancing and are present everywhere. They must be orderly and show respect by their conduct. The machi are present but merely as other persons are; they have no duties at the gillatun nor are they shown any special respect.

At the end of the gillatun the machi bid each other goodbye. All others say goodbye to each other—just like we do after Mass—some merely embrace, others kiss, everybody shakes hands.

BLACK ART

754 Black art, or witchcraft, is resorted to as a means of revenge or because of jealousy. Once it is suspected that black art has been inflicted on a person or his property, retaliation is sought through the same means. Kalku—witches, both men and women—practice it either directly or through a medium (cf. pp. 70, 155). If it is inflicted on persons, the result is physical or mental ill health (cf. pp. 110, 124); if on property, fields of wheat are usually involved. The medium employed is known only to the kalku using it, unless he has told some of his fellow kalku about it. Panguipulli informants knew that several kalku met periodically secretly "in the deep woods where no one else goes," and there laid their plans to do injury to someone. Such meetings are called reniruka.

If a wheat field is to be damaged, the medium used is the meat of any 4-footed animal and/or eggs, which are bewitched and buried

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The nillatun, religious ceremonial (Cobaripe): 1, Sun shelters erected by participants at the place of the ceremonial. 2, Detail of one of the shelters. 3, The spot on which the sacrificial animals were burned.

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the yare of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 3, 4); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some could because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly.
783 They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kuhapan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pueuca must go onto the plot and perform the qualtun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the qualtun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kuhapan demonstrated the qualtun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE NILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ñillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ñillatun, or ñillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "reqa-

tion." Camarada is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camarico" (Montoisch, 1944, p. 35). "They all come the same," said the cacique of Mallen; "they come prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the ñiñatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the cultivo blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the cultivo, come in large numbers, and after having eaten the cultivo seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the cultivo would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the ñiñatun.

Formerly the ñiñatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the ñiñatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the ñiñatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the ñiñatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Catán Lil, Loncoche, Pilolil, Chamonil, Kalaufu, and the dwellers of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the ñiñatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kalaufu conducted its last ñiñatun under its late cacique, Shailoche; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Cayún.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the ñiñatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kalupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the ñiñatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he froze to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the ñiñatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

19: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
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under way in February in Ñuñéo, Aukapun, and Collón Curá. "When harvesting and sheep shearing on the estancias terminate, our people return home; it is then that we shall celebrate the gillatun."

The gillatun is always conducted on a plot of land reserved for

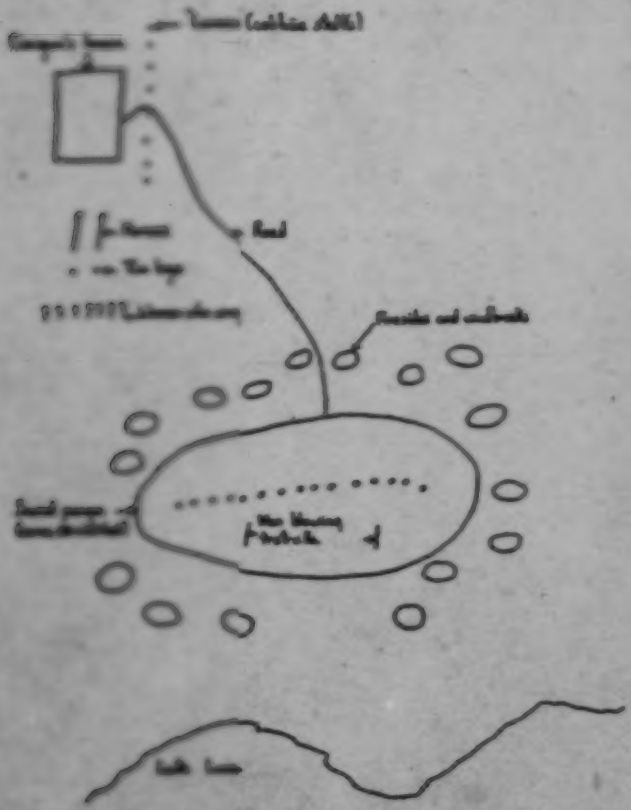

FIG. 9.—The gillatun in Quinquina. (Diagram drawn by a non-Araucanian who had attended 28 performances of the gillatun.)

that purpose and considered sacred, one sheltered from winds. (Cf. fig. 9 for diagram of gillatun.) No domestic use is supposed to be made of it, but this restriction is being ignored today. Old persons expressed regret and grief at seeing cattle and sheep grazing on it, or grain growing there. "The cacique has a difficult time keeping people from plowing and seeding the plot; land is so scarce now. And then,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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too, so many young persons today have no faith in the ngillatun; in fact they pay no attention to anything related to our old ways." 796

The cacique who called the people together for the ngillatun is the officiating officer at the ceremony. He is assisted by two men from his jurisdiction, inka or kelle, referred to by informants as captain and sergeant. Other persons of importance are the machi and the four piwichen—two boys in early adolescence and two preadolescent girls. All other persons present, except children, are expected to participate; children are nonparticipant observers. "Children know nothing about things yet; but they are made to observe everything so they will learn. But today, not even children want to learn the old ways; it is a pity!"

Since there is no longer a machi in Quilaquina area, an ordinary woman replaces her. It is she who beats the kultrun. Before the ceremonies begin, each of her hands is painted from knuckles to wrist with three pairs of lines, each pair consisting of a black and a white line. A similar pair of lines is painted across her nose, from cheek bone to cheek bone, and another pair across her forehead from temple to temple. On her head she wears a trariloqko, a silver ornament. The two preadolescent girls (piwichen) are decorated in the same manner; the two boys (piwichen) each have only one black line from cheek bone to cheek bone across the nose. 796 302

The complete ceremonial takes two days. Families arrive at the plot reserved for it on the evening preceding the first day. Each family brings a 2-day supply of food, blankets on which to rest and sleep, and sacrificial family offerings of food. Traditional offerings were wheat, corn, catuto (p. 366), tortilla, an ogle, and mudai (p. 371); optional offerings were chickens, sheep, and calves. Today, offerings are usually the traditional obligatory ones, "or whatever the people want to offer." Chicha (pilku) has replaced mudai. An occasional family brings one or two of the optional offerings. The cacique provides the traditional tribal sacrifice, a white horse; or in the event no white horse is obtainable, a roan-colored one. Today a sheep or calf often replaces the horse. Only the blood of animals is sacrificed; their meat is either eaten, or is thrown into the fire, together with the bones, at the end of the ceremonial to be totally consumed. Dogs must be kept from getting any of either. 796

The evening of their arrival, persons sit around until midnight, resting and visiting. At midnight the men plant 3- to 4-foot-tall colihue stalks in a row approximately 20 yards long. This done, each woman places at the base of a stalk her family offerings of food and also a

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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cup and a pottery plate—the cup must be of the traditional type, that is, either pottery or made of the large end of a cow's horn.

Chicha is then poured into a large vessel, which stands "at the place for God" (probably an altar), and also into small cups. "Formerly we used conical made of araucaria nuts, quinoa, or wheat. Whatever is used must be drunk through hollowed-out colihue stalks from traditional-type cups." During the ceremonial some of the beverage from the large vessel is sprinkled "heavenward to God"; the remainder is drunk by the people.

Just before sunrise, preparatory to the opening of the ceremony, each man that traveled to the ñillatun on horseback mounts his horse. So do the two boys, each in a chiripe and carrying a colihue tipped with a piece of blue cloth. All now line up in formation, the two boys leading and the men on horseback, each holding a colihue stalk, following. Next come the men on foot, each also carrying a colihue. Then follow the two girls, each wearing a chamall and carrying a chulfel (rattle). The women, also on foot, bring up the rear. The procession moves completely around the row of the colihue stalks several times. Children are not part of the procession, "but they are everywhere; they do not participate in anything except the eating."

After a rest period it is time to sacrifice the large animal. The animal is laid on its back, each leg held by one of four men, its belly cut open, and its heart pulled forward. Its pulsating heart is cut into small pieces, and a piece immediately eaten by every ceremonial participant. "I have seen this done by the Aigo tribe at Pulmari, which still performs the ceremonial along the exact traditional lines," said a neo-Araucanian. "It is an unbearably cruel thing to see the breast of a living mare cut open and her heart withdrawn. The Curruhuinca tribe at Quilequina has modernized the ceremonial; it is no longer done there." An estancia owner in the Malleo area, a neo-Araucanian, allowed his Araucanian workers to take animals from the estancia which they said they needed for the performance of the ñillatun, among them a white mare. "I attended the ñillatun as an onlooker," he said. "In due time the men brought the white mare forward, and I knew then that they were about to sacrifice her, that they would pull out her heart while she was still living. I could not bear the thought. I pulled my revolver and shot the mare. The Araucanians were so angry with me that for some time thereafter I thought they would kill me."

Prayers at the ñillatun are directed to God as the father of all (chau chau) and to the woman with him as the mother of all (papai). Chau chau and papai are reminded, first of all, of the affection they

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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have for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished women of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Pemuguam quemu trigupa tayin tuun feiu chau chau, ray ranpu, ray kuifi," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers."

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the cuilloio, while standing (today kneeling) near the cuilloio at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the cuilloio stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordillera; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

The machi now beats the kultrug, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as pervutun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward clockwise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say pervutun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the pervutun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The pervutun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people.

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the ngillatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the trugle (a bird), the pano pano mapu

10: Nilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
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(stamping on the ground), and the kulliche kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear chuc leathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear them. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collin Cura informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultrung. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultrung.

Only old men smoked at the ngillatun. Clay pipes (ruq kitra) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), olla (chulla), whistles (pilulla), plates (mell), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive cactus of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ngillatun.

At the closing of the ngillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately a foot below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilapulun in April," stated Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ngillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilapulun at the end of the last ngillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ngillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

are going one by one?" It was customary for the cacique to order the 796
[illegible] to smooth the round at the subsequent gathering. "He may find the round half completed," noted Kalaquen. "If he does, the cacique will announce to the people that either these dead took the other half or the dead are in—there is a world in which the dead live, you know." "Do you really believe, Kalaquen," I asked, "that the dead are in?" Much annoyed he rejoined, "Most certainly, the dead took it. And they must have eaten it or why would they have taken it? You could come to that conclusion yourself!"

BLACK ART, SORCERERS, WITCHES

Formerly, both sexes were accused of being sorcerers (hulka); 754
today, more often men are so accused (when I was in the area, a Quilapulcu man in his fifties was so accused; cf. p. 320). Sorcerers do harm to persons, animals, and fields by personal contact or through a medium. Harm done to a field of grain, in called dana; witchcraft in general is called hulkatun. Witchcraft can be overcome, however, by someone who knows how to counteract it.

Witchcraft is often exercised because of jealousy. It may be used on someone who has a good harvest several successive years to bring about failure in his crops or sickness for himself. Sorcerers were 683
punished by being hung over a fire and left there to burn to death. "That is the way it was done, formerly. The hulka would say, 'Why do you hang me?' When you accuse me of, I have not done. Those people whom you say I caused to die died a natural death; they would have died in any event.' But the hanging was done." Kalaquen told of one method of attempting to discover sorcerers. "Chodoitu, a cacique, was cold-hearted. When it was known that an enemy was on the way to attack our people, he called the people of his hulka together and ordered all the women to sit down in two rows.—My father often told me this.—Chodoitu wanted to find out if there was a hulka among the women; he feared that if there were one, she would betray our people to the enemy, even the enemy was near enough. He ordered each woman to raise both hands like this [thumbs opposed and palms outward]. Behind each woman stood a man who rested his bow upon the woman's shoulder. There was much and loud beating of the bows, and yelling by the people. Every woman was now closely observed. If she moved her hands or dropped them or showed nervousness in any way, she was declared to be a which, and was burned to death. Chodoitu died. His son Lidaiwal was the next cacique. He said that it was not right to kill a woman for such reasons, that maybe

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Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former set-
tlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Orig-
inally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Re- 311
ligious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [196]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an ex- [313]
panding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequent- [241]
ly used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been men-
tioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (on a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large- 311
scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population in-
creases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will even-
tually be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery
[i.e. Llancaman -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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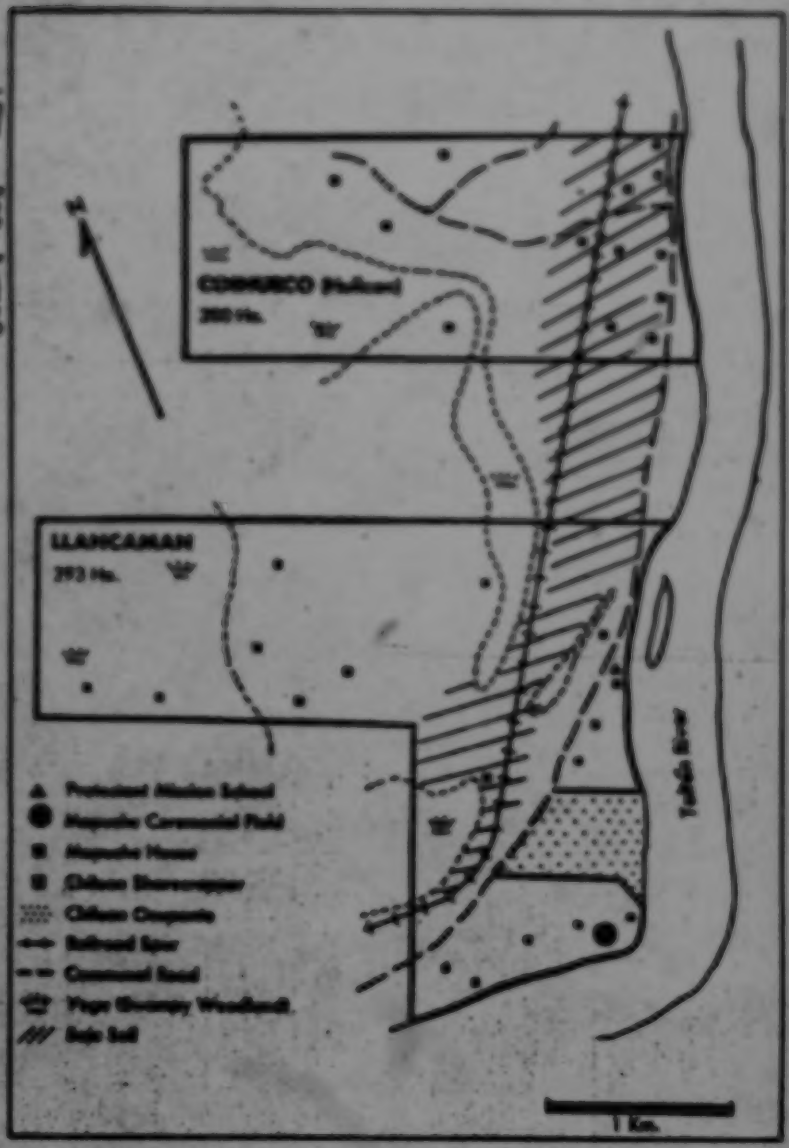

MAP III

[p. 36]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for
769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of
[753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike
[787] form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever-
[782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if
[754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to
[769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house.
[754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual
[769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of
[796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ñillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or
[782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead,
602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of 796.
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 796
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility 755
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (llekurewen) connected with their own "society."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
796 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
769 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon; but a small family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
[622] (which I regard as a preservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and
769 function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29). 121 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples. 121

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil. 796 755 754

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional, 754 182

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
121 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either
796 inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system. 121 128

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile. 121 177 433 648

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance. 433 311 [161] [648] [796] [794]

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 241 177 178

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mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
thereon, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political impor- 769
tance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796.
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the [622]
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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[164]
[526
[476]

Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and com- 526
munication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

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766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun

796 The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements [178] have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words: 796 [178] [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of ñillatun rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory. [114]

In the following pages is a generalized account of *ñillatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors. [114] 796 184

A General Description of Ñillatun. *Ñillatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *ñenechen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *ñillatun* is the offering of food to *ñenechen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening 796 241 178 796 241 782 [178]

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796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory
241 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782 today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for
[178 nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the prereservation era.

796 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are
622 scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation
241 provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages,
782 who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable
[621 combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and *ñenechen* and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*awnkamañ*: guardian of *awn*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated
62 by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

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several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 621

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 756

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom 796 [821] [776]

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796 jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders
798 (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or vehicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If
[824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to
[782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participat-
ing reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congrega-
tion. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178]
vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(*kamen*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
625 drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
789 (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses.
[198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one. 796 789

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum). 796 535 [301] [824] [534]

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llani*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled. 796 [535]

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a 796 782

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796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for [776] *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *muday* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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796 I have stressed the priestly function of *fillatufe*, the sacrificial
793 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
956 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *fillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *fillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *fillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *fillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
956 the role played by a *machi*" in the *fillatun* organization (1951:
796 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*fillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *fillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *fillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
[613] head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *fillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *fillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *fillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation
might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes
happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual
performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibil-
ity; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another
congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the
services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural
lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose,
the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling
in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on
the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance,
but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time
when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Gue-
vara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in
which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
769

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114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
[178] remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordi-
788 nariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
796 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
[178] *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
[178] *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which 796
entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In 793
all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* 756
are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* [622]
activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the 796
ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a 756
priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* [622]
were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I
have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I
should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw
in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the [198]
shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the
audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed,
apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was
supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which 796
startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her 756
helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and 789
finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it 536
was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl.
But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished
left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was
explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil
spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her
possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by
any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual
priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in 796
ñillatun ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowl- 793
edge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* 756
throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in 182
fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately
ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they
act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as
priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest
deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and
is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil
spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its
ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ówn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
796 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
796 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
769 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
782 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons 796 are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed. 769

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and [794] *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true [782] statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a [789] vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and [537] *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members 796 of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reserva- 794 tion. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, 628 interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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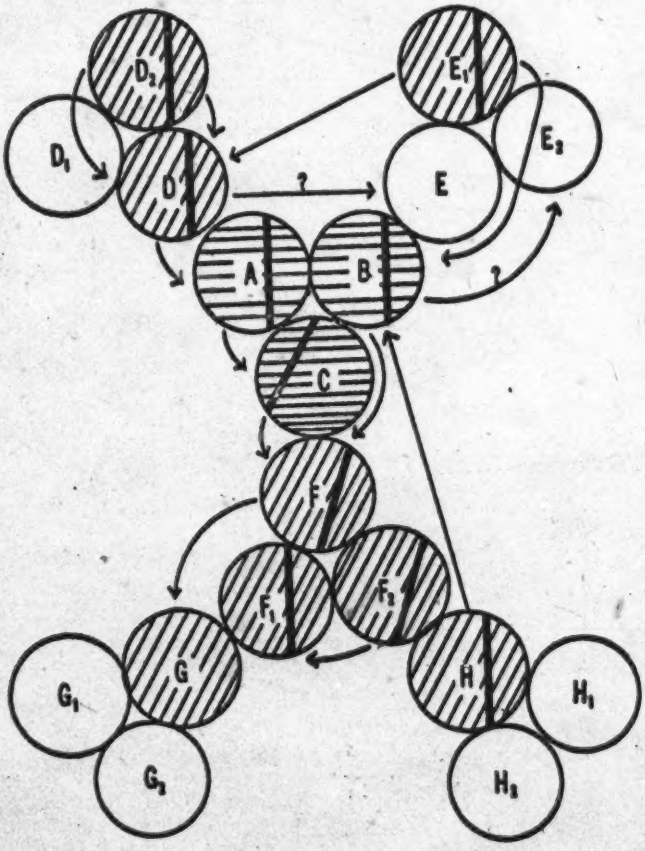
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation



Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

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[574]

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

[623]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Es could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and non-coincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

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From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation-bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community-based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom. 751

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective. 756 182 554 [769] [796]

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of 756 556

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[2] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

[2] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an indivudual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur before or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it. 77 787

A similar association of right and left with good and evil occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune. 792 787

During *ñillatun* the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) cuts off the right ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ñillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood. 772 769 782 796. [788] [591] [608]

There seems a clear enough association between good phenomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy. 772

While all the above-mentioned entries would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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177 178 594 613 [433] [582] The elementary-family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has 177 178 622 554 declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as [769] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

177 178 796 769 [794] Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of *ñillatun* and *ewn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [131] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is [illegible]ned by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 •797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.
[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

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PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antinao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

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PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

HISTORY

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The 285 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading histories of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucanía should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

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*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e. g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1518-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 26 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos,* 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverria,* etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1784-1859]

Alonso de GÓNGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NÚÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz . . . y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1655.]

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1. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla. 101 175 161

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e. g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[3] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1535, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the 797 175

3. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit (1875-1930): *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas. [114]

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 797 Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (cf. *Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine)*, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

114 19 The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Paillalef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitmacs, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pilli* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the
[764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few
[764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only
797 nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nguruvilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world. 177 797

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character. 177 773

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged. 628

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

787 Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilisation, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

787 *Superstitions.*—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all lower races, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog bayed by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (*pilli*) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit (*huecuvu*) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their dice from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white *tordo* (blackbird).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncavi, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío. 669

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures. 177

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as 114 [797]

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 10-14, 63-65, *passim*). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond.
797 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

133
241

[797]

(See legend on opposite page.)

[p 12 (A)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
423 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
[622] half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes

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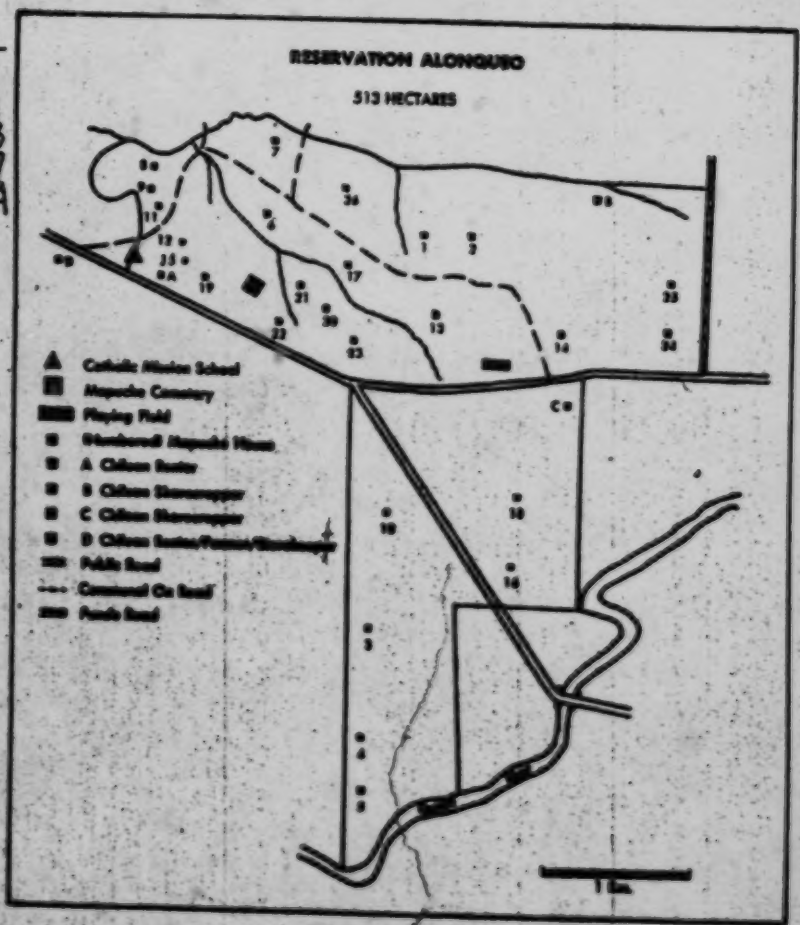
361
491
563
997
764



Map II

102
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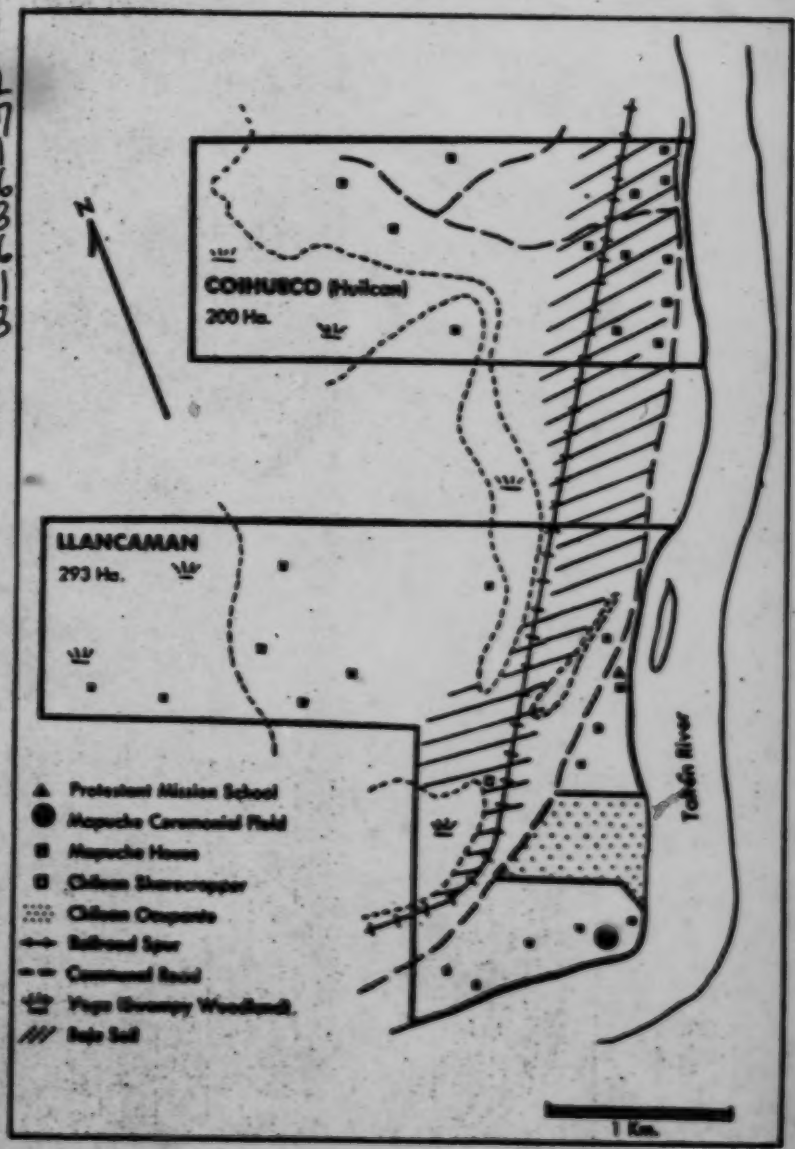

MAP III

[p. 36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. [177 127]

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. [177] The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. [191] [197]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the
-797 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
177 Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or
195 *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñii*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
77 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
77 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
• 777 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
CHACO INDIANS SK4
Puelche SI10
ARAUCANIANS SG4

Ab 781

think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy.

Ab C 776 171

Not only the Abipones, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guaycurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichû. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubû. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

Ar P 776 821

Ar P 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon
PUELCHE S110
MAPUCHEANS S64

hands, they replied; "Till this hour, we never knew nor acknowledged any thing greater or better than the sun." The Patagonians call God Soychù, to wit, that which cannot be seen, which is worthy of all veneration, and which does not live in the world; hence they call the dead *Soychuhèt*, men that dwell with God beyond the world. They seem to hold two principles in common with the Gnostics and Manichæans, for they say that God created both good and evil demons. The latter they greatly fear, but never worship. They believe every sick person to be possessed of an evil demon; hence their physicians always carry a drum with figures of devils painted on it, which they strike at the beds of sick persons, to drive the evil demon, which causes the disorder, from the body. The savages of Chili are ignorant of the name and worship of God, but believe in a certain aërial spirit, called Pillan, to whom they address supplications that he will scatter their enemies, and thanksgiving, amidst their cups, after gaining a victory. Pillan is also their name for thunder, and they worship this deity chiefly when it thunders. The devil, which they call Alveè, they detest with their whole hearts. Hence, as they think life the best of all things, when any of them dies, they say that the evil

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish. 726 669

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16] 177 713 [798]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers, 723

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. 703
Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time 798
many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was [186]
an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of 723
battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. 266
While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Los aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), [164]
pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

796 of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul·truñ* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul·truñ* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.[22] At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated
● [801] four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

796 535 When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

[22] For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

tain and sergeant from the leader's locality have moved, on horseback, to where the sacrificial sheep and hens have been tied. After the leader has finished the pipe, these two men dismount, and while they are doing so, several persons throw pieces of lung toward them. The two men then pray quietly for about 5 minutes, addressing their prayers to chau and to wenemapu fiuke (the woman with chau). "It looks as though these prayers were being addressed to the sun, for the men look directly at the sun." They again mount their horses and ride nearly 50 yards beyond the sun shelters, one carrying a vessel of mudai and the other a pipe filled with tobacco. At this distance they gallop completely around the ellipse of the grounds four times. Each time they come back to the place where the sacrificial animals are tied, pieces of lung are thrown toward them, and all the people yell "Ya-ah!" After the fourth ride is completed, the two men slide off their horses, and each takes a colihüe from the middle of the row at the pərufe. With these in their hands both dance around the pərufe four times. After this all the participating young men run round the pərufe, each one carrying a vessel of mudai, and everyone yells "Ya-ah!" 796

One-half of the sheep that was sacrificed is consumed in the sacred fireplace; the other half is roasted over the sacred fire and is then divided among the people by the captains and sergeants. The first piece that is cut off the roasted meat is placed at the pərufe for chau. All bones left after the flesh has been eaten are burned in the sacred fire (pl. 31, 3). Great care is always taken that none of them is gotten by dogs. The entrails and hides are buried so close to the fire that dogs will not dig for them. Toward the end of the ceremonial, the tortillas are cut into strips and shared by all; the mudai, too, is consumed by participating persons. This is drunk from wooden tumblers or pottery vessels. 796 782

The ceremonial of the second day is merely a repetition of the first day's, except that usually all hens are sacrificed on the second day by being thrown on the fire to be consumed there.

Two old men—one each from a separate locality—act as policemen. "Order must be maintained about the place; there must be no laughing or visiting during the ceremonies." Informants said that the recurrence of the number four has no significance—four is not considered a sacred number. According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 742-743), the rewe at one time was one of the main features of the ŋillatun. It was not known to have been used in areas I visited. 796 [80]

The konchitun (sharing a meal of mutton supplied by one of two men) is not a part of the ceremonial, but is an adjunct to it. Formerly it was an expression of sincere mutual friendship between two men

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

velañ mán (*velañ: velorio* or wake; *mán:* right), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [788]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [801].
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corps through smoking. Present-day informants know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173]
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [282] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

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CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River, very little is known.

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tentive listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in oratorical fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used force, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in Alepúe could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numbers also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 802

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 754). The 100-year-old Coñaripe man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one meant two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Panguipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they meant three of a kind. [174]

TABLE 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Chile)*

1 kiñe	11 mari-kiñe	31 kũla-mari-kiñe	100 pataka-epu
2 epu	12 mari-epu	40 meli-mari	199 pataka-hayla-mari-hayla
3 kũla	13 mari-kũla	50 kechu-mari	
4 meli	19 mari-hayla	60 kayu-mari	200 epu-pataka
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	70 regle-mari	300 kũla-pataka
6 kayũ	21 epu-mari-kiñe	80 pura-mari	400 meli-pataka
7 regle	22 epu-mari-epu	90 hayla-mari	500 hayla-pataka
8 pura	28 epu-mari-pura	99 hayla-mari-hayla	999 hayla-pataka-hayla-mari-hayla
9 hayla	29 epu-mari-hayla	100 pataka	
10 mari	30 kũla-mari	101 pataka-kiñe	1000 mari-pataka

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802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antü). Antü is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Coñaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

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537 [202] man in training was sent as messenger by his cacique, or another person, to another cacique. When he was older, he was one of those who delivered addresses and made announcements to the assembled people. Kolupan was trained in oratory by his father. He said of himself: "I was an intelligent young man, full of life and full of energy. My father recognized my intelligence and taught me how to speak. He would give me an order to go somewhere, maybe to a cacique, and then tell me exactly what I was to say. I had to repeat to him what he had said and in the same tone of voice in which he had said it. In this way I learned not only how to carry messages to men of importance, like caciques, and how to deliver an address, but also how to speak good Araucanian.—I cannot pronounce words well today, because I have lost my front teeth.—Caciques to whom I was sent always received me with much courtesy. This gave me a feeling of distinction. I was about 22 years old when I first began to carry messages between caciques. I had great respect for my father. He was a most intelligent man."

COUNTING

802 There is no zero. Numerals in Argentine Araucanian are given in table 7. (See table 1 for Chilean Araucanian numerals.)

TABLE 7.—*Numerals in Araucanian (Argentina)*

1 kiñe	10 mari	50 kechu-mari
2 epu	11 mari-kiñe	60 kayu-mari
3 kila (or kle)	12 mari-epu	70 reple-mari
4 meli	13 mari-kila (or mari-kle)	80 pura-mari
5 kechu	20 epu-mari	90 aila-mari
6 kayú	21 epu-mari-kiñe	100 pataka
7 reple	22 epu-mari-epu	200 epu-pataka
8 pura	30 kla-mari	300 kla-pataka
9 aila	40 meli-mari	1,000 waraqka

Children count on their fingers; if the number is greater than 10, they count on toes also. Adults were seen counting by touching the fingernails of one hand for counting to 5, then touching the second knuckles of the same hand for counting to 10, and the fingernails and knuckles of the other hand for numbers greater than 10. Counting was generally done from thumb to little finger. "If I were young and agile and barefoot," said a 50-year-old man, "I would use my toes to count from 10 to 20"—something other adults said was seldom done except by children.

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[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [282] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

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CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

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202 534 only 19 kullkull have been heard, the 19 will then blow in unison hoping that the twentieth will hear them and answer. No boat will sail far away from sounds of the kullkull; none has been known to have gotten lost because of a fog, but it has happened that one could not hear the kullkull and consequently got away and was taken out to sea by the wind and lost.

No informant had heard of smoke signaling among Chilean Araucanians (it was recorded by one of Cooper's sources, 1946, p. 754), but an old Panguipulli man knew that Argentine Araucanians who were lost climbed to a hilltop—"there are many hilltops there, you know"—and built a fire to attract attention. "Anyone seeing the fire knew a lost person had kindled it, and should be rescued."

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, QUANTITY, WEIGHT, DISTANCE

●804 Araucanian traditional linear measurements, still in use today, are the pichi duke (the Spanish jeme), the distance between tip of thumb and first finger at farthest stretch; the fūcha duke (the Spanish cuarta), the distance between tip of thumb and little finger at farthest stretch; and the wima. If a wima is measured by a man, it will extend from his Adams apple, or the middle of his chest, to the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm, or, if he is a large man, only to the tip of the thumb. A woman measures a wima from the shoulder joint of one arm to the tips of the fingers of the other arm.

Both the pichi duke and the fūcha duke are used in measuring small things, such as small pieces of lumber or standard widths and lengths of woven articles, such as chospino and lama. One woman demonstrating measuring with the pichi duke slid the tip of her first finger into the position of her thumb, moved the thumb forward to another complete handstretch, and repeated this as often as she needed to. Another woman did the reverse—she slid her thumb into the position of her finger.

Wima are used in measuring lengths, such as those needed in building a ruka or a puma trap, or in measuring land. An occasional woman uses it in measuring chospino. "I know the length of my wima because I measured it against a meter measuring stick that a Chilean had." As many wima as are needed for a length of anything are measured off on a strand of yarn, which then serves as a measuring tape. Although, in general, clothing is fitted to the wearer—a poncho, for example, must reach from side of neck straight across the shoulder and down the arm to the knuckles of the hand and be long enough to touch the knees—the weaver, for convenience sake, may take the measurements on strands of yarn also.

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Eye measurements (approximate) are used in selecting a tree from which oxcart wheels are to be made. "Any man who knows how to make a wheel knows that the tree minus the bark must make wheels large enough to keep the oxcart from hitting high spots in oxcart trails." An informant indicated by eye, on a table, the length and width of a bird trap. Two Alepúe men prepared bundles of cochayuyo for the market. Cochayuyo is an edible alga collected in shallow water on the shores of the Pacific. The length of each bundle (approximately 18 inches) was measured by eye; the thickness included what a man could hold between both hands when tips of thumbs and fingers met. 804 [401]

Chilean linear measurements now in use, "because we have to deal with Chileans," are the pulgada, measured by distance from tip of thumb to first knuckle (approximately an inch); the vara (approximately 34 inches); the meter (39.37 inches); and the darea (approximately 42 by 47 feet).

The diameter of logs sold to lumber camps is measured in pulgadas and paid for on this basis. Fences are erected and paid for on the basis of vara. "To make certain that I shall always know where I can find the length of a vara, I measured one off on the singletree of my oxcart." Something I noticed other men had also done. I saw one man lay a stick on the singletree of his oxcart where he had marked off a vara, mark the stick and use it in measuring a fence. Vara were also marked off on ax handles.

The meter serves as a basis for linear and surface measurements in many instances when dealing with Chileans. Orders for woven throws and chospino and blankets to be sold in Chilean markets are given in meters. "But I do not always have a meter measure handy; I know that my wima is nearly a meter and I use it. Men usually know how many of their duke make a meter, and they then measure off in so many duke. My husband knows a meter is four of his fūchi duke." A Chilean present at an interview remarked, "I know that from the earth to my belt, when I stand erect, measures a meter; but five of my complete hand stretches is also a meter." "Yes, five fūchi duke," agreed an Araucanian. A darea, according to informants, is a measure used only at harvest time. "It is used in connection with a field of grain; it covers as much land as a man, who works conscientiously all day, can cut with a sickle. We never spoke of darea until the Spanish came here."

Quantity measures were pinches of various amounts and both single and joined handfuls. These were generally used in measuring herbs. Another measure was a cuplike implement made by cutting off the

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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversa-
[648] tion were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

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they began to move backward along the edge of both sides of the tray. 243
While the kernels were thus on the move, the wind removed the chaff. Occasionally the girl halted to throw off ears that turned up, and to stir the kernels with her hands to find more. When chaff and ears had been removed from all, she poured the kernels into a basket and walked back to the ruka to prepare them for the family's midday meal. (Cf. pp. 206-209 for the preparation of them.) Threshing and winnowing took 40 minutes.

Today, every family that has a right to own land in an area raises wheat on one or several pieces of it, either on burnt-over land or in natural glades. These differ in size and shape (pls. 1; 35, *1* and *2*). No informant knew how much land he had under cultivation. Pointing out his fields, he might say, "I believe I have about two dareas here, and one over there. Darea is a word we got from the Chileans, and is used only at harvest time. It is a piece of land, the amount of grain on which approximates what a man can cut by hand in a day. We use it only when hiring a man to help us." A woman listening in interjected, "If one hurries a little, two dareas can be cut in one day." "In this area [Coñaripe] a darea is a piece of land approximately 80 meters square." A Boroa man stretched an arm, and [804] ●
noted that from his chest to the tip of his hand approximated a vara, and added, "I think a darea is 70 by 50 varas. In our area, because of the contour of the land, a darea is usually longer than it is wide." [242]
Fields are not fertilized, but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two years.

Agricultural implements formerly used, according to Gunkel, were 241
a wooden pick (chopeñ) made either of luma or temu, a wooden spade, and perforated stones (catancura). (Cf. Gunkel, 1944, pp. 315-321 for complete description.) Catancura were used in smashing lumps of earth turned up with pick or spade. Although metal hoes and spades have replaced the wooden ones, all three wooden implements were seen during the present study, and were being used in gardening. Fields were being plowed with plows drawn by oxen (pl. 34). There were a few plows with an iron share; all others had wooden shares. Neighbors borrowed plows from each other.

Wheat was the only small grain I saw cultivated. Seeding is done 243
by hand. If a man does not have sufficient seed, another will arrange with him for the amount he needs, in which case the harvest is shared, in accordance with an old custom. In Boroa area, "If one man furnishes the land and another the seed, each receives half of the harvest; if each furnishes half the seed, and one the land, each also receives half the harvest." In Coñaripe, while I was there, one man furnished

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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. For cutting a darea, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans." 243 [465 804]

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being tramped upon (kailfilkau) either by human beings, or by horses on hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop." 243 533

In Alepúe area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its loads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the nka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha. 243

In Cofaripe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

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or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in cane-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A wima (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Cofaripe man, "we measured off so many wima on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepúe man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Cofaripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Llisco." 342 595

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling 386
dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is [868]
the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *2*; 59). School 286
girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kəpam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven 286
are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for 294
clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear 804
them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The 286
frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kəlo)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

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sounds of the trutruka. (Cf. pl. 70, *1*, *2*, for trutruka.) Smoke and fire signals were begun on one mountaintop, taken up by persons on a neighboring one and on all others where it had been seen, and so continued until the message was received by all. In areas where people lived in valleys, where mountaintops could not be readily seen, the trutruka was blown. Wherever its sound was heard, other trutruka were blown, until all areas had received the notice. "Araucanians say that when a stranger entered the pre-Cordillera, in those early days, the news of it, before long, reached the upper end of the Cordillera." Kolupan did not agree with the above. "Trutruka," he said, "were not used for signaling. And all I know about the use of fire is that the Tehuelche used it when hunting guanaco. When we wanted to send news from one place to another, we sent messengers on horseback to carry it. Such messengers we called welkin." 202

MEASUREMENTS: LINEAR, SURFACE, DISTANCE, QUANTITY

The shortest measurement was the pulgada—a measurement from tip to first knuckle of the thumb. An informant measured a bean used in playing a game in this manner. A hand stretch from tip of thumb to tip of first finger is called duke; from tip of thumb to tip of little finger, chanjilkue. In using the hand-stretch measure, informants slid the thumb into the position of the finger, moving to the right if the right hand was used or to the left if the left hand was used. The length and width of the cradleboard and the belt used in tying a baby into its cradle were so measured. Lengths, widths, and heights were also indicated as the distance shown between hands. The length of a throw was measured by double arm stretches (nūfkū), unless it was measured over another throw. Distances on the ground were stepped off by long steps known as trekan. 804

Clothing was woven to fit the person for whom it was intended—"it has to fit that person." Either the measurements were taken from an article of clothing owned by the one for whom the new one was being woven, or they were taken directly on the person. A strand of yarn was used in measuring. An informant showed how she took measurements for a poncho: she put a strand of yarn across the interpreter's shoulders and brought both ends to the knee, one in front and the other in back. "How long do you want the poncho to be?" she asked. "Some men wear theirs longer than the knee; most men prefer theirs to just above the knee." She doubled this length and made a knot at that point. When ready to weave the poncho, she would cut the yarn into two equal lengths, fastening a length to each 804 294

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804 side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted.
294 For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

804 Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

574 Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was,
[517] and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach
[516] a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

521 Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martín de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [202] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

●805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River; very little is known.

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Guaiuda lists 847 [848] [278]

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802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antü). Antü is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Coñaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

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the ruka ("everybody knows the place") "where when the sun strikes it, we know it is a certain time of day." 805

When indoors, time was told by the location of sunrays at a given spot within the ruka. "In spite of the fact that there is no clock in any home of the 59 children in this school," noted a non-Araucanian teacher, "a child is seldom late to school. The children of one of the families unfailingly arrive just five minutes before the opening." During a visit in the ruka of these children, the writer complimented the mother on this. Promptly the 10-year-old daughter pointed to the edge of the hearthstone and said, "When the sunbeams strike there [they came through a crack in the door], we have to start for school; each day they come a little farther over this way." Shadows were not used in telling time.

On cloudy or rainy days time is not accurately known, but is merely guessed. The day we departed from Cofiaripe was a cloudy one, and the boy who was to take our luggage by oxcart to a boat had to be sent for. He apoligized. "We did not think it was time to leave; it is so cloudy that the sun does not show even faintly." The day of departure from Alepúe was a rainy one, and the man who was accompanying us arrived 15 minutes before the time set for leaving. "With no sun shining, I could not tell the time; but I shall wait here for you," he remarked.

Hunger indicates an approximate time. The first meal of the day is customarily eaten as soon after rising as it can be prepared; others, when hunger indicates it; usually a second one is eaten late in the afternoon.

Divisions of the day are dawn; sunrise; forenoon, or not yet noon; noon, or sun is at the zenith, or the day is half gone; afternoon, or the day is passing, or the time between two lights; sunset; and dusk. Names for the divisions differ from area to area, as shown in table 2. (See table 8 for Argentine Araucanian names for divisions of the day.)

"In winter," said an informant, "we use the above words also, but the time between the parts of the day is shorter, since the days are shorter." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 754) the 24-hour day was divided into 10 or 12 parts. According to Moesbach there are about 15 divisions (1936, pp. 82-84).

The night is called pun (darkness); the moon at zenith, ranipun (the night divided). "A man may wake up and notice whether the night has passed ranipun. Or a child may take sick, and its mother say, 'That child took sick after ranipun.'" In general, with reference to time of night the moon has little significance.

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●805 Days were not grouped into weeks. Even today, weekdays are seldom kept count of. Informants would ask, "What day of the week is today?" or "Is tomorrow Thursday? In San José they want fish on Thursday." When interviewed on Monday and asked to be interviewed on Wednesday, an informant would say, "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday—that will be the day after tomorrow; I shall be here."

A division of time from new moon to new moon was known as

TABLE 2.—*Divisions of the day and variations in the names of them* (*Chile*)

Divisions of day	Araucanian name	Area	As given by Félix José (1916)
Dawn	wintxi	Alepúe	wiñ (vol. 2, p. 22)
Sunrise	chipanantú or malewantú	Alepúe	wiñ'n (vol. 2, p. 26)
	pranpanantú	Pangipulli	
Forenoon, or not yet noon	pulíwen	Alepúe	liwen (vol. 2, p. 233)
	liwen	Boroa	
Noon, or sun is at zenith, or one-half day is past	rupíñantú	All	
Afternoon, or day is passing	rupañantú	Alepúe	putrañuya, time between two lights (vol. 1, p. 190)
	petrulli	Boroa	
Sunset	kouantú (purple day)	Pangipulli and Boroa	
	xumantú (just a little sun)	Alepúe	
Dusk	punantú or prupinantú	Pangipulli	trañuyas (vol. 2, p. 29)

küyen—a word also used when speaking of the moon. Moons were noticed as they passed. "We say, 'A new moon has begun' as you say 'A new month has begun.'" But moons were seldom kept count of except by women who did so during the months of pregnancy to know the approximate time of delivery.

A new moon begins "when the moon looks like a thin sickle." Some one will see it and say, "Lielküyen" (a new moon is born). Full moon is spoken of as a halfway moon (rupíñküyen). It is called pillénküyen in Alepúe area; trunkuriküyen in Cofaripe area; ponküyen or pirkuyen according to Félix José (1916, vol. 2, p. 221). The moon

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at last quarter is called rupanküyen (the moon is withdrawing itself) in Alepúe area and pishaiküyen in Coñaripe area. 805

Informants were not able to give names formerly applied to the span of time known as küyen; in fact, only one informant, a 42-year-old Alepúe area man, recalled ever hearing them spoken of; he could recall no names, however. A 76-year-old Coñaripe man said: "As the new moons were born, one after the other, we said—and still say—'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' and so on but we had no names for them." He expressed surprise at hearing that Araucanian names for them had been recorded by a traveler in 1861 (Treutler, 1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The informant, assisted by a 52-year-old man, translated the names as follows:

TABLE 3.—*Names of months according to Treutler (1861, vol. 1, p. 67), with translations by two Coñaripe men (Chile, 1946)*

Months	Araucanian names	Meanings
January	avum-cujen	moon of produce: seeds, fruits, fish, flesh
February	cogi-cujen	moon for harvesting
March	glor-cujen	moon for harvesting maize
April	rimu-cujen	moon for rümü (*Osmis lobata*)
May	inan-rimu-cujen	moon that follows rümü
June	thor-cujen	moon of the foam (foam pertaining to water)
July	inathor-cujen	moon following the foam
August	huin-cujen	moon of the quakes
September	pillel-cujen	moon wishing for things: for spring to come
October	hesel-cujen	moon of producing something to grow
November	inan-hueul-cujen	moon following the one where producing begins
December	huevun-cujen	moon of new fruit

Treutler wrote (vol. 1, pp. 66-67): "The months they call in general moons, and there is nothing more common than to hear them say that they will do something or set an appointment in this or that moon." Félix José does not give names of months, or of küyen.

Seasons were taken notice of as they passed. Depending on the informant spoken to, there were two, four, five, or seven seasons. Names of seasons were recalled with difficulty. After some discussion, in which there was much disagreement, six Alepúe area men decided the following could be recorded as correct: "There are five seasons. The first season is pichi pepun [little to see]; it is the small spring. Then comes wün'n tripantu [beginning of the year]." The informant explained: "The year begins when the male swallows return and when many birds begin to pipe their songs. It is at that time, too, that three stars that lie in a row [Orion] appear; we call these stars willi wüfchitun or willi lloftun; the Chileans call them Tres Marías. Willi

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●805 means south; wūfchitun and lloftun mean to lie in ambush. Later these stars tell us that fall is here. Then comes pukan (summer). Next comes kon'a pukem, which means about to enter winter. It introduces winter. And last of all comes pukem (winter)."

Two Maiquillahue women (Alepúe area also), 80 and 60 years of age, agreed that spring was called wūn'n tripántu and winter pukem, but that summer should be called aytünen, and fall peunén. Other informants had heard of only two seasons, spring and fall: "After all there is one time in the year when seeds are sown and one time when the new ones are gathered. After the planting everything grows, and after the harvest the rains soak the earth for new planting."

Treutler recorded the words peuggen for spring, ucan for summer, gualug for fall, and puchem for winter (1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The following are according to Félix José (1916): Spring may be designated in four ways: wé tripantu (new year), wūn'n tripantu (beginning of year), ellaka tripantu (the time of the year when days become longer), and pewūnen (the time of buds) (vol. 1, p. 40; vol. 2, p. 301). Summer may be antütripantu or antünen (the time in which one feels keenly the heat of the sun) (vol. 2, p. 403). Walan is the period of the year in which fruit ripens; it may also be called walanman (about to harvest, or soon to have that which is eaten) (vol. 1, p. 244; vol. 2, p. 403). Fall is called both chomün (the drying and falling of flowers and leaves) and chomünen (vol. 1, p. 25; vol. 2, p. 267). Winter is pukem or pukemnen (vol. 1, p. 188).

Equinoxes are taken notice of. "We know that planting time is near when the days begin to be longer than the nights. There is also a time after the harvest when nights begin to be longer than days, and we know that from then on we shall see the sun less often, and the weather will soon be more disagreeable."

There was no conventional way of keeping count of years. An important or unusual event was generally kept in mind and years reckoned from there on. Quoting a Panguipulli teacher: "I have often heard adults and children tell of an event as having happened before or after one of the earthquakes—there have been several severe and frightening earthquakes in this area in recent years."

Adults seldom knew their ages. One old woman gave as her age: "I am so old that I remember the days when there was no bridge over this river [Río Imperial in San José de Mariquina]." "I really do not know how old I am," said a man; "my oldest son says he is now 36." Since baptism and marriage certificates are often given to adults, the date of birth, as nearly as the officiating person could discover it, can be found on them. Not infrequent answers of adults

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Araucanian custom. 805 [17]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewenmpi (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as mükümewenmpi. 821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather. [18]

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 70-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset. 805

Kolupan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolean had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 3 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kolupan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, that for midday: both called it *rupi antü*. Kolupan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into *ule* (morning), *rupi antü* (midday), *rupa antü* (sun is passing), and *epu lum antü* (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (*ulepun*) is told by the position of two constellations, the *guanaco* (Pleiades) and the *rhea* (Orion). (See table 2 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.) 805 184

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If some had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we get up in the morning." A period of several weeks' time was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the shape of the moon on the day 805 [211]

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on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a küyum (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kuhnpan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Araucanian name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	domüle antü
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and morning)	wün yelü
"The morning"	Ñwan
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	domüle rupi antü
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	rupi antü
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	kelüle antü
"The sun is departing, that is about 3 o'clock on the clock"	nelüm antü
"The sun is disappearing"	domüle kuelwe antü
"The sun has disappeared"	kuelwe antü
"The light that lingers after sunset"	yüpüm
"It is getting dark"	domüñ

[644]

about their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wütripanta (or, according to Kuhnpan, thomaf tripanta, "the trees begin to leaf"); wulen (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trafquim (or, according to Kuhnpan, afu tun, "fruit has ripened"); pulemn (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

921 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Nenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhua*, are of great importance. *Nenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillen kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
[613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[178] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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121 tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the
772 framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche
769 world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired
114 since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

121 From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which
772 suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans
114 as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche,
754 this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation
756 according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

121 The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its
772 usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural
812 phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly orderless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to me, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism

121

The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honors, designations, prerogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural proclivities of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960:97).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960:89).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding marriage. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 754 756 affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pilli* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

754 756 Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

776 As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way 774 776 absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this 821

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies. 776 774 821

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influence were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or disease in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot. 776 821 [753]

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Antukinefuve* (*trait or the sun*), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the *Incas*, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Ngurvilla, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him. 776 [823]

Another god was *Huallipangi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Cheudungi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered 776 753

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

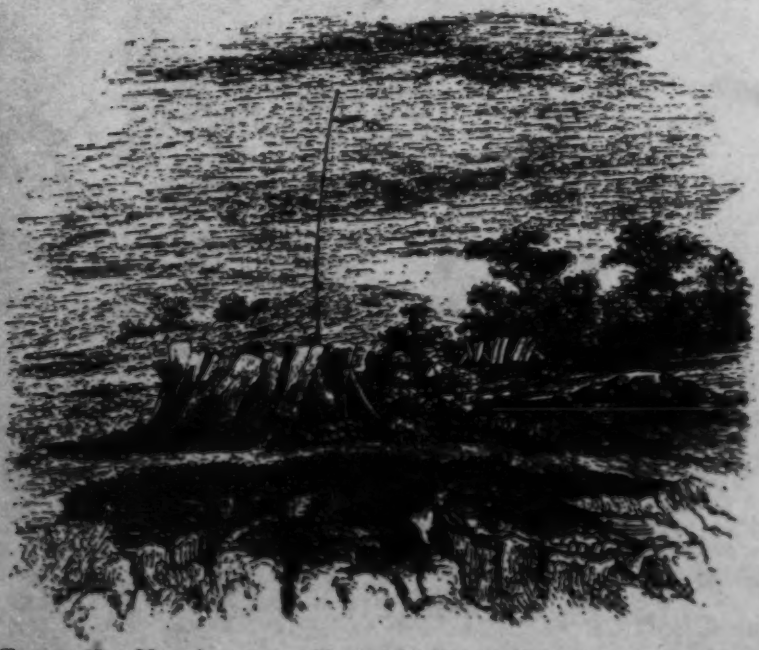

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collón: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and promoted as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ɥillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ɥenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sers (1921, p. 134), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [753]

5:Cooper E[illegible] (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements end and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the tren tren flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, tren tren and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did tren tren raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Cheurfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 98–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1938.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 33), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillán or wekufú. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 824 757

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Araucanian custom.

805

[178]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kilmewunnyi (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as mulcilmewunnyi.

821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

[179]

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the storm to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (rarrun) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanin is white [snow-covered], and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every vicano and called each pillañ."

Informants knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alapin woman in her forties called the morning star wéu yulu. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called cuplaquen, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alapin woman called Orion wéluwéuu, a word which Félix José records as perhaps denoting the Southern Cross (1918, vol. 1, p. 251).

An eclipse of the sun caused something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Collanlipi man noted that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we hardly took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an aranko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Aranko live in Panguipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (pikn), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willimapu), and west (kunüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was piknküraf; a south wind, waiwenküraf; but a wind from the east is puelche küraf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or nagpa küraf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'aflem küraf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepúe area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Cofaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 38, 2-4, 6; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifulka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ñiñatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepúe area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kulkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a huapul, when no kulkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a huapul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kulkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If no boats are out and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, orégano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over. 248

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Coñaripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon." [82]

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Coñaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few houses had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. xx, z.) 245 247

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither 231

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human 233
urine.

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and 235
children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alapde woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean house could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, 3). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If 237
she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka.

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and 234
must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat in at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!"

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tsch" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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805 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a kiyem (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 5.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kalapan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Associative name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	dawnlike until
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	wide pale
"The morning"	Dawn
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	dawnlike ragi until
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	ragi until
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	hollin until
"The sun is departing, that is about 3 o'clock on the clock"	sulfur until
"The sun is disappearing"	dawnlike hoolow until
"The sun has disappeared"	hoolow until
"The light that lingers after sunset"	pigeln
"It is getting dark"	dawnlik

[644] asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Civica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "There is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Civica (Libreta Enrolamiento, in men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, made guesses and recorded them.

Seasons were designated as wiñoipante (or, according to Kalapan, tuwaf wiñoipante, "the trees begin to leaf"); wedun (south sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trafipante (or, according to Kalapan, afu fun, "fruit has ripened"); pukem (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Andes, and also in high or low valleys; in either there are differentiating factors. Kolupan, for example, knew the weather forecast for November for the specific area of San Martin de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during any clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the stars twinkle "like the morning sun on hoarfrost on a moving twig," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of Oltul (cf. pp. 321-322). "Those were the days when we still heard Oltul." A 60-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountainside on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing. 821

In general, however, a very red moon forecasts hot weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun predicts war, hunger, and want, usually in a distant country. Kolupan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he noted, "and the Russians, after the third one—that is, the war that is now [1951] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except its eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake [was so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die." [825]

Both morning and evening stars were called wapal'en by all informants except Kolupan. Kolupan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk (yépin), and the morning star by the same name as dawn (wéin yelle). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the guanaco (Fuan); the rhea (chuhu); the bobcatlion (lokol); crossbred bitch (wéuf trulke or rapal trulke); and seven little goats, or lion and chicks (pen chumpin or chawa achawall). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kolupan could

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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821 not identify the Southern Cross by its name, but a diagram of it immediately brought a response: "That one? That one is called footprint of the rhea (ponon). The three upper stars are the toes; the lower one is the heel." Pointing at the sky where Orion could be

FIG. 8.—Constellations named by informants. Since informants, in describing the constellations, pointed to areas between zenith and 45° below zenith, it is possible that the names given in parentheses are the astronomical ones. *a*, Seven little goats (a section of Pavo). *b*, A 3-balled holeodera (a section of Crux). *c*, Stretched hide (sections of Carina and Volans). *d*, Gamato (a section of Centaurus). *e*, The foot of the rhea (Reticulum). *f*, Rhea (Grus). *g*, A 3-balled holeodera (Apus).

seen that night (November), he remarked, "We call those three stars potatoes in a hole (pal); the Argentines call them las tres Marías. The Milky Way was called the river (Ñ'emfü).

SIGNALING

202 According to a well-informed non-Araucanian, the Araucanians signaled by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and also by the

12: Faro E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [763] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to 775 designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

[858] [563]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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several reservation which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *tillatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, prominony ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation. 796 621

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *tillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservation is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *tillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held. 796 756

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *tillatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfuche*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *muday*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom 796 [821] [776]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 brief prayer to *Ngenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally aspersers the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llatti*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the *in-place* dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llatti*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then
[825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls
[824] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llatti* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then
[769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the
[796] *llatti* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the meat concern is for *Ngenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the *in-place* dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to
[769] *Ngenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kupuke*.

The second *in-place* dance is performed to the commands of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
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792

good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

792
821
823

LEFT	RIGHT
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (cold)	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] ritual language
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible] (cloud)
(outside)	[illegible] field

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. These are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land; sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, south, winter, cold, center, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, north, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, aspiration, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the 772
entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is asso- 821
ciated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must 823
cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the [775]
spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nome:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *nelu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is 772
placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and 82
blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *Ngillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikayen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for 772
the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) 554
statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1780) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
CHACO INDIANS SK4
Puelche SI10
AMERICAN INDS SQ4

think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy. Ab 781

Not only the Abiponeс, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guaycurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichû. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubû. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

Ab E 776 171

Ar P 776 821

Ar P 747

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Choichol for the night.

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and asperging was now so copious as to suggest a mimetic shower.*

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

* Williche ceremonies that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. Those designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Cuipuo rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall plowing difficult.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted. 291

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated over the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throt. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. 253

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of qil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby fat. [278] [321]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include sap for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

(67) 572. games or school games were generally played together by children of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

(87) Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver neckpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

(51) A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepúe, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Corral, and Puerto Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a semi-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

(92) Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *refill*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llatti*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurkewin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *wenpin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenkstron to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chiliote named

* Also called Foyel.

belief a earth opening up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously 776
towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of 774
enlightenment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these 821
vampire supernatural beings between those of their race and their Spanish
oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were
being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction
they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the 776
power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work 821
evil. To drive these away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt bundles of [753]
reeds, their sacred tree. To their influence were imputed many of their
sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these
cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also
were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune
moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain
in harvest-time, blight or disease in their crops, lameness or sickness among their
stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct
agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Gherwen*, figured as smiling with
human heads. These goat were the originators of the comets and shooting stars,
considered to be the forerunners of death, or of sudden calamities to those villages
in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Rhodon* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He
was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind blew up.

The moon, *Anchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only handmaiden deity.
She protected and advised those of any district, showing them their enemies, and
frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers
that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and the most
savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the
little placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always considered in
their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the
death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider
their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious
beliefs.

Ngenchin, the water god, or spirits of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of 776
a wild ass, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any misfortune that [823]
happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Ghuillipangi*, the spirits of the rain. He appeared as a
dwarf with a man's head and a man's hand (question), and was only seen on the
banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any
way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: 776
Chonchongo, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who 753
lurked round the dwellings of the dead. If they were left unprotected he entered

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1884, p. 147), chachao (Marsilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 46); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *ñillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, *Wuno tripantu*, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to *Ñañihuenu* (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:192) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1923–24, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to *ñañchen*, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marsgrav, 1648, p. 296; cf. Fabrin, 1862, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sore (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marsgrav (1648, p. 296), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821 823] [755]

10: Milger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

curved." A Pangipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an arauko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Arauko live in Pangipulli area. 821

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (pilen), east (tripawe antü), south (walwen or willimapu), and west (lemfwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from those directions: a north wind was pilenkiñwf; a south wind, walwenkiñwf; but a wind from the east is pewüche kiñwf (wind from the Puelche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or ñaupa kiñwf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'allwen kiñwf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 824 823

Places in Alepin area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruin of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Cullaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria grove; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chileno-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A ten-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 32, 1-4, 6; pp. 93, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifulka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the ñllatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 203 534

Alepin area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kulkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuqlwf, when no kulkull is available. (Cf. p. 90 for the making of a kuqlwf). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kulkull as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If 20 boats are out and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 628 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofches got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 726 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding battles between lofches, Kolupan noted that many lofches had lanzers—that his father had fought under their cacique, Chodoetje, as a lanzer, and that there were usually several hundred lanzers in such formation. Lanzas were cylindric staffs tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lanzers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of horsed pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce horsed hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lanzas were poisoned, a thing Chodoetje would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

622 698 726 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampas then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampas. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers 622 698 went us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A listening-in woman in her eighties added,

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

796 796 225 sessions follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the engineer of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the office.

796 796 [illegible] [illegible] 198 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (ceihuin) to Anwuthen and the ancestors, the Ailliehle signals for the performance of *ayen*, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of Ailliehe that, even when there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear decorative masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

• [223] [198] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a virtually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary *ruca* (*Ilati*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captains or the priest, directs commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the sacrificial ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attention, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the field, where they tether their horses, to begin

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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[539]
[178]

rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by Ancestors and the machi's familiar (pillan).

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The machi must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (kowgulmachin) who tells the machi the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the machi is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. The sacristans handle hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that machi used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blow tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

[198]
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[789]
[756]
[323]

The machi enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (lawen), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and sprinkling water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machitun). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. Machi agree that supernatural curing enhances them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (ae) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's human soul might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

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Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

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[178]
[462]

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

772

good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

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LEFT	RIGHT
west	east
north	south
winter	summer
cold	warm
moon	sun
(water)	blood
speech	ritual language
ocean	land
below	above
blue	yellow
black	white
laymen	priest
sin	expiation (ritual)
(outside)	ceremonial field

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. There are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land; sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, north, winter, cold, ocean, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, south, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, expiation, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nonolafken* (*lafken*: ocean; *nono*: other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu*: above; *mapu*: land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female matters.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin*: black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikayen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jacheshan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[62] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[28]

When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[29]

As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[30] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[28] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kūl·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 204) as *Chaqueua* spec.

[29] House, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[30] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each
622 wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

284 *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the
[234] fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the
283 *ngoike* (*bromelia landbeckii*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets,
[235] cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very
286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tpél) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:139); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1938, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

491 **Land transportation.**—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (kulkui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and 482 fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon 492 after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Hwilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

501 **Water transportation.**—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Hwilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1882, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chiloteans and southern mainland *Hwilliche*, were also observed farther north (Oña, canto 10, 1917, p. 349, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together [284] with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and [824] caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements and and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 713

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the trey trey flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:2). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, trey trey and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did trey trey raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Guninde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:200).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shempallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Chourin (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Wallipen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1896–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–710, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–62; 1911, pp. 96–117; Félix José, 1916, passim; Speck, 1924; Scantalin, 1926.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 82), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillan or wekufu. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Guninde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 824 757

S:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, bafled, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:224) saw an Indian give water boiled with beaver in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:226): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Guinda, 1916–17.)

211 [212] Communication.—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Marino de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (Gonzáles de Nájera, 1889, p. 181; Ovalle, 1888, 12:362) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc. cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 15); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Fabrés, 1892, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1862, 1:231, 2:756); and for other purposes.

802 Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1938, pp. 52–54) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder paretaxia or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River; very little is known.

18: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisy-like flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 3-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHAKING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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sometimes an entire twist is so rolled. Twists or braids are made toward the front, tied together there, and kept from falling forward while working either by being folded on the crown and again tied there, or by being slung over the head and allowed to hang down the back (pls. 6, 8; 56.) A woman's manner of hair dressing did not indicate whether or not she was married. 302

To make hair grow, women mash all parts of piliaroral (unidentified), a plant that grows in swamps, in a dish, pour boiling water on it, and rub the scalp with the liquid. Kuñeñkina (unidentified), a climbing vine that grows in woods, is also used. When asked if men, too, use this preparation, the informant answered, "Most certainly not! Why should men want so much hair?" Men do not become bald. An occasional person has gray hair. [824] [145]

Formerly men cut the hair shoulder length; they did not wish to appear like women. Most men today have the hair cut short as Chilean men do. An occasional one wears his long—generally he is a man who has few contacts with Chileans or is an old man, especially a cacique. Such men either wear braids, or have the hair cut ear-lobe length and wear a band around the forehead tied at the back of the head to keep the hair from eyes and face. The band (trariloqko), formerly woven of yarn, is now usually a square piece of cloth folded to form a triangle and then again folded to about 1½ inches in width. It is tied in a knot at the back of the head; ends hang loose. An informant reasoned from his observations that men today who still wear braids have a keen appreciation of the old culture, and added: "I noticed while visiting south of here that Mapuche men who were pointed out to me as having been best able to defend their rights against the Chilean Government were those who still wore braids."

Most married men wear a mustache and are proud of it. Often they let it grow past the corners of the mouth (pls. 25 and 26). Rarely does a man have a growth of hair in front of the ears. His beard is generally scant, and he usually depilates it. Men who do have heavier beards remove them by first rubbing the face well with warm dry ashes taken from the hearth—"ashes of any kind of tree will do"—and then shaving the hairs off with the edge of a clam shell, such as are found in local rivers. After shaving, the face is smeared over with yellow clay and then washed. "It is the same clay we use in pottery making; it heals the face. My husband always bathes and shaves before he goes to the Sisters."

Most informants agreed that it was not customary, formerly, for men, except caciques, to wear earrings—"although some men wore them, large ones, they were." A cacique wore only one, and it was of a distinct style (fig. 4, b). 301 [622]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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Alacalufs by cooking a fillet of cockroach. 1. This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cockroach in his hand. 2. Dissecting the cockroach with sailor's knife to take the fillet from right. 3. The beginning of the fillet. 4. The fillet being fed to the children. 5. The mother and children and dogs in the foreground look on at the feast.

[p. 76(F)]

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 324 857

During a seven hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a piece of grass and stamp between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplace—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that they secured. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to white away from it a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is chased away with a "hatch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 324 857

16: Bilger E-5 (1946-1951) 1957
SG4 Arauca[illegible]ans SG4
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[illegible] hawk, pigeon, parrots, and doves, and also several species [illegible] of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, [illegible], [illegible], zorzal, turdo, [illegible], pitio, and the trogle. The children know that [illegible] the turkey hen [illegible] tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or [illegible] where she when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the [illegible] turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The trogle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the trogle announces his coming. Those that hear the trogle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The trogle does not stay where people are, but some Maguindos make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The trogle talks before we see him. Sometimes there on the little stream [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him a trequell."

Questing other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The zorzal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and cover says a word then; but when he goes into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitio sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only once. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The turdo (thrush) calls known, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A kiss (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The choroy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it rale—has a metallic cry; its cry is called trabandola.

SWIMMING, HUNCHBACK RIDING, SHOOTING

524 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 729).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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they are available. (Pl. 39, 3; 40, 2.) Sometimes a man makes his own cart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most carret wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Cathripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel canelo. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the load can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its side. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of culhue (leiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, 1). Since oxen will follow an carret trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, 2 and 3.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, 2).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tiaca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [324]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Puya* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

10: Milger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent leaving the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are ruhle chileno, coihue, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Pangupulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

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342 together with voqui, or, in some instances, are nailed to horizontal boards. Hinges are of rawhide. Rarely are there latches or knobs. A door is kept closed by being bolted. Children, during their first days at school, are baffled by knobs on doors.

Ruka have no chimneys. "Who would want to sit in a ruka with an opening at the top to let the rain in?" asked a Coñaripe man, and then went on to say: "The ruka is built to have smoke exits (ullollün) at one or both gable ends of the roof, or to have escapes in one or two walls. If the ruka is situated in the path of a prevailing wind, such as we have in some of the valleys in the Cordillera, there is only one opening for the smoke; if located where winds shift frequently, there are two. Ullollün are usually built to protrude beyond the walls or to be slightly higher than the roof. If built in this manner, there is always a good draft." (See pls. 52, *1*, and 53.)

An Alepúe man, when asked why the ruka had no chimney, replied: "For the very simple reason that in this area it rains on the average two days out of every three; no holes can be tolerated in the roof. We take care of ventilation and smoke by arranging for one smoke hole at a gable end of the roof, that is an ullollün, and for another by leaving an open space at the eaves of one of the walls and a thinness in the same wall just below the open space. The smoke will then find its way out either through the smoke hole or the wall, depending upon the draft, the draft depending largely on the direction of the wind. When building the ruka, notice must be taken of prevailing winds, for the thinness in the wall must be on the side opposite prevailing winds, and the eave on this side must project sufficiently to keep swishing rains from coming in through the thin part of the wall." During an interview, one day, his wife closed the ruka door in order to change the direction of the smoke. She waited a moment, and when she saw the smoke going out through the thin wall she remarked: "There now, that will make it more comfortable to visit."

342 The framework of the traditional thatch ruka requires saplings
● 824 with a crotch at an equal height on each. Saplings of hardwood are best, such as petra, roble chileno, canelo, olivillo, laurel común, and ulmo. Temu must not be used, "for worms live in it." The rafters are of ulmo, and so are tie beams. "Ulmo, you know, grows very straight." The entire framework is kept taut and in position by colihüe poles tied to it at intervals in a horizontal position.

342 A man wishing to erect a thatch ruka usually collects the building materials before the men he has invited to assist him arrive. These are men he helped in the erection of their ruka, usually neighbors and relatives. If these men are close friends of his, their families are

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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct;
informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, [824]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [462]
the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied [177]
these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belong- [428]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 354
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth as well

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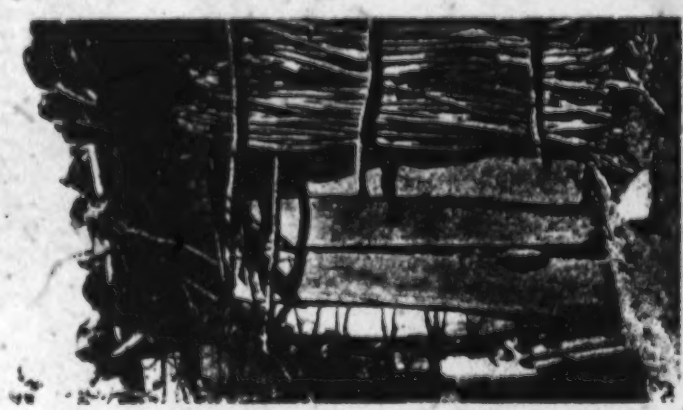

Building materials (Alepúe): 1, Ratonera used in thatching a ruka. 2, Vine (voque) used in building fences and ruka. 3, Detail of a chicken coop. (Note the manner of keeping ratonera in place. All attaching is done with vines.)

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[p. 220 (C)]

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386 the color. When the color satisfied her she flipped the chips off with her bare hand, lifted the yarn out with the stick, and hung the skeins on a wire hook suspended from the fire raft in such a position that they drained into the decoction in the kettle below. Later she wrung the skeins by hand into the kettle beneath. She had two more skeins to dye. These she put into the kettle, added more chips and enough water to fill the kettle. While waiting for these to dye, she told how

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TABLE 6.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Chile)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Orange-yellow	Bark of michai (machai, *Berberis darwinii* or *B. vulgaris*)	Shrub found in dry land on hills and in open spaces. "It makes pretty stripes in lamas and designs in chospinos."
Red-brown	Dry gray moss (not identified)	Found on fence rails.
Brown	Bark of ulmo (quiqu, *Eucryphia cordifolia*)	"Use bark of old trees for dark brown; of young trees for light brown."
Gray-brown	Twigs of temu (*Temu divaricatum*) added to nalca (palka, *Gunnera scabra*)	Temu grows in moist ravines.
Lead-gray	Any of the following: (a) Twigs and leaves of petra (pütra, *Myrceugenia planipes*) (b) Bark of olivillo (tüke, *Aextoxicon punctatum*) (c) Roots of nalca (d) Twigs of chakaiwa (*Berberis darwinii*) (e) Twigs of fuscia (chilliko, *Fuchsia macrostemma*)	A favorite color for ponchos. Grows in deep swamps.
Purple-gray	Bark of nalca and olivillo	Favorite color for ponchos.
Red	Relbun (rülfan kachu, *Galium chilense*) only when mixed with commercial red dye	"It takes less commercial red dye if relbun is used with it. Relbun grows on the edges of brooks."
Black	Roots of chakaiwa	

to dye for other colors. "If I were dyeing yellow, I would chop the roots of michai into small pieces and boil the yarn with them, just as I am doing now. If I wanted to brighten the yellow color, I would add the leaves of canelo; canelo leaves would also prevent the color from fading out. When I want to dye red or green, I use commercial dyes. When I want to dye yarn in commercial red, I boil the yarn in canelo leaves first and then in the dissolved red dye. For commercial green, I boil the yarn with leaves of laurel común first, and then in the dissolved green dye. Doing it this way brings the colors out

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implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and mudai (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awár kuden or awár meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as poruntun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

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To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

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other dye. To bleach yarn white, the length of strands needed, "like for a diamond-shaped design in a choapino," are measured off and each wound around a leaf or small stick and stored away in mallo. An 80-year-old woman had seen her mother-in-law bury yarn in a few handfuls of mallo that she had put into a corner of a hewn-out tree trunk. She had prepared two sticks of wood, "as thick as my finger," one about so long that she had called wentru (man), and the other so long, that she called domo (woman) (4 and 2½ inches, respectively). Around each stick she wound one layer of yarn, very tight and very close together. When the yarn was removed from the mallo, it was pure white. "It always remained white. My mother-in-law wanted it for a cross design in some weaving she was about to do."

TABLE 10.—*Colors obtained from native plants (Argentina)*

Color	Plant	Remarks
Red (kelü)	Relvún (*Relbunium hypocarpum*)	
	Yerba vinagrillo (*Oxalis acetosella*)	
	Heart of roble (*Nothofagus obliqua*)	
Rose color (kallfu mora)	Roots of pimpinela (*Acaena ovalifolia*)	
Coffee color to dark brown (muskr kelu)	Bark of roble	
	Bark of nogal (*Lomatia obliqua*)	
	Boldo (*Peumus boldus*)	
Gray (kafü)	Nogal	"Nalca produces a delicate shade of gray."
	Robu (unidentified)	
	Roots of nalca (*Gunnera scabra*)	
Yellow (chof)	Bark and roots of michai (*Berberis darwinii*)	
	Romerillo (*Lomatia ferruginea*)	
	Poquil (unidentified)	
Chestnut color, like that of guanaco wool (l'uan kal)	Bark of roble	
Black	Bark of nogal	"If boiled a very, very long time."

Sheep's wool is dyed after it has been made into yarn. It is boiled in water containing the substance in which the dye is found. Darker shades can be obtained by using more of the dye substance or by longer boiling with less of the substance, boiling being timed to the shade of the color desired. Informants had obtained dyes from barks and roots listed in table 10.

Formerly, no substances were known to dye blue, green, purple, or orange. In recent years, commercial aniline dyes have been used for these. Today, commercial dyes are used almost exclusively for all colors. A woman explained: "I always fear being arrested by the

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APPENDIX B. PLANTS USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

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Names of plants are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; La Salud por Medio de las Plantas Medicinales, 1929; and Enrique Amandeo Campos' and Roman A. Perez Moreau's Flora Argentina, Zona de Nahuel Huapi y Lanín, 1944. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

I do not know whether all plants listed below are indigenous to both Chilean and Argentine Patagonia. Plants recorded in field notes taken among both Chilean and Argentine groups are preceded by an asterisk (*); those recorded as being used by the Argentine Araucanians but not found in the field notes taken among the Chilean groups are preceded by two asterisks (**); those without an asterisk were being used by Chilean Araucanians, but I do not know whether they were ever used by the Argentine Araucanians. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 687-760, for additional plants used by Araucanians.)

**abrojo or cardo de la sierra (troltro) (*Sonchus asper*)
**achicoria (——) (*Taraxacum officinale*)
**ajenjo (——) (*Artemisia absinthium*)
*aji or chili (trapi) (*Capsicum annuum*)
**ajo (asus) (*Allium sativum*)
álamo (——) (*Populus nigra*)
albaquilla or culén (kulen) ([illegible]*corales glandulosa*)
*alerce (lawal) (*Libocedr[illegible]agona*)
**algarroba (——) (——)
**alverjana (shoqi) (*Vicia nigricans*)
**amancay or lliuto (amankai) ([illegible]*troemeria aurantiaca*)
**amorseco or cadillo or pimp[illegible]a (fərokiñ) (*Acaena ovalifolia* subsp. *australis*)
**apio (meroi or chirivia) (*Apium*)
*araucaria (pewen or pehuén) (*Araucaria araucana* or *Dombeya chilensis*)
*arrayán (kóllimanəll) (*Myrtus communis*)
avellanillo (piñol) (*Lomatia dentata*)
avellano (ŋəfũ) (*Gevuina avellana*)
**berro or placa (llapue or tuipoko) (*Nasturtium officinale*)
*boldo (fol'o) (*Peumus boldus*)

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**brochela or crochilla or grochela (——) (——)
**cadillo (cf. amoraseco)
calle calle (kallekalle) (*Libertia ixioides* or *Libertia caerulescens*)
canelo (foiqe or foye) (*Drimys winteri*)
**cardo de la sierra (cf. abrojo)
*carrizal (piliaroral) (——)
centella (lunürka) (*Ranunculus minutiflorus*)
**chacay (chakai or tamen wayun or kurü wayen) (*Discaria trinervis* or *Discaria serratifolia*)
(——) (chakaiwa) (*Berberis darwinii*)
**chamico or estramonio (miaya) (*Datura stramonium*)
(——) (chaficha) (*Scirpus seticeus*)
chaura (chaura or charwa) (*Gaultheria myrtilloides*)
**(——) (chichai) (——)
*chili (cf. aji)
(——) (chillüm) (*Nertera depressa*)
**chiñchiñ (——) (*Azara microphylla*)
**chirivia (cf. apio)
(——) (chukürí) (*Baccharis racemosa*)
chupón (kai) (*Greigia sphacelata*)
cicuta mayor (pinaka) (*Conium maculatum*)
**cilantro or coriandor (——) (*Coriandrum sativum*)
**cilantro del campo (——) (——)
ciprés (——) (*Libocedrus chilensis*)
*circuelillu or notro or treumün (notru) (*Embothrium coccineum*)
**cizaña (kamcha lawen) (*Centaurea melitensis*)
cochayuyo (kollof) (*Durvillea utilis*)
*coihüe (koiwe) (*Nothofagus dombeyi*)
**coirón (pakiiya) (——)
*cola de caballo or limpia plata (qchainochai) (*Equisetum bogotense*)
*colihüe (raqe or rüni) (*Chusquea culeou*)
copihue (kollcópiu) (*Lapageria rosea*)
coral or esparto or pelú or quilineja (paupauwefi or polu) (*Luzuriaga radicans*)
*corecore (korehore) (*Geranium corecore*)
**coriandor (cf. cilantro)
**crochilla (cf. brochela)
culantrillo (kudün'amun) (*Adiantum chilense*)
culén (cf. albaquilla)
esparto (cf. coral)

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824 **espino blanco (rəpu wayun) (*Rhaphitamnus cyanocarpus*)
**estramonio (cf. chamico)
(——) (feñfeñco) (——)
(——) (filuponü) (——)
**(——) (fəl'el or fül'el) (*Solidago microglossa*)
frejol (deŋüll) (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)
*frutilla (kelleghen or llahuan) (*Fragaria chilensis*)
*fucsia (chillko) (*Fuchsia macrostemma*)
(——) (fül'el) (cf. fəl'el)
**grochela (cf. brochela)
helecho grande (añpe) (*Alsophila pruinata*)
**hinojo (hinojo) (*Foeniculum vulgare*)
hualhuan (wawan) (*Laurelia serrata*)
huella (——) (*Abutilon vitifolium*)
huique (deu) (*Coriaria ruscifolia*)
**junco (——) (*Scirpus californicus*)
**junquillo (rəme or rüme) (*Juncus procerus*)
(——) (kañchan lawen) (——)
(——) (karül'awen) (*Gratiola peruviana*)
(——) (keŋi) (*Fascicularia bicolor*)
(——) (keukeukina) (——)
**(——) (kimwe) (——)
(——) (koifüñ) (——)
**(——) (kowəll foki or nüpu foki) (*Lardizabala biternata*)
**(——) (kuduñ foki) (*Cissus striata*)
(——) (kərakuü or kərako) (*Pseudopanax valdiviensis*)
(——) (lanko kachu) (*Bromus unioloides*)
laurel común (triwe) (*Laurus nobilis* or *Laurelia aromatica*)
(——) (láwü) (*Sisyrinchium* sp.)
**lechuguilla or retamilla (ñamku lawen) (*Gnaphalium purpureum*)
(——) (lelliuken) (——)
*limpia plata (cf. cola de caballo)
linaza (linu or liñu) (*Linum* sp.)
lingue (liŋe) (*Persea lingue*)
liuto (chuño) (*Alstroemeria ligtu*)
**(——) (llaküd) (*Calandrinia asilliflora*)
**llantén or siete venas (pintra or pilluñiweke) (*Plantago major*)
**lliuto (cf. amancay)
(——) (llumüejka) (——)
luche (luche) (*Ulva lactuca*)
luma (luma) (*Myrtus luma*)

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**maitén (maiten) (*Maytenus boaria*)
malva del monte (defekono) (*Hydrocotyle poeppigii*)
mango (maŋo or magu) (*Bromus mango*)
**(——) (mañiu) (*Podocarpus chilena*)
**(——) (manticu) (——)
**manzana silvestre (lleeptha manzana) (*Pyrus malus*)
*maqui (kəl'on) (*Aristotelia macqui*)
mardoño or palqui or parqui (refu) (*Cestrum parqui*)
**(——) (mawida poñü or ñaŋki) (*Dioscorea nervosa*)
(——) (meli) (——)
*michai (mɔchai) (*Berberis darwinii* or *Berberis vulgaris*)
(——) (mitahue) (*Myrceugenia planipes*)
**(——) (mulweŋ) (——)
(——) (ŋalauŋalau) (*Eryngium pseudojunceum* or *Juncus dombeyanus* var. *elatus*)
*nalca (ŋalka or paŋke) (*Gunnera scabra* or *Gunnera chilensis*)
**(——) (ñaŋki) (cf. mawide ponü)
**(——) (napur) (——) "plant with turniplike root"
natri (natrəŋ) (*Solanum gayanum*)
**(——) (neneo) (*Mulinum spinosum*)
(——) (ŋil) (*Alstroemeria ligtu*)
**ñire (ñire) (*Nothofagus antarctica*)
(——) (ñocha) (*Greigia landbeckii*)
*nogal (radal or raral) (*Lomatia obliqua*)
notro (cf. circuelillu)
(——) (ñukiñ) (*Osmorrhiza berterii*)
(——) (nülpi) (*Vicia valdiviana*)
**(——) (nüpu foki) (cf. kowəll foki)
(——) (ŋümawe) (*Anagallis alternifolia*)
olivillo or palo muerto or tique (tüke) (*Aextoxicon punctatum*)
orégano (aregano) (*Origanum vulgare*)
*ortiga menor (kuri) (*Urtica urens*)
*paico (pichəŋ) (*Chenopodium ambrosioides* or *Herniaria payco*)
(——) (paillawe) (*Marchantia polymorpha*)
**(——) (pakütya) (——)
palo muerto (cf. olivillo)
palo negro (ireire or ürerüre or küdumanəll) (*Leptocarpha rivularis*)
**palo santo (tayu) (*Flotovia diacanthoides*)
palqui (cf. mardoño)
*pañil (palgin) (*Buddleia globosa*)
*papa (ponü or puñe) (*Solanum tuberosum*)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

824 **paramela (——) (*Adesmia boronioides*)
parqui (cf. mardoño)
*parra silvestre or parrilla (mulul) (*Ribes glandulosum*)
*parrilla (cf. parra silvestre)
**pasto de tres cantos (winkel) (*Baccharis sagittalis*)
*patagua or petra (pəcha or pũtra) (*Myrceugenia planipes* or *Myrceugenia pitra*)
(——) (paulum) (*Hydrangea integerrima*)
pelú (cf. coral)
*petra (cf. patagua)
(——) (pilfũ) (*Campsidium chilense*)
**(——) (piliaroral) (——) "grows in swamps"
pillopillo (pəllupəllu) (*Daphne pillopillo*)
**(——) (pilun dewũ) (*Viola maculata*)
**pimpinela (cf. amorseco)
piñol (piñol) (*Lomatia dentata*)
**placa (cf. berro)
**poleo (koleu) (——) "a species of mint"
**polipodio (küñálfillkuñ or peñafillkuñ) (*Polypodium trilobum*)
**poquil (——) (——)
(——) (pũllallfillkuñ) (——)
(——) pədwe) (*Azara lanceolata*)
(——) (pəllpəll) (*Boquila trifoliata*)
**(——) (pəre) (——)
**quebracho (——) (*Aspidosperma quebracho*)
quila (kül'a) (*Muehlenbeckia sagittifolia*)
quilineja (cf. coral)
*quillay (kəllai or küllai) (*Quillaja saponaria*)
quilmay (külmai) (*Elytropus chilensis*)
quilquil (kəlkəl or külkül) (*Lomaria chilensis*)
**quiñal (——) (——)
*quinoa (dawe or ʃawe) (*Chenopodium quinoa*)
*radal (radal or raral) (*Lomatia obliqua*)
ratonera (lin or linlin) (*Hierochloe utriculata*)
*rauli (ruíli) (*Nothofagus procera*)
relbun (rülfan kachu) (*Galium chilense*)
**relvún (rülfən) (*Relbunium hypocarpium*)
**retamilla (cf. lechuguilla)
roble chileno or roble pellin (koyam or walle or pellin) (*Nothofagus obliqua*)
robu (——) (——)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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824

romaza (pillaweñ) (*Rumex romazza*)
*romerillo (krakue) (*Lomatia ferruginea*)
(——) (rümü) (*Oxalis lobata*)
(——) (rüna) (——)
(——) (rəfəl) (*Escallonia pulverulenta*)
sanguinaria (——) (*Polygonum sanguinaria*)
saúco del diablo (trarumanpall) (*Pseudopanax laetevirens*)
**siete venas (cf. llantén)
silvestre salvia (lliŋllin) (*Sphacele campanulata*)
*soya (——) (*Glycine max*)
(——) (temu) (*Temu divaricatum*)
tiaca (kiaka) (*Caldcluvia paniculata*)
tineo (mədewe) (——)
tique (cf. olivillo)
tomillo (chakua) (*Thymus vulgaris*)
*toronjil or tronquillo (——) (*Marrubium vulgare*)
*totora (trome) (*Cyperus vegetus*)
(——) (traftrafeñ) (*Cassia stipulacea*)
**trepadora (rere lawen) (*Tropaeolum speciosum*)
**treumün (cf. circuelillu)
triaca (——) (*Argylia huidobriana*)
tronquillo (cf. toronjil)
ulmo (ŋulŋu) (*Eucryphia cordifolia*)
voqui colorado (pəlai foki) (*Muehlenbeckia tamnifolia*)
(——) (wautro) (*Baccharis concava*)
**(——) (weliüwel) (——) "a vine used in basketry"
(——) (welke or werke rəfəl) (*Solanum valdiviense*)
(——) (wefiagwe) (——)
(——) (wilki kachu) (*Carex decidua* or *Carex antucensis*)
(——) (wədawe) (*Gleichenia littoralis* or *Gleichenia pedalis*)
(——) (wañokintuwe) (——)
yerba buena (——) (——) peppermint
yerba del chavalongo (——) (*Solanum crispum*)
*yerba maté (——) (*Ilex paraguariensis*)
*yerba vinagrillo (kulle) (*Oxalis acetosella*)
yuyo (ŋedoñ) (*Brassica campestris*)
(——) (yəlweiu) (*Nassella chilensis*)
zapallo (peŋka) (*Cucurbita pepo*)

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

796 jewelry, repair cuecets, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders
798 (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If
[824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *ñuen* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to
[782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one. 796 789

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum). 796 535 [301] [824] [534]

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled. 796 [535]

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a 796 782

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

low the Biblical statement was painted the Mapuche word *ñillatuin* ("let us pray").[21] A few men, including Coigue's cacique, Juan Choquilaf Malikyo, were present, and Mr. Donaldson spoke briefly in Spanish on the significance of the cross. The party then proceeded to the prayer ground, carrying along the cross and a large Chilean flag. 796

The *ñillatun* field was simply part of an open meadow, along the western edge of which a few ramadas had been built of leaves and branches (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2). At some distance from the shelters a deep hole was dug into which the cross was implanted with the inscription facing west. Before the hole was filled several coins and some *chicha* were put in. Then the Chilean flag was placed close by (Pl. XI, Fig. 1), together with branches of cinnamon, apple, *maki*,[22] and perhaps other trees. Near at hand a ram was tied to a short stake. This collection of objects was to be the focal point of the ceremony and served as an altar. A small number of people was present, some of whom promptly placed at the foot of the altar pottery jars of *chicha* and *mudai*. Thereafter, any thirsty person drank from one of the vessels and put it back. Whenever a dog approached it was driven off, as dogs represent evil spirits and are particularly repugnant to *machis* while professionally engaged. [825]

When the cross was in position, its donor, Chihuaicura, the cacique of Coigue, and one or two other men, bared their heads and knelt on the ground, facing east (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). While they prayed, other men with a plow and a yoke of oxen were cutting light furrows to delimit a small hockey field between the altar and the ramadas. Scarcely had they finished, when some one fetched a hard rubber ball, and half a dozen men produced sticks and engaged in a sort of impromptu match for a few minutes. The sticks were then stacked against the altar.

At five o'clock, just as the sun began to set, the dedication

[21] One should not jump to conclusions because of the obvious Christian influence on the Coigue *ñillatun*, for wooden crosses mark many old prayer grounds and cemeteries. Only a small minority of the participants in the Coigue celebration were even nominal Christians. See footnote 18.

[22] Identified in Augusta (1916, I: 85) as Mapuche *kulüñ* (*Berberis buxifolia* Lam.; family Berberidaceae). [137]

539 c

Woman's Counterreply

feula anal koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-ula nay ñi piuke
femül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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787

Woman's Song No. 5[18]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed piñmal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him. [626]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Hounsa, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle; and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 256–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Asperiens with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a miro (*Agriornis lineida lineida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Hounsa, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 98; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 783

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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853 strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk, "but it never seemed to fit into its home and so later the grandmother took it to her home and reared it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. She avoided beef, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 1½-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that [825] if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and itself suck the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If adults were having apoll (sheep lung filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and thin soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had cooked oatmeal bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she masticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew araucaria nuts and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was cooked meat of rhea. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

862 Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Andes, and also in high or low valleys; in either there are differentiating factors. Kolupan, for example, knew the weather forecast for November for the specific area of San Martín de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during any clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the stars twinkle "like the morning sun on hoarfrost on a moving twig," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of Olul (cf. pp. 321-322). "Those were the days when we still heard Olul." A 60-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountainside on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing. 821

In general, however, a very red moon forecasts hot weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun predicts war, hunger, and want, usually in a distant country. Kolupan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he noted, "and the Russians, after the third one—that is, the war that is now [1951] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except its eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake does so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die." [825]

Both morning and evening stars were called wanal'en by all informants except Kolupan. Kolupan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk (yépún), and the morning star by the same name as dawn (wün yelfe). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the guanaco (l'uan); the rhea (choike); the boleodora (lakal); stretched hide (rekəf tralke or rapul tralke); and seven little goats, or hen and chicks (ŋau champio or chawn achawoll). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kolupan could

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one 263
time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls 317
on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area."

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. 262
Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite.

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, 252
they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell.

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then 252
cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white 825
stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little sick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas [222]
on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [2½ feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding feed for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks open the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea.

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

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APPENDIX C. MAMMALS, BIRDS, FISHES, AND SHELLFISHES USED BY THE ARAUCANIANS

The names of mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes are here recorded in Spanish, followed by the Araucanian names, when known, in parentheses. Scientific names are from Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario Araucano-Español y Español-Araucano, 2 vols., 1916; John M. Cooper's "The Araucanians," in Handbook of South American Indians, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, p. 705, 1946; Hans Schmidt's Argentinische Vogelwelt (no date); Perito Francisco Moreno's Viaje a la Patagonia austral . . . 1876-1877, Anales del Museo de la Patagonia, vol. 1, pp. 91, 121-138, 1945; and labeled specimens found in the Museo Nahuel Huapi in Bariloche, Argentina. Dashes (——) indicate that the name could not be obtained.

Mammals

armadillo (kofür) (*Chaetophractus villosus*)
guanaco (l'uan) (*Lama guanicoe*)
huemel or guemal (shunam) (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*)
jabalí (kütrekütre) (——) wild boar
llama (chilihueque or rehueque) (*Lama glama*)
(——) (mara) (*Dolichotis patagonica*) Patagonian hare
pudú (truli or püdu or pəʃo) (*Pudu pudu* or *Cervus humilis*)
puma (pañi or trapial) (*Felis concolor*)

Birds

avutarda (——) (*Chloëphaga leucoptera*)
bandurria (raki) (*Theristicus caudatus melanopis* or *Ibis melanopis* or *Theristicus melanopis*)
cernicalo (ŋishem or ūshem) (——)
(——) (chanchito) (——)
(——) (choñchoñ) (——) nocturnal bird
choroy (yawilma) (*Psittacus leptorhynchus*)
chucau (chukau) (*Rhea pennata ?*)
cisne blanco or ganzu (——) (*Coscoroba coscoroba*)
diuca (diuka) (*Diuca diuca diuca*)
emu (ñandú) (*Rhea rothschildi*)
flamingo (pital) (*Phoenicopterus ruber chilensis*)
gallareta (pollolla or pideñ) (*Pardirallus rytirhynchus*)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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jilguero (ʃiwũ or chirif) *(Spinus uropygialis)*. Has yellow plumage 825
loica (loika) *(Trupial militaris)* robin
martineta (ʃədu) *(Rhynchotus rufescens)* partridge
perdiz grande (cf. martineta)
picaflor (——) (——) hummingbird
rhea (choike) (*Rhea americana albescens*)
(——) (tinamou) (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*)
tordo (kəreu) (*Molothrus bonariensis*)
tregle (treqəll or kilteu) (*Vanellus chilensis*) Chilean lapwing
zorzal austral (wilki) (*Turdus falklandii magellanicus*)

Fishes

cauque (malche) (*Atherina* sp.)
corbina (kolũkalen) (——). Has tail of coffee color
pejerry (remũ or kauke) (*Patagonia hatcheri* or *Atherinichthys argentinensis*)
peladilla (peliolo or peloilla) (*Haplochiton taeniatus*)
perca (lipəŋ) (*Percichthys trucha*)
puyen (upesh) (*Galaxia maculatus*)
robalo (kudwa) *(Pinguipes chilensis)* haddock
salmon (——) (*Salmo salar sebago*)
sierras (——) (——) sawfish
trucha arco iris (——) (*Salmo gairdneri*)
trucha criolla (cf. perca)
trucha de arroyo (——) (*Salvelinus fontinals*)
trucha marron or trucha europea (——) (*Salmo fario*)
(——) (——) *(Paralichthys* sp.*)* flatfish
(——) (——) (*Mugil* sp.) mullets
(——) (——) (*Sparus* sp.) porgies
(——) (——) *(Austromenidia regia)* silverfish

Shellfishes

arisos (——) (——)
jaiba (ranũm) (——)
loco (loko) (*Concholepas peruviana*)
macha (macha) (*Mesodesma donacia*)
(——) (manihue) (——)
(——) (piure) *(Piures)* ascideans or sea squirts
(——) (——) (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., unionids) bivalves
(——) (——) (*Aegla* sp. and *Parastacus* sp.) crustaceans
(——) (——) (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.) sea urchins

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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186 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues
182 to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the
771 central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around
779 the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct.
[175] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko*
825 *ñetuln*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of
[178] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making
77 their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is re-
825 flected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825.
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen, concon, killkill, huelen, wuthwuth, juree, perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki, tregul*, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [763] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

775

[858] [553]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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796 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the
782 hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then
[825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls
[821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then
[769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the
[776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to
[769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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 T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825 T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; [illegible] as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Cheoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

A 361 T A 133 137

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements end and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the treŋ treŋ flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, treŋ treŋ and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did treŋ treŋ raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Cheurfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 98–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1938.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 82), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillañ or wekufü. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 824 757

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first summoned, as I told you before. 755

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners." 757

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had hiccoughed for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chañchañ. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my hiccoughs." In Alepúe a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that." 755 752

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous. 826 755

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an 755

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

755 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are
759 often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy
[826] of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

278 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies.
757 Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[836] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *extros* and *cutranquetro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.) 789

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke. 788 [778]

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.) 787

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.) [825] [827]

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly. 784

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 86; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), 788

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those 827 of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

304 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [184] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 60.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap dəyũu [flat-nosed];* the Argentines call them chatos."

* All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

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754 of stories, and such beliefs explain why parents fear to per-
775 mit children to wander out of the house after dark. If an object is lost or inexplicably moved from one place to another, a *witranalwe* is held to blame.

Añchimallen is similar to *witranalwe*, except that it originates from the corpse of a child. In addition to being small an *añchimallen* can only go afoot, which means that its range of travel is greatly restricted. People say that an *añchimallen* may sometimes be glimpsed as a will-o-the-wisp.[4]

Despite the prevalence of such beliefs, it is important to note that the spirits of the dead are not looked upon as harmful and are not feared unless witches convert them into *witranalwes* or *añchimallens*.

754 Most common of all the activities for which sorcerers are
[753] held directly responsible are those causing sickness and death.
761 Like many primitive people, the Araucanians are unwilling to accept death as natural, but attribute all deaths to witchcraft. Latcham thinks that an exception is made for those dying of wounds received while fighting,[5] but that all other kinds of violent or accidental deaths are thought to be somehow engineered or brought about by the agency of sorcerers.

754 Two types of irregular behavior or insanity are differentiated
● 828 by some of the Mapuche. One kind, *wesa loñko* ("bad head"), refers to any sort of extravagant conduct, such as that of a person who is extremely lewd. The other kind, lunacy or paranoia, is termed *wedwed*, and is usually held to be caused by witches.

754 When an enemy wants to have some one bewitched, the most common procedure is to furnish a *kal·ku* with a bit of matter (for example, feces, saliva, hair, or saliva-moistened food) which was once intimately connected with the body of the intended victim. Menstrual blood, fresh or dried, is particularly potent, especially if the supply is built up over a period of several months. For this reason girls are warned to be very wary

[4] Further details on these topics may be obtained from Guevara, 1898, pp. 222 ff.; Latcham, 1924, pp. 770–823; and Métraux, 1939, pp. 329–32.

[5] Latcham, 1924, p. 741.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [177]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly 776

Affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for
685 punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a
273 son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
276 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they
828 pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

821 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ŋillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian 828 teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, 152
according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on 828
horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, [417]
"That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are 152
proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the 157
women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some dis- 834
tance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back;
868 and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ŋillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

●828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children." 828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders. 861

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

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181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do.
157 And now I should show you how we danced?" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

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A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually 848
reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained 836
license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said 548
that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to 548
resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they 829
have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 629. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

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548 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting
●829 with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *loñko* supervised negotiations with the *loñko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach
836 an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

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596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are [182] forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 613 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is 621 domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be- [609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [829] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* ar- [595] rangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [769] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhua*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

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When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by excart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

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The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and chicha.

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings. 121 182 754

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately. 754 829 648

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from 754 [128]

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by 864
older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity,
but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married.
Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too
freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the
case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged 839
in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice
is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homo- 838
sexuality is reported to be moderately common among young
girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion ex- [582]
pressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such
youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and
sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature,
particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said
or known about these practices at present. One informant did 839
volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming
fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine,
where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas.
On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to
cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply
advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly [831]
attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose [836]
as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but 833
women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting
lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he
acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting"
and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collío.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629–30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more [594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
418 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[612] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of [618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance [587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de- [831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

768 father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygymous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

587 Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

606 Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

836 Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; [548] as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporradic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; [837] likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. [832] Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pəlpəl, weñáŋwe, wədawe.

KINSHIP

611 **The kuga.**—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cûga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cûga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cùga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut 302
shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down [301]
the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and [515]
keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were compli- 832
mented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of 301
silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his per- 515
sonal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not insti- 572
tutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, 583
she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home.

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful 832 ●
that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on 278
volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will [756]
cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pollpoll were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wədawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenaŋwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wəñókintuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

584 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martin de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents. 846 593 [854]

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand. 854 [855] [861]

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs. 593 [854] [854] [851] [832]

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and 593 861

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul-on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother MAYE
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [278]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [784]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Boldoa fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

INFANCY

853 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collío in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l·aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l·akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hosse, 1939, pp. 255 ff.

[15] *L'aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chuchu* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 109) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l·aku*.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by 864
older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged 839
in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homo- 838
sexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion ex- [582]
pressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did 839
volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly [831]
attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose [836]
as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but 833
women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collio.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

●833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [584] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- 754 vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kaftun*.[6] *Kaftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kaftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

512 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[6] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a German ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material. 126

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed. 533

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer kesel meu. 539

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires. 833 539

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai 539

[12] Woman's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are man's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned. [578]

539

inche ta eimi
deuman piuke
fente ini ayufiel
kimwe laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
felen meu feipien
eimi ta sakin domo.

[551] Free translation.—It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peuman
kuifi meu kai
welu fele pulai
alka pülelen.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a lapwing[14] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.—In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[14] Fray Félix José de Augusta (Diccionario araucano-español [Santiago, 1916], II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collío described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European cuckoo, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 857 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de- [831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous
relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu- [884]
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [882]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly im-
mutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 883
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reser-
vation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late
adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with
other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and
girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual
strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is
increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [857]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin
to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This ap-
plies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely
housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until
they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not
until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under
the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are
known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while
fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often
occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experi-
mental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's
parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not par-
ticularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and
told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he
might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings.
A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely
watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscu-
ous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from
discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at
home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some dis-
tance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and
husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of unified purpose. The war decision was [701] made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the toki, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 18th century, at least, the toki-ax was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before [834] going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 8 days before starting out.

725 **Tactics and weapons.**—As early as 1568, the *Araucanians* had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, pitfalls and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spies and fifth-column work, and log forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Moesbach, 1936, p. 126).

411 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and slings. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (circa 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Frézier, 1716, p. 58; cf. "gorguz," in Ercilla, canto 25, 1910, p. 415, and Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 95, 5 palmos) with sinew string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (ibid., pp. 95–96), about 2½ palmos long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed elbow club of heavy wood, about 15 palmos long, according to González de Nájera (1889, p. 96); and another type of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53]
266 In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones,
727 most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was
534 forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish cul-
727 ture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had
[834] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced
121 the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in 841
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence. 841

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, 152
according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on 828
horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, [417]
"That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are 152
proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indígenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the 157
women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some dis- 834
tance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other."

A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night, 574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together— 513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ŋishem or üshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community. [574]

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage. [589]

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die. 834 593

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system. 596

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to [548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during 835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lava.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Felvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ba-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*. 779

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis. [776]

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders. 835

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *huecuvuyes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people. 756

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone 266 727 266

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (küde). 372

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refüy) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.) 415 321 322 412

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter füke (mother) while she called him poñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative. 582 [835] 595 587

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative 584

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [593] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Choichol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *herwinhui* (i.e. taking *herwi*). 582 835

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avunculate pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expansion in the Choichol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1941:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avunculate rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed. [578] 174 582 601

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation company is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from uxorilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offspring to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them. 591

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reduplicated the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matrilocality, and therefore will be reviewed at this point. 611 174

Lanchas (1904:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepúe area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with sand (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepúe and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepúe] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[512] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de-
[831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous
relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu- [884]
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [882]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly im-
mutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 883
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is
increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [891]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 *Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage* is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [754]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker—outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1959, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628]
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment—no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public—at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Those interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter. 836 835 [171]

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year. 835 [589]

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:58n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *kifteche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take. 582

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo. 835 [681] [622]

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained. 124 835

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group. 582

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common 587

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the seveal phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capble of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level o marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affars. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance o the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, whih imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking plce between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into whin his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance o the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unware of the special bonds which place
• 835 them in a proscribed catgory. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from he lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition or the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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273 Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful
733 liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

264 At meals women used to serve adult men first and children
415 after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

262 The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In
784 addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching
[827] testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard
[835] their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

276 Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931c, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collio. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1909, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chacha*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by 864
older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity,
but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married.
Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too
freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the
case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged 839
in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice
is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homo- 838
sexuality is reported to be moderately common among young
girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion ex- [582]
pressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such
youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and
sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature,
particularly in conjunction with shamanism[2] but little was said
or known about these practices at present. One informant did 839
volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming
fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine,
where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas.
On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to
cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply
advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly [831]
attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose [834]
as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but 833
women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting
lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he
acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting"
and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Coñio.

[2] Lambert, 1914, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because 847 men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend [587] to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kefuw*.* *Kefuw* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kefuw may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

* Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 720.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually 848
reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained 836
license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said 548
that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to 548
resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they 829
have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 629. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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548 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting
829 with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lofko* supervised negotiations with the *lofko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach
836 an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakulaw*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ñlaw domo* ("loose woman").

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakelaw*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakelchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakelchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakelchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. As the festiv-

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Munduruku, 1950, pp. 231-69; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719-20.

2: Titiev Σ-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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chumil chefel
inche ta eimi chethel.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[26] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[27] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[28]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

Woman's Reply

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kuki amel kuki
mulfichi fuke
rume piyelmi
welu rifpi kilke
kiso lelmi rume
feipi ofeyu
trig mapu mew
wefpalen inche
pu che mew ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me fuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[29] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their fuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses. If not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[26] Text: chefe ran ramon ilwenfe, "your heart said." However, ran also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where in the path, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This reminds that she replied heartless to him.

[27] For the use of mapu see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[28] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[29] Compare footnote 19.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [542] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[20] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put 592 the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Women's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds 592 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuki-fake) that one may use the term fake for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[20] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[544] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telmun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-pinn-mapu*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

708 father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

587 Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

606 Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

836 Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, palpal, weñáywe, wedawe.

[548] [837] [832]

KINSHIP

611 **The kuga.**—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cūga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[836] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other."

A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

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would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722). A promiscuous woman is called fundomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was COMMON.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepie) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

No informant had heard of a nib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kugu and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a nib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a nib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 720-723).

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Courtship and Marriage

58 Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the
[85] elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of
85 children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

584 Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understand-
*[86] ing, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

128 This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pre-
[illegible]ent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
834 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

[531] Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[536] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[534] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[525] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[531] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[541] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberations of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
884 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[531] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under
[531] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[536] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

935 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous
relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu- [834]
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [835]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly im-
mutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 833
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reser-
vation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late
adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with
other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and
girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual
strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is
increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [837]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin
to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This ap-
plies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely
housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until
they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not
until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under
the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are
known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while
fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often
occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experi-
mental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's
parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not par-
ticularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and
told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastised. At that, he
might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings.
A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely
watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscu-
ous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from
discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at
home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some dis-
tance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and
husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford. 836

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *füllatun rite*, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people. [535] [584]

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults. 836 584

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally disembled by teasing and mockery. [593] [605]

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi- 836 848

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
581 riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
435 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
592 on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 583
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is 584
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and [578]
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 836
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kinship up to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made miserable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836
in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed
at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was ob- [054]
tained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases.
Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167]
this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178]
life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unre- 836
quited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 578
tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by
lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628]
should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273]
and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836
Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836
bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835
Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is so much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Anumil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Anumil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Anumil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Anumil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Anumil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Anumil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Anumil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Anumil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Anumil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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135 of nominal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his wife had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this supposition and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stirrup for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not recalled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of running an infant's umbilicus over a witch's fire, the lover can be made smile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby – which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it – to a witch who performs *koftun*. If the child is born alive, the mother might reject and discard her photo of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their umbilici may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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any given time the family constitutes a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regulated unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sanctioned social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and rapitals there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the exogamic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, mentioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilineal system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are conditioned to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's exogamic group of relatives, segments which have a sanctioned marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in Mapuche Social Structure (Faron, [illegible]).

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and reinforced during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

[585]

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilateral exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to [834] [837] [841] [842] sex or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes extraction or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage

836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of sexual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place them in a prescribed category. Any sexual connection between a

835 [613] man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of nonconsent, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, prescriptive aspect of the

582 marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries more literally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly patriarchal, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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633 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or she she may seek vengeance by asking a machi to perform the *kefuar*.* *Kefuar* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the machi. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the machi dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become [illegible].

Kefuar may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donoghue knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

* Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 735.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home. 586 595

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them. 837

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all. 764 [165]

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it [784]

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1909, II: 33–56; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 217–21.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

768 father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

587 Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

606 Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

836 Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pelpel, weñáywe, wedawe.

[548] [837] [832]

KINSHIP

611 **The kuga.**—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cūga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:640–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Pangipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Collipie area, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepie and Pangipulli informants, including several older than 80,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counterstuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy). 593 422 593 522

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic. 593 [584] [851]

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as machismo, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an over-interest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women. 531 [537]

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided 537

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837 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [595] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that he was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

684 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish
837 breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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on the reservations I studied. Certainty nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [169]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling 593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [83]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [222]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574] other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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595 589 968 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. [554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] [594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 418 [613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[619] [618] [587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [149]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condemned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage. [839]

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be measured for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen. 613 458 [586] [518] [564] [147]

Ir:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

existence was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of [583]
a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but
the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in
comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946: 719-0 ff., for a summary of
the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period
(Moesbach, 1938) indicates that dowry payments were important and
perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This
contrasts with accounts for pre-reservation times. I take this to mean
that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major
part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on his-
torical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach,
1938: 149–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-
price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an [839]
amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's para-
mour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and,
since the accounts are of the pre-reservation period, it is likely that [423]
land was not so highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case,
such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later
literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange
in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is
because land had become the item of overriding importance in nego-
tiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became
highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always
been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with
a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods
of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-
price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the
last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions [622]
from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly
are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status,
also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the dis-
play, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain per-
mission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was
the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief [622]
to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of
respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate [584]
the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Berdaches, pederasts, and sodomists are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism;[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

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[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional politeness and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

1: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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chiew, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machitunes* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the nature of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampivos*, who work with herbs; *nilmes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[9]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common.[10] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[11] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

[9] Molina, 1808, II: 91.

[10] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Mosbach, 1932, pp. 330–49.

[11] Cf. Hosne, 1939, p. 113.

Ii Tiliev E-9 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

that they are homosexuals. For all that, their services are much in demand, and many natives regard them as more efficient than are women. Nevertheless, the great majority of contemporary machi are women who seem to be sexually normal.[11] They marry, bear children, care for their households, and follow the usual feminine occupations, except when engaged in professional activities. A suggestion of homosexuality is revealed in their relations with novices and assistants, and whispers of adultery during machitun are not uncommon, but the older pattern of marked sexual abnormality no longer prevails.

The person who becomes a machi must have a strong will and character, partly because of the danger implied in the close conceptual link of witch and shaman, and partly because of the long and arduous training program. Many young women deliberately avoid all machis, and so difficult has it become to secure recruits that established practitioners may resort to subtle threats in order to get newcomers to join their ranks. If they meet a likely girl who is the descendant of a former machi, they may tell her that she is going to sicken and die unless she takes up the profession. More commonly, especially if a young, single woman becomes a patient, a machi may tell her that she cannot recover unless she agrees to serve as an apprentice after her cure. Coercion is not necessarily employed in all cases. Some women voluntarily apply for training, presumably because of the high fees they may earn. Another class of recruits includes people who have had narrow escapes from death by lightning. There is a belief that sometimes a frightened woman faints during a severe thunderstorm and finds on recovery that she has acquired the knowledge and power to be a machi.[12] If she decides to accept the call, she is supposed to be superior to an ordinary curer.

[11] Compare the independently made summary of the transition from male to female machis in Cooper, 1946, p. 750.

[12] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 750): "A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her."

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and made to appear as if taken from the sick person. 756 753

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he has been poisoned, and then proceeds to discover the poisoner.

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *kamson*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Oliverus, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices." 681 756 753

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of *canelo* planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office. 756

Paderasty was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *kesge*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *pusas*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians. [838]

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the *machitwe* or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question. 681

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father. 682 [562]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

595 would be so unusual that they would be talked about, and we would eventually hear about them. I have never heard of a single case."

836 Promiscuity rarely occurs today. Also, according to Cooper's sources there were only sporadic cases in former times (1946, p. 722).

838 A promiscuous woman is called ñuadomo. A non-Araucanian man who spent many years among the Araucanians knew that promiscuity on the part of an unmarried woman was a rare thing; on the part of a married woman it never occurred. He was certain, however, that homosexuality among young men was common.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE, PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES, MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS, SORORATE, LEVIRATE

582 Cross-cousin marriage was institutional, preferably so between a woman's son and her brother's daughter. Such marriages existed in all areas covered by the present study. "In fact it is the best way to marry: a woman's children and her brother's children are really expected to marry, and that is the way it is generally done." The children of brothers and sisters of a man's wives may marry the children of any other wife, provided the wives are not sisters—"after all, those children are not related."

Cross-cousin marriages were being discouraged, however, by non-Araucanians in all areas. Stutterers and children less alert mentally than others were pointed out as offspring of such unions.

Marriage between parallel cousins is forbidden. "Children of two brothers and of two sisters, also, look upon themselves as brothers and sisters, and call each other that. They are so regarded by others also." Children call a father's brothers "father"; and a mother's sisters "mother." Also forbidden is a marriage between a man and one of the wives of his deceased father—"obviously he cannot marry such women; they are his 'mothers.'" Nor can a man marry the daughter of his wife's brother. Hallowell's informant reported the same (1943, p. 490). "Two men in this area (Alepúe) are so married, but the people criticize them for it." According to one of my best informants, a man, however, may marry his wife's sister's daughter, a statement which needs verification.

614 No informant had heard of a sib system. The oldest informants—one of whom at least was more than 100 years old—did not know the meaning of the words kuga and elpa, terms found in the literature which might lead one to suspect a sib system. (Cf. pp. 38-40.) Cooper's more recent sources, too, noted that they found no recollection of a sib system among their Araucanian informants (1946, pp. 722-723).

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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> *In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women* (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

> *Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common* (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual [illegible]e.

An interesting matter of the rel[illegible] of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

●841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, Kul-on).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ADOLESCENCE

Latcham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.[23] Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations. 881

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.[24]

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,[25] but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a rite was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems 841 754

[23] Latcham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.
[24] Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekūyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *kūyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [342] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[28] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[28] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

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Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting 841
Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

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THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, 842
Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her [847]
child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who special- 842
izes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the 755
blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a [278]
concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, 842
whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *malumraki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum vaginatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

842 *neramapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kul-on*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrcrugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend 847 to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [584] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

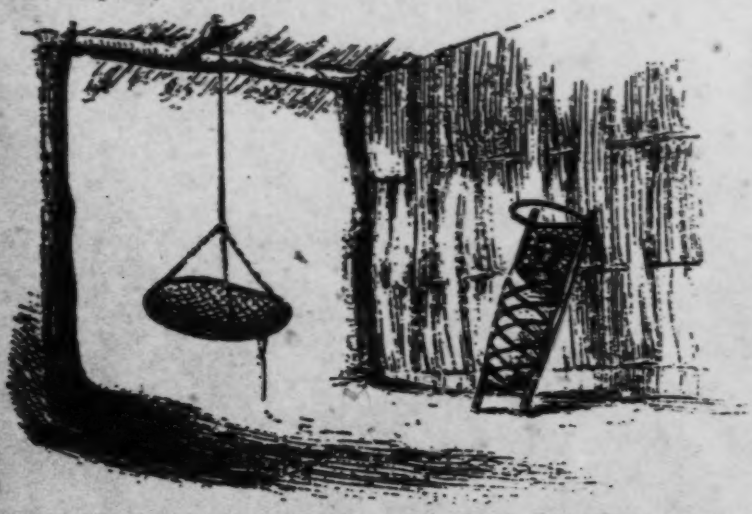

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [855]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [845] 842

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepúe, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepúe] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepúe area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive [581] wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a [597] childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Coñaripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Coñaripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much embarrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

[848]

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

●842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ŋillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!" 775 845

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cofiaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (ranüm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy. 262 843

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[16] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [17] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly." 163

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PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that." 843 [774]

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In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul 842

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place. 864

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *choyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins. 844

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.

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[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [205]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gusinde lists 847 [848] [278]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy hal better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be pre- 787
dicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usial, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (ranüm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat
797 field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
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heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

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Mapuche-Huilliche

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Mapuche-Huilliche

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[759] *machi*, her own husband, and, occasionally, one other man or
844 woman. She is given a sturdy stick and encouraged to hold it and to walk up and down as long as she can. During labor she takes draughts of water, sometimes mixed with ginger. When parturition is about to occur, the mother assumes a kneeling position on a sheepskin mat large enough to catch whatever matter may be discharged incidental to birth. If help is needed a strong man or woman may grasp the patient and press down on her abdomen. It is thought that particular care must be taken with women having their first babies to make sure that the child is guided through the proper orifice.

As soon as birth has taken place the attendant midwife or *machi* heats a special instrument, *katrüf dowe* ("umbilical cord cutter"), made of sharp metal, formerly of stone. With this instrument, which is reserved for this one use, she severs the cord, then ties the knot. Upon the expulsion of the afterbirth the husband is directed to gather up the sheepskin on which accouchement occurred, and to be sure that it contains every particle of solid and fluid substance that was shed at the confinement. Should anything have fallen to the ground, the husband carefully scrapes it up and puts it into the sheepskin. The mat and its contents are then secretly buried in a deep hole, dug in virgin soil at an unfrequented spot. A stone or a heavy piece of wood may be used as a weight to prevent animals from getting at the buried bundle. Secrecy is observed for fear of witches or of jealous people, such as lovers or women who may want the recently delivered mother for a daughter-in-law.

846 Soon after a delivery has been safely accomplished, all soiled garments and bedding are carefully laundered in a stream. Mother and child are bathed in a mixture of water and the fragrant leaves of plants such as *foye*,[8] *ifulkoñ*,[9] or *natruñ*.[10] Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may

[8] *Foye* is the cinnamon tree which is called *canelo* in Spanish. It is very sacred to the Araucanians and is used in a wide range of religious contexts.

[9] Augusta (1916, I: 65) identified this plant as *Vestia lycioides*.

[10] Identified as *Solanum Gayanum* Remy, family Solaneaceae, in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 146).

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*leventun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

595 [582] 583

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

844 846

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concurred in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canelos were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canelo planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by González de Nájera (1889, pp. 54, 56), Bascuñan (1863, p. 43), Rosales (1877–78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Ofia (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 253; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McClafferty, 1932, pp. 27–29.)

LIFE CYCLE

•844 **Birth.**—It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latcham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Gusinde, 1936, pp. 561, 855, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Coñaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

●844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond.
797 2, Coñaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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and her mother. Usually a midwife is present also, and on occasion some of the woman's relatives and women friends. Any woman who is a nearby neighbor can always be relied on to assist, if needed. A machi is not present but is called in if the mother or child takes sick. 844

Until very recently, midwifery was practiced exclusively by women; at the time of the present study several middle-aged men in Alepúe area were doing so, one being assisted by his wife. "Both he and his wife were present last week when my sister's child was born. That man certainly knows how to deliver a baby!" A midwife is called datuchefe or domo kimdatukutranlu; there is no word for a male obstetrician, an indication that midwifery for men is not an old custom. [462]

To quote one of the men who assists at deliveries: "My part in helping is to examine the woman to make certain that the baby is in the right position, especially that the head is lying in the right position, for that is important. If it is, then all goes well and fast. When the first four of my children were born, I had a man deliver each—we call him a partero; we have no Mapuche name for such a man. I lost those four children; each died when about two months old. I watched that man deliver these children. Because these four died as infants, I delivered my wife myself of the next children. There were four more and they all lived." A Panguipulli woman was annoyed when asked if men assisted at deliveries: "What are you thinking about! It is always a woman who does so, a sensible woman, one who knows how!" Her husband interjected: "If a family is so poor that it cannot pay the midwife what she asks for a delivery, then the woman's husband will deliver his wife. Only then will any man help."

In some areas the midwife is paid for her services. In Alepúe she asks for 30 pesos (one U. S. dollar); if the woman is a relative, she accepts no pay. In Coñaripe area the midwife receives no pay; her compensation is the privilege of calling each child that she delivers "my child." "And later on when the child is old enough to comprehend, its mother will say to it, if the midwife happens to come around, 'This is your mother.' This pleases the midwife; it is done in grateful recognition."

It is a custom for all members of a family to stay around home when anyone in the family is sick; it is for this reason that a woman's children are present when she gives birth to a child—their mother is thought of as being sick. Teachers related instances when a relative or a neighbor of a family requested that children be allowed to leave school and go home because there was sickness in their family. The day following, the children would tell of the birth of a brother or a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A 844 sister. Informants thought it would be cruel to send the children away from their mother while she is giving birth. Said a Coñaripe mother: "Strangers are not allowed at the birth. But most certainly all the children should be there, now when their mama is sick. She is never away from her family, and why should not all her children be there when she gives birth to one of their brothers or sisters? In any event, the baby is being born in their home. Where should they go?" Quoting a Panguipulli father, "Certainly, the children are all present at a birth. Where else should they go? They belong in the same ruka with their mother." All boys and girls in a school in Alepúe said they had been present at a birth, except ones who were too young when a birth occurred to remember it.

The expectant mother drinks a cooled herbal decoction of leaves, stems, and roots of culantrillo when she begins to have labor pains. This maintains good blood circulation. The ingredients are boiled for only a short time. Cooper notes that Gusinde gives a variety of medicinal plants used to facilitate birth (1946, p. 732).

According to an Alepúe woman the pains of labor can be lessened if the midwife pricks everyone present, including the children, with a needle. Hence, as soon as labor begins, she noted, people gathering in the house are pricked and they sing appropriate songs. After the baby is born, there is beating of drums and the people dance. Other informants said this was not the usual thing.

B [844] No informant had heard that letting a live lizard slide down the body of the expectant mother facilitated birth, something believed by the Blackfeet (from writer's unpublished field notes). No one knew of any animal associated with birth.

Informants knew of no medicinal remedy to alleviate labor pains. [278] Cooper mentions *Datura stramonium* as being used in recent times to deaden pain (1946, p. 732). "Sometimes the child comes soon; sometimes not for a long time, in which case the woman suffers much. We have no remedy for these pains. The mother must bear them. Labor pains usually begin at night, and by sunrise the baby is born. A child that is born at dawn or before the middle of the forenoon will be healthy and will grow to maturity. If it is born in the afternoon or evening, it usually dies—but births seldom occur at these times of the day."

Formerly women knelt while giving birth. This is in agreement with Cooper's sources also (1946, p. 732). Today most women kneel though an occasional one lies on her back. She kneels on something that can be discarded, such as a piece of threadbare homespun cloth or a worn-down sheep pelt. Generally she braces herself by gripping

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. 844 In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—kneels behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is given a decoction made by boiling silvestre salvia, linaza, sanguinaria, and karül'awen, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings none with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of ŋalauŋalau, a plant found in brooks. 844 278

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult deliveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 732). Quoting a Coñaripe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after labor pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil flaxseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (Cf. pp. 115-121 for performances of machitun.) 845

During the present study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive. [278]

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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845 substantial meal prepared for the family and those who assisted at the birth. Neither mother nor child is fumigated.

The Chilean law obliges the father to record the birth of his child at a government office in the province in which the child is born.

STILLBIRTHS

"My fifth child was born dead. It was harvest time, and I believe I worked too hard in the fields and caused the baby to put itself into a wrong position, and that is why it was born dead. My seventh child was stillborn too. But why it was so born, I do not know. Maybe it would have lived if I had had the help of someone. When it was about to be born, there was no one at home except my little boy—he was only a baby himself. I had no one to send for help. I was so sick that I thought I must die. I cooked some flaxseed and drank a liter of it. Then the child was born; but it was dead. I have often thought that when children grow up they need to be told how much their mothers suffered giving them birth."

NAVEL CORD

844 In Coñaripe area the midwife or another woman present (the woman herself, if she is alone when the birth occurs) cuts the umbilical cord a handstretch from the navel. In Alepúe area the measure is three times the distance from tip of thumb to its first joint. The cord is cut with a knife—formerly one of flint.

The woman who cuts the cord drains the fluid from the section adhering to the navel (away from the navel) "until it [the cord] is as thin as a string," and then either coils it (clockwise) around the navel so that all of it will rest flat upon the baby's body, or piles it into a little heap alongside the navel. Then she covers it with a small wad of wool and puts on top of this a paste made of leaves. In Alepúe area the cord is generally greased to keep it from sticking to the body. Very recently several women had used commercial talcum powder in place of grease. All is kept in position by a band, similar to a man's belt, tied around the baby's body.

At intervals the mother peeks under the band to see if the cord has dried and fallen off. Ordinarily it does so within 10 days. Should it be oozing, she cleans it and treats it as before. If it does not drop off within another 10 days, a preparation is applied of ashes of wood mixed with scrapings off the smaller end of a corncob. The corncob is dried near the fire until almost scorched. If no corncob is at hand, the powdered scrapings off the edge of a piece of pottery or,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfü must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child poke at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Arapaho custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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844 maqui;[8] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery, she was given a decoction of kanchan l'awen (unidentified) and
278 frutilla. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

844 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

845 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist: this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

[8] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two 845
women, and they might have lived."

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and 844
severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing [171]
the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall.

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was [278]
given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse.

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's 846
eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is
[844] a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
756 *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
844 seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery
[178] as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which rela- [527]
tives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

756 845 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on [844] [554] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not [648] [177] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 787 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother; *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[165] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

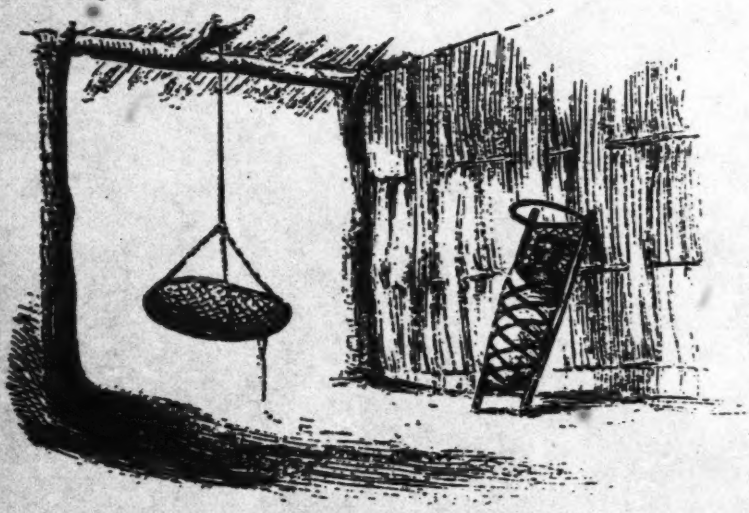

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [855]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [845] 842

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, 842
non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a 787 842
girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy.

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had 775
wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had 845
no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not 262
known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman 843
must not eat jaiba (ranūm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy.

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. 844
In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—kneels behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is 844
given a decoction made by boiling silvestre salvia, linaza, sanguinaria, 278
and karûl'awen, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings none with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of ŋalaŋalau, a plant found in brooks.

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult de- 845
liveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 732). Quoting a Coñaripe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after labor pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil flaxseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (Cf. pp. 115-121 for performances of machitun.)

During the present study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife [278]
mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive.

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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845 substantial meal prepared for the family and those who assisted at the birth. Neither mother nor child is fumigated.

The Chilean law obliges the father to record the birth of his child at a government office in the province in which the child is born.

STILLBIRTHS

"My fifth child was born dead. It was harvest time, and I believe I worked too hard in the fields and caused the baby to put itself into a wrong position, and that is why it was born dead. My seventh child was stillborn too. But why it was so born, I do not know. Maybe it would have lived if I had had the help of someone. When it was about to be born, there was no one at home except my little boy—he was only a baby himself. I had no one to send for help. I was so sick that I thought I must die. I cooked some flaxseed and drank a liter of it. Then the child was born; but it was dead. I have often thought that when children grow up they need to be told how much their mothers suffered giving them birth."

NAVEL CORD

844 In Coñaripe area the midwife or another woman present (the woman herself, if she is alone when the birth occurs) cuts the umbilical cord a handstretch from the navel. In Alepúe area the measure is three times the distance from tip of thumb to its first joint. The cord is cut with a knife—formerly one of flint.

The woman who cuts the cord drains the fluid from the section adhering to the navel (away from the navel) "until it [the cord] is as thin as a string," and then either coils it (clockwise) around the navel so that all of it will rest flat upon the baby's body, or piles it into a little heap alongside the navel. Then she covers it with a small wad of wool and puts on top of this a paste made of leaves. In Alepúe area the cord is generally greased to keep it from sticking to the body. Very recently several women had used commercial talcum powder in place of grease. All is kept in position by a band, similar to a man's belt, tied around the baby's body.

At intervals the mother peeks under the band to see if the cord has dried and fallen off. Ordinarily it does so within 10 days. Should it be oozing, she cleans it and treats it as before. If it does not drop off within another 10 days, a preparation is applied of ashes of wood mixed with scrapings off the smaller end of a corncob. The corncob is dried near the fire until almost scorched. If no corncob is at hand, the powdered scrapings off the edge of a piece of pottery or,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepúe area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with mud (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepúe and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepúe] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

● 845 732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). [847]

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 845

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. 145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Children orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 845 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 262 [171] The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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844 maqui;[8] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery,
278 she was given a decoction of kanchan l'awen (unidentified) and frutilla. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

844 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

● 845 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist: this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

[8] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two 845
women, and they might have lived."

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and 844
severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing [171]
the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall.

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was [278]
given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse.

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's 846
eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

756 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[197] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a
[759] 844 *machi*, her own husband, and, occasionally, one other man or woman. She is given a sturdy stick and encouraged to hold it and to walk up and down as long as she can. During labor she takes draughts of water, sometimes mixed with ginger. When parturition is about to occur, the mother assumes a kneeling position on a sheepskin mat large enough to catch whatever matter may be discharged incidental to birth. If help is needed a strong man or woman may grasp the patient and press down on her abdomen. It is thought that particular care must be taken with women having their first babies to make sure that the child is guided through the proper orifice.

As soon as birth has taken place the attendant midwife or *machi* heats a special instrument, *katrūf dowe* ("umbilical cord cutter"), made of sharp metal, formerly of stone. With this instrument, which is reserved for this one use, she severs the cord, then ties the knot. Upon the expulsion of the afterbirth the husband is directed to gather up the sheepskin on which accouchement occurred, and to be sure that it contains every particle of solid and fluid substance that was shed at the confinement. Should anything have fallen to the ground, the husband carefully scrapes it up and puts it into the sheepskin. The mat and its contents are then secretly buried in a deep hole, dug in virgin soil at an unfrequented spot. A stone or a heavy piece of wood may be used as a weight to prevent animals from getting at the buried bundle. Secrecy is observed for fear of witches or of jealous people, such as lovers or women who may want the recently delivered mother for a daughter-in-law.

●846 Soon after a delivery has been safely accomplished, all soiled garments and bedding are carefully laundered in a stream. Mother and child are bathed in a mixture of water and the fragrant leaves of plants such as *foye*,[8] *ifulkoñ*,[9] or *natruñ*.[10] Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may

[8] *Foye* is the cinnamon tree which is called *canelo* in Spanish. It is very sacred to the Araucanians and is used in a wide range of religious contexts.

[9] Augusta (1916, 1: 65) identified this plant as *Vestia lycioides*.

[10] Identified as *Solanum Gayanum* Remy, family Solanaceae, in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 146).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time. 846 [278]

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong. 854 [278] 852 854

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13] 846 [784] [833]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Boldoa fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it 595
was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*onen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is [582]
probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What 583
seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*leventun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give 844
birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born 846
the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the *ruca*, which constituted her home. Here she remained a week attended by some

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother,
587 who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcolu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concurred in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canelos were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canelo planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by González de Nájera (1889, pp. 54, 56), Bascuñan (1863, p. 43), Rosales (1877–78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Oña (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 253; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McClafferty, 1932, pp. 27–29.)

LIFE CYCLE

844 **Birth.**—It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latcham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Gusinde, 1936, pp. 561, 855, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

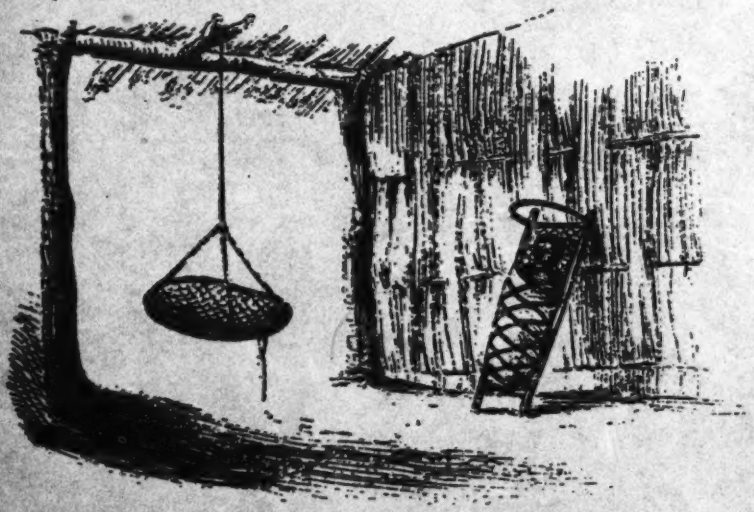

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [855]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [845] 842

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfú must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child poke at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Arapaho custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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●846 down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either below the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This [184] is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

STERILIZING EYES OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps [278] a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call llumüelka [unidentified] [4] into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

[4] When translated, llumüelka means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Cofaripe identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as korekore. Félix José (1916, vol. 1, p. 95) gives the botanical classification of korekore as *Geranium corecore* Stend., fam. Geraniaceae, and the Spanish equivalent as corecore. In La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales (Anonymous, 1929) corecore is classified as *Geranium berteroancum*.

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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap." 84%

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all. [356]

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back." [304]

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward [142]

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● 846 like this [running her thumb and first finger down the ridge of the nose and then stretching the nostrils wide open with the fingers]. She says to the child, 'You must have a nice nose like the bandurria.' "

Babies are often born with a dense growth of lanugo on forehead and sides of face, from temples to ear lobes. By the time the child [142] enters school, it has disappeared, but a low hairline, a characteristic of Araucanians in all areas—one not desired by them—remains. (Cf. p. 61.)

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

For a few hours following delivery—probably two—the mother lies quietly on her back, "she must not stir in the least." Then she walks to the family's bathing place, either a river or lake or the Pacific, and there wades directly into deep water. "This brings about good blood circulation." "All the Mapuche women in Coñaripe still do that," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "Chileans around here say these women are crazy, but the Mapuche women say that they feel better if they take this cold bath."

In many instances still the midwife, or one of the other women who was present at the delivery, dips the infant into the water where the mother is taking her bath. "This bath hardens the child to the hardships of life," said a mother. "It trains the child early to physical endurance. Formerly the Mapuche could resist sickness; they were a strong people because of it. Where they are no longer given this bath after birth, the Mapuche are a weak people." No informant knew of an instance where the mother while bathing herself bathed her child, also, in a stream or in the sea after birth. "Maybe it was done a long, long time ago." Cooper's sources say it was (1946, p. 732).

Today a substitute for the baby's first bath in a body of cold water is dipping the infant into a dish of cold water or, as the Chileans do, laying it on one's lap and dashing cold water on its back and front. The midwife or one of the women who has attended the birth will do so. Generally fresh cold water is used; rarely, a decoction. The belief prevails that the cold bath is conducive to the child's good health and well-being. The dish used is one carved from a tree trunk.

The mother bathes the child frequently during infancy and childhood; many do so daily. It is dipped into a body of water, if one is near the home, or it is stood up in a dish in the ruka and cold water is splashed against it. An occasional mother today uses lukewarm water or a decoction, something she learned from non-Araucanians.

A Coñaripe mother had seen a non-Araucanian mother bathe a child

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in an herbal decoction. Not knowing its ingredients she gave her 846
babies an herbal bath daily in a decoction of leaves of limpia plata, bark of apple tree, and either the bark of canelo or the leaves of boldo. She believed these to be soothing and a preventive of rashes. She boiled a pinch of each in water for some time, then strained the decoction into a dish through a piece of cloth. The baby was seated in it, and handfuls of it were dashed against the body. "I made a fresh decoction each day. We Mapuche believe that a decoction must be used the day it is prepared."

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING, BODY DECORATIONS

Araucanians pierce the ears, but not the nose or the lip. One pierc- 304
ing is made in each ear lobe. According to old informants, every child, formerly, had its ears pierced immediately after birth; in general, today, only girls have theirs pierced. Piercing is done before the child is 3 months old, "that is, before it feels pain; we learned that from the Chileans." "My two daughters there [6 and 8 years old] have not had their ears pierced. I shall not have them pierced any more; it would be too painful."

Any person may do the piercing, but since a member of the family may be too tenderhearted, an outsider is usually asked to do so. Persons mentioned were old persons, "a man in Mehuin who always does it for children there," "a man we know well who passed by our ruka and I called him in," "I myself," and neighbors.

Formerly ear lobes were rubbed well with ashes and then pierced with the sharp point of a bone. It was believed the ashes would anesthetize the ear lobe. Old persons still rub the lobes with ashes, but piercing today is done with a threaded needle, a piece of the thread being left in the hole to keep it from growing shut. The ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Anyone fondling the baby will pull the thread back and forth. "I saw an old man do that recently to a little girl on his lap." An ear could be pierced from either the upper or the lower side of the lobe. Non-Araucanians had seen a bar of soap held under the lobe, and the lobe pierced with a threaded needle with a quick movement from top downward. The needle had been held in the fire to sterilize it.

When the piercing is well healed, the thread is pulled out and a small [301]
earring inserted. Earrings are increased in size as the child grows older. "We give our girls earrings today to retain our customs.

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placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 845

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall. 844 [171]

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse. [278]

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used. 846

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THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1922]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it." 846

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear luke-warm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years. 852 304 [553]

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver around." [413]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who 855 dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish in- [572]
formal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone [613]
who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The [527]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous 595
households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies [853] in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives [84C] will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the 595
care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the 854
household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and [601] "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and 595
daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left [167] the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that [589] none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- [768]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, 842
Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her [847]
child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who special- 842
izes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the 755
blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a [278]
concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, 842
whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *wakawuki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum vaginatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky

842 *wenumapu* ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to
[775] which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which,
776 because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as
842 the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

841 An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation.
[833 There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms
842] are more likely to have offspring.

847 Although children are usually greatly desired, there are
755 special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abor-
278 tions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko*
847 ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche, *Kul-an*).

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kul·on). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *koftun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile. 847 [754]

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[5] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[6] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation. 843

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place. 864

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *choyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins. 844

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.

[6] Guevara, 1911, p. 285.

[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1909, pp. 359–60.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, [842] even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care [837] is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend 847 to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take ad- [584] vantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they 754 court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *koftun*.[4] *Koftun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Koftun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to [548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during 835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
" " female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huscu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *vilyica.*
" sister, *nyalu.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kempu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *ngilyanyi.*
" sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 [165] 847 845 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents. Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [551]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

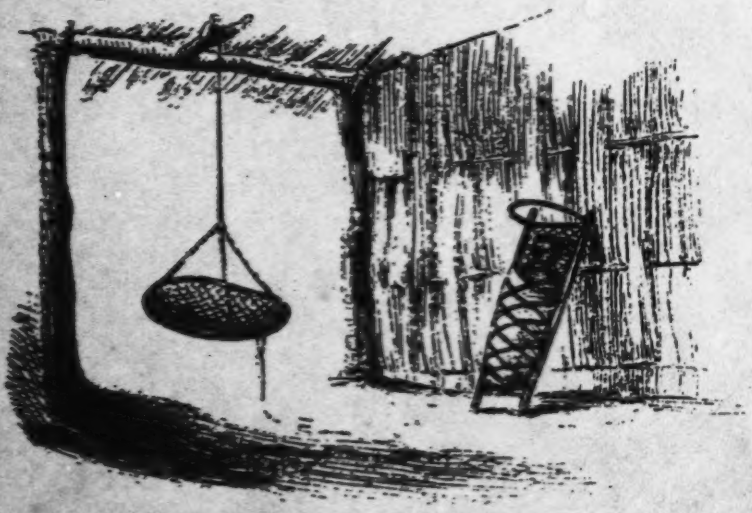

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [855]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [845] 842

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gusinde lists 847 [849] [278]

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much em-
[848] barrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ŋillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). [847]

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 845

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195
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847 [845] Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 848 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 158 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 736 593 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a normal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

11:Faron*E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1955, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it." 848

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another. 836

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful. 548

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social 548 829

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 609. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [766]

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gennade Ketz 847 [848] [278]

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much embarrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

[848]

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ngillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepóe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepóe area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with mud (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepóe and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepóe] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

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● 848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

845 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a
782 child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously
[845] noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed
848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen.
145 Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three
158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted
736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor-
513 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Children orphanage.

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the [684] baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[A] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[A] [i.e.—Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather — Analyst]

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836
dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535]
ñillatun rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances.
Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are al-
ready courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584]
dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the
parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special
notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually en-
courage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit
from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young
people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836
concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584
courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents.
Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are
chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593]
males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605]
also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close
female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain
girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents
for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming
to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage
will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar
line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically
work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve.
Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially
refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception,
the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair,
and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and an-
swers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836
no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848
is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweet-
heart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
848 coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
[571] riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
[423] land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
[422] on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral mar- 583
riage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage
wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not
she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended
courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family
and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the
girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is
especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of
disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has
not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in
the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it
as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and
that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can
easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and
deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy [167]
parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 836
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to
the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother
and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good
wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be
brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are
consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admon-
ished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His
reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains ada-
mant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the res-
ervation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone
else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

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584 836 848 578 558 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 [836] The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the [692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of 839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this [836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [98] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum- [692] stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society.
[861] The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
[554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the
851 family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child
[844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
757 machi (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there
[178] seem to be no misgivings about the machi's connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few machis I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*ñuan domo* or *ñuan kuzu*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [276]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the juice of the *rafu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet, and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant, praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [784]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes. No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Baldus fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *rafu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow 851
with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, 854
sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui tracx. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not 856
designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, 852
express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Collaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "If the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and 855
evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of linpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Collaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous teeth dropped by a child into an chuapin and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupin. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous teeth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

THE MOTHER'S BATH, THE BABY'S BATH

Formerly, immediately following delivery the mother took her child to a stream where, holding the child, she walked into the cold water, if need be breaking thin ice to do so. An occasional woman does so today. A non-Araucanian told of rising one morning to find her Araucanian woman servant returning, in a rather heavy snowfall, from a river where she had just taken a bath and had given one to her child, born during the night; she had to break the ice on the river to do so. The servant prepared the breakfast and went about her daily work as usual. (Customarily, the women refrained from work for three or four days following delivery.) "That happened 30 years ago [1928]," said the non-Araucanian. "But I have heard it told often since that the Araucanian women still take these cold baths and bathe their babies at the same time right after delivery." A listening-in Araucanian woman in her sixties was not of the same opinion: "That was true formerly; but most women today could not do that; they are too delicate; they would die. I know my daughters could not do it."

Old informants firmly believed that it was this first cold bath that kept the baby well and strong, and noted that none ever died from the cold bath. The first bath of most children today is one of clear lukewarm water in a large wooden dish used for household purposes. It is given immediately following birth by the woman who assists at the delivery.

POSTNATAL INTERESTS

EAR PIERCING

Formerly, the child's ears were pierced when it was given its name; today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced. Noses and lips were not pierced: "Never! Never!" Usually the piercing was done within a month following birth, because it was believed the child felt no pain in its ear lobes at that age and no swelling resulted; if the child was much older, its ear lobes often became sore. Sometimes, however, this was not done until the child was much older—in some instances as old as 18 years.

Obviously the piercer was not a conventional person. According to some old informants it was the mother of the child who pierced the ears of her own child; according to others, just as old, any relative might do so. In general, a woman pierced a girl's ears; a man, a boy's.

Piercing was done in the ear lobe from top downward with a sewing needle, "or something like a needle—we used to have a needlelike implement of silver, formerly."

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and muday (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awár kuden or awár meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as poruntun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of those adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

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To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, 197
seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a
more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and
appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but
Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly
insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their 515
personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morn-
ing bath never being omitted by men, women, and children,
who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn;
and their dress was much more carefully attended to than
that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witness- 771
ing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are
worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of
any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions 852
of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, 171
save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more
elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted 755
the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-
dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of
ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of
the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered
mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as
by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade
my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal 788
without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the 264
ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate 771
the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious 782
and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians.
They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to 823
attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed
what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he
was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and
brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he
apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

INFANCY

●553 Babies are encouraged to nurse as soon as possible. If a mother's milk fails or proves unsuited, as judged from the appearance of a child's skin, tongue, or excreta, any friendly lactating woman may be called upon for help. Sometimes, a group of helpers may work in shifts, with one nursing a child early in the morning, another in the forenoon, a third at noon, and so on. Sometimes, too, in polygynous households, comates [595] may help to suckle each other's young. "No how," exclaimed Collio in one of his interviews, "will they let a baby starve!" One Araucanian man told me that he had been suckled, at least in part, by the wife of his oldest paternal uncle; a paternal grandmother helped with the nursing of another. Such evidence confirms the importance of the household unit as a basic, functional group of kindred, for each of these wet nurses, through the agency of unilocal, patrilocal residence, was a housemate of the child she helped to suckle.

553 The concept that the first few days of an infant's life constitute a kind of trial period also finds expression in the naming customs. No discussion of a name takes place before a baby is at least a week old and has given indication that it is in good health and will probably live. The option of naming a first child customarily belongs to the paternal grandparents, but if they have many descendants they may, out of courtesy, transfer the privilege to the mother's parents. Either the grandfather or grandmother, depending on the sex of the infant, serves as godparent, holding the babe in his arms, and giving it his own name before witnesses.[14] So closely is the custom followed that the term *l-aku*, father's father, also means namesake, and 553 the naming rite is called *l-akutun*.[15] If he can afford it, a god- 431 parent gives presents to a namesake. Traditionally, the gifts

[833] for as much as a year or eighteen months. Very likely, the abandonment of polygyny has led to an earlier resumption of sexual relations.

[14] A variant account of naming practices occurs in Hunzike, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[15] *L'aku* is a reciprocal term for a man's father's father and son's son, and *chacha* or *llalla* refers to a woman's mother's mother or daughter's daughter (Figs. 2, 3). Augusta (1916, I: 119) gave namesake as one of the meanings of *l'aku*.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

846 companionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relatives and friends were assembled to celebrate a
484 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*ilpatruve*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lawe*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as native the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
● 853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Teknonym.*—Although teknonym is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Kuhual*, tiger; *Kuhualuhu*, red tiger; *Kuhual-quel*, hopping tiger; *Leon*, lioness; *Huelleon*, two lionesses; *Leonelcon*, lioness's head; *Filu*, snake; *Quilerilu*, three snakes; *Colonilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

4:Latham F-6 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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[illegible] OF THE ARAUCANIANS.

[end plate]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted. 291

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath. 853

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of gil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot. [278] [221]

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

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●853 I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and boil decoctions for it."

A child is always nursed until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom nursed when older than two years. (Pl. 3, *2*.) It is nursed tied in its cradleboard, resting in its mother's arm, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then tied to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still strapped to the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 20-month-old boy became bothersome. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a fresh cow. "We put this in a bottle with a [197] nipple. One can buy these in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."

862 The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods, "the same foods that everyone else eats. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, catuto (made of cooked wheat), new potatoes, and later meat. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child still has mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother does not use a repellent, such as a peppery or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's source, the child was weaned when all its teeth were cut, or a year after its birth; or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (1946, p. 731).

Only an occasional child sucks its finger. Two instances came to the writer's notice: one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

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In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of cuilihie sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, cuilihie poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and caused to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be caused to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles.

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother begins to teach it words, usually nouns, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 3 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a home where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian."

[191]

WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a

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strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk, "but it never seemed to fit into its home and so later the grandmother took it to her home and nursed it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. She avoided beef, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 1½-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and itself suck the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If whole were having squill (sheep lung filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and this soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had crushed oatmeal bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she mastticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew meat's meat and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was crushed meat of chou. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

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grow older, compliance is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [51] [52]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although when scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is supposed when the child is young. [55]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. §53 [95]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth. §63

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents were rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. §56 [61]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main §55

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization. 595

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir. [853] [846]

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*koñuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment. 595 854 [601]

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- 595 [67] [589] [768]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the father stays
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fal-o*.[10] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [278]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her
to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it wholeheartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough
to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the
juice of the *ngfu* plant.[11] A belief prevails that this drink will
either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and
forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant
admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually
perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the
baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet,
and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant,
praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully recovered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the
leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus announced her recovery are her other young offspring free to
see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [764]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to
be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so
enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes.
No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels
that she has returned to normal health and activity.[12]

[10] *Fal-o* is identified in Augusta (op. cit., p. 318) as *Baldina fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[11] Augusta (op. cit., p. 31) failed to identify *ngfu*, but described it as a shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[12] Latcham (1929, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 723) mentioned abstinence

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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may 553
receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the 554
family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its 554●
life wrapped in a cradleboard, *kupalur*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 1) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. 562
Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[a] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught 563
to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, women, kept within the rules.[b] Each morning the 564
chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 565

[a] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[b] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unobtrusively in full view of a large number of spectators.

863 side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap,"
[278 or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a house
are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched
a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into
the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly
concerned.

●859 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing
505 in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer
863 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them
warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the
laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupa-
tion. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning
and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for
cleaning the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with
water and soap.*

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken
from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon
thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its
mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails
set at a convenient height.*

855 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numer-
757 ous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close
by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments
as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced
woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional reme-
dies. The term for medicine is *l-awen*, and two of the most
popular items are *pinkel-awen*** ("heart-medicine"), and *lip-
l-awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa,
which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] * Several informants confirmed the use of urine as here given. Those who
do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *bel'a*, identified in Augusta
(1916, I: 104) as Chuquiraga spec.

* Hanson, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no op-
portunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp.
71n–15.

* Augusta (1916, I: 165) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family
Linaceae.

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PLATE II

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FIG. 1. The framework of a *rake* under construction.

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(Rudy Hirsch photograph)

FIG. 2. A baby tied in its cradleboard.

[end plate 2]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [824] 283 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *ayuha* (*bromelia lindbeckii*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very 286 primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale chequen.*
Father's brother, *malpi.*
First cousine male in general, *ulcen pengi.*
" " female, *ulcen lemuen.*
Second cousins, *qpuchi ulcen pengi*, or *qpuchi ulcen lemuen.*
Father's sister, *pale.*
Mother's brother, *kaum.*
Mother's sister, *wichonde.*

Marriage relations.
Wife's father, *peinepinu.*
" mother, *nanen.*
" brother, *wilpion.*
" sister, *epuda.*

The collateral relations took the same names :—
Husband's father, *Kenpu.*
" mother, *Llalla.*
" brother, *epilpengi.*
" sister, *lorua.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations :—

Stepfather, *pelcuchau.*
Stepmother, *epenpe.*
Stepson, *malpi nutem.*
Stepdaughter, *malpi ninahue.*
Wife, *nuve.*
Husband, *ewin (grandi).*
Consort (of either sex), *pinepen.*
Mistress, *wepuen.*
Children in general, *ancpi.*
Natural children, *ruchen.*

● 854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
[168] care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
835 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents.
Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

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SITES ON THE HINTERLAND OF THE ARAUCANIA.

[end plate I]

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TRIBES OF THE STRAITS OF THE ARAFURA SEA.

[end plate 2]

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feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On huga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1928, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

Figure 78.—Mapuche cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were out (Latcham, 1928, p. 300), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [355]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guevara (1908, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1908, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1918, 1:91) lists the verb kuthun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1909, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [345] 842

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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 20 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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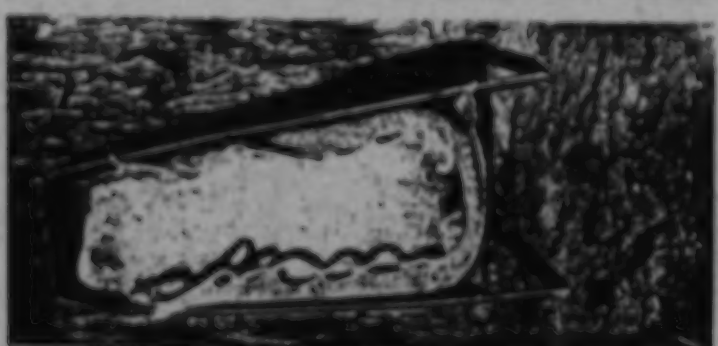

Araucanian cradle (Alegato): 1, Front view. (Native sketched wall of rules.) 2, Back view. 3, Baby strapped to cradle.

[A 12 (B)]

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Lesions of [illegible] children. A, Bilateral [illegible] (Chile). B, Bilateral [illegible] from [illegible] (Chile). C, A boy in Algeria (Algeria)

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[p.12(c)]

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Small children (Alapide): 1, Mother transporting child. (Note thatched wall of ruka in background.) 2, Shoes lacking; this boy had to wear socks to be dressed up. 3, A child and its grandmother.

[p. 120]

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304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUW PUWEKA," DIAPERS

●854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's *poncho*!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but over the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night. §63

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupilwe. When speaking Spanish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is never lent or borrowed. In Alepin area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Pangipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it. §59 [p.24]

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, 1.) Both were of wood. One has a board over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The hood (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of coihue because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

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The hanging cradle was not used in Alaqulu area; in Huron area it was used almost exclusively. Two Alaqulu women examined with interest a hanging one pictured by Cooper (1946, p. 735, fig. 78) and discussed and evaluated it. "This setting [pointing to the backrest] is not what we make; we use a piece of wood for a backrest—two or three, if they are small ones. This is how a Maquoike cradle should look: [One woman drew two parallel lines and connected the upper ends with a line bent down each of the parallel lines.] We are wondering who made this cradle [illustrated in Cooper]; do you know?" Pingipalli informants said the hanging type was easily made. "You take two boards as wide [approximately 2 inches] for side pieces, or if you cannot find boards, chop two small straight limbs off a tree and peel them of bark. Use these for side pieces. Then find some small boards for the backrest, bore holes into the ends of them and also into the poles, and tie them all together with thongs."

Several cradles in use during the present study had parts fastened together with nails; all others, and also most museum specimens, were tied together with leather thongs or cords. Holes for tying had been burnt into the wood with hot irons.

There are no standard measurements for a cradle other than that it should be big enough for a baby. An informant said that the length of the backrest should be the distance indicated between his hands (28 inches) and the width approximately half that distance. The entire length, he thought, should approximate 34 inches "for the cradle must have two feet on which to rest. There must be some distance below the baby's feet. When the baby has outgrown the cradle, the cradle is no longer used. It is generally not used after the baby walks, but I tied my babies to theirs even then, for I knew then where they were—they could not get out my sight."

A cradle is not made ornamentally; no part of it is ornamented; no toys are attached to it. It is padded with either a piece of sheep pelt with wool side toward the baby or a piece of worn-down chamois; both are soft. Lashings are passed through knitted loops attached to the framework of the cradle or through perforations along the edges of the pelt or chamois, in which case the pelt or chamois is securely fastened to the framework. Lashings are woven bands, and only one band is used in lacing a baby to its cradle. In general, one end of the lashing is fastened to the first loop at the head end of the cradle, and it is then passed through a loop at a time, alternating from side to side, until the foot end is reached. Here it is fastened into the last loop, and any unused lashing is tucked under the lacing somewhere. A baby is swaddled before being tied to its cradleboard. If it is to sleep, its arms

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are laid to its sides before it is swaddled. In its waking hours, its arms and hands are free.

The cradleboard serves several purposes, one of which is to insure correct posture as the child grows. Quoting an Alepúe woman: "When a child is in its cradle its legs and arms are straight down. It is because of this that the Mapuche have those straight legs and erect backs; seldom is there one that has bowed or bent legs. Too many Mapuche today want to do away with cradleboards and follow those stupid Chilean customs." A Coñaripe father thought a child was too confined when tied to its cradle: "My three oldest children were each tied to a cradleboard. But when my three youngest children were babies, there were enough older ones to tend to them and carry them around. Anyway, I do not think a child develops well when it does not have its freedom of movement."

A baby in its cradle relieves the mother of its care while she is busy. "A mother who weaves has the baby in its cradle right close to her; the baby watches her weave then." "Whenever a baby cries, it is tied to its cradle and set against the wall. From here it can see other persons, and see what they are doing. Babies seem to like it, for they are quiet then." A baby that gets restless or seems tired will have its arms brought out from under its swaddling bands.

Furthermore, even a young child can be assigned to tending a baby, if the baby is on its cradleboard. The child will play with the baby, talk to it, or rock it, by moving the weight of the cradle alternately from one foot to the other. An 8-year-old boy tended a neighbor's baby in its cradleboard by rocking it and saying "choo" as each foot of the cradle hit the ground. "I do not want the baby to begin crying," he said. A grandmother was seen doing so for mere enjoyment. Occasionally she stopped rocking, and talked to the baby.

A cradleboard provides a place for the baby's daytime naps. If the baby falls asleep in its cradle, the cradle is laid on the floor and the canopy erected over the baby's face. At night the baby sleeps out of its cradle with its mother. "That is the place for a baby at night; certainly not in the cradle!"

Also, the cradleboard provides a means of transporting the baby on its mother's back when she walks a short distance, "like to the neighbors." Most women carry a cradled baby by slipping each arm through a loop, the ends of which are fastened to the cradle; several women carried one suspended from the forehead by means of a band. If long distances have to be traveled, the mother rides horseback and places the cradle in horizontal position on the saddle in front of herself.

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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

533 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies.
854 A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "ah," another was a repetition of "ssi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tss." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lull-
854 aby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow 539
with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, 854
sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not 856
designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, 852
express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and 855
evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

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593 14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

302 Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rana) from calle calle or from rüna (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, rana were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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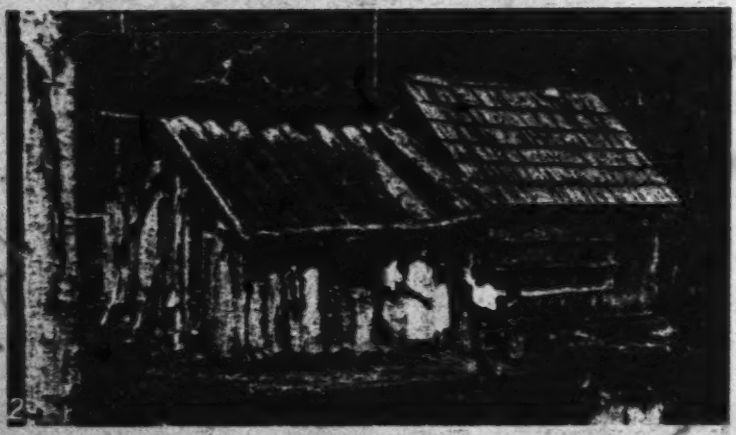

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Pilpil: 1 and 2, A 2-room dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children.

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852 304 implement of silver around." The implement was not sterilized. To keep the piercing open, a bit of gold ore or an earring was inserted; or if these were not at hand a little piece of wood or thread was used.

Persons invited to the ceremony of piercing and naming were usually relatives. Important families also invited caciques, three or four of them. "It was like a fiesta." A generous meal of meat and mudai (fermented drink of masticated cereals) was served, and competitive games, such as palin and awár kuden or awár meyud (cf. pp. 318-319), were played. A dance, known as poruntun (cf. p. 339), was also performed. A similar celebration was held when the namesake of any member of the family came on a visit.

Occasionally, when a baby's ears were pierced, the ceremony known as katawe was performed by one of the grandmothers of the baby. The grandmother lifted a little of the skin on the back of one or both hands of the baby and pierced it crosswise with the claw of a puma, or, if no claw was available, with the point of a small knife or the needlelike silver implement. The implement was passed back and forth a few times, and then urine was injected under the skin through the opening. This was done not only to accustom the child to pain, which it might have to endure in later life, but also to let those present know that the performer had a grandchild that could endure pain. No medicine was applied to the pierced skin.

Following the katawe on the child, it was not unusual for adults to have a katawe performed on themselves. An adult man might ask someone present to lift the skin on the back of his hand so that he might pierce the skin on his own hand in the same manner; or the sister of the child's father might ask to have the skin on the thigh of her right leg or her ankle pierced; or the mother of the child, the skin above her left breast. "This is still done today." It is done for several reasons: to avert suffering for the child in later life; to express sympathy to the child in advance for pain it may have to endure; and to indicate the desire of these adults to participate in any pain that the child may have to endure. Following the katawe the child is lifted on a horse and ridden around the place.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS, BABY'S FIRST CLOTHING

854 [824] To prevent chafing in the baby's groins and armpits, the sap of leaves of maqui or corecore was applied. It was obtained by rubbing the leaves between the palms of the hands until both palms were well covered. If chafing had already set in, the woman squeezed out the juice with one hand directly onto the chafed area. Grease of puma or other animals was not used. Today talcum powder is used.

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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwirled yarn; twirled yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused. 854 291

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare buttocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then." 863

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent colihüe peeled of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of colihüe bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end. 854

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split colihüe stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two unsplit colihüe stalks (pl. 74, 1, 2). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupan noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the [283]

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miniature sample shown in plate 74; he had looked for a dead horse while making the cradle, hoping to use its tendon for tying, but found none. Pictures of cradleboards used by Chilean Araucanians (cf. pls. 2, 3) interested informants; however, not even the oldest informants had seen any like them.

Cradles were sometimes painted red, green, or white with the same soil used in painting pottery or the inside of toldos. "Green was the prettiest color, but it was difficult to get; we had to get it from a faraway place."

The child was swaddled, as previously described, when about to be tied to its cradleboard. It was then laid on the backrest of the cradle and held in position by lashings of hide or homewoven bands. If the baby was to be transported, lashings were passed crisscross over its body and through loops in foal hide that had been securely fastened on the sides of the cradle. The loops were about a hand stretch apart. If the baby was merely to be set up in its cradle to be with its family, lashings were fastened rather loosely, often only at corners diagonally across from each other.

A child was transported on horseback in its cradle by its mother. If the mother had no other things to transport, she usually laid the cradle in front of her, especially if the child was still very small; if she had other things to transport, she placed these in front of her and fastened the cradle securely to her back from right shoulder toward left hip, letting the lower end of the side rest on the horse's back. In this position the foot ends of the cradle did not poke the horse, nor was the child jolted by having the foot ends touch the horse's back or the saddle, as the horse galloped along. Fastening was done by means of a homewoven band. Women preferred the cradle with the solid colihue backrest for transporting the baby, since the baby could be fastened more tightly to it than to the backrest of netting.

A mother wishing to tie the cradle to her back, stooped, let someone place the cradle on her back, and then fastened it to herself with the band that had been previously tied to the back of the cradle and to its foot ends. The section of the band attached to the right side of the cradle she brought across her left shoulder, across her chest, and under her right arm, holding it there, while she brought the other section of the band over the right shoulder, across the chest, and under the left arm. Then she crossed the two at the back, at the waistline, and brought them to the front where she tied them in a secure knot at her waistline. "A woman with her baby thus fastened to her back could gallop so fast that she hardly knew where her head stood, but the baby was always in its place."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child. 854

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle. [857]

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another 854 533

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by 533 hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then [856] another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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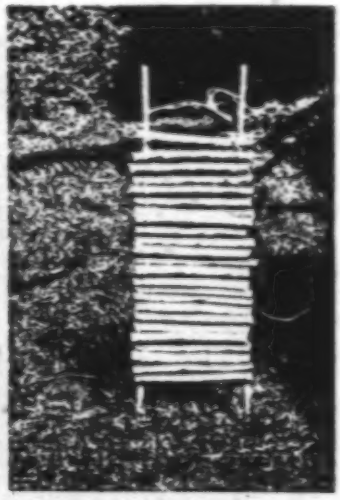

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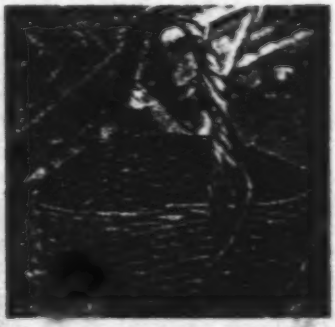

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1 and 2, Miniature sample cradleboard made by Kolupan. 1, Side to which child is tied (Pilpil). 3, Rhea in captivity under the protection of Parque Nacional de Lanín (Lago Lacar). 4, A basket (külko) used as a sieve and for carrying and storage (Trumpul). 5, A toki. 6, An implement made of pumice, formerly used in tanning hides. (5 and 6, courtesy of Bertha Ilg-Koessler, San Martín de los Andes.)

[p. 364(B)]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization. 595

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir. [853] [846]

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care — again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment. 595 854 [601]

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- 595 [167] [589] [768]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap,"
[278 or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka*
386] are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing
515 in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer
863 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

●855 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numer-
757 ous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who
[824] do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *mūriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.) 846 [351]

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description). 854

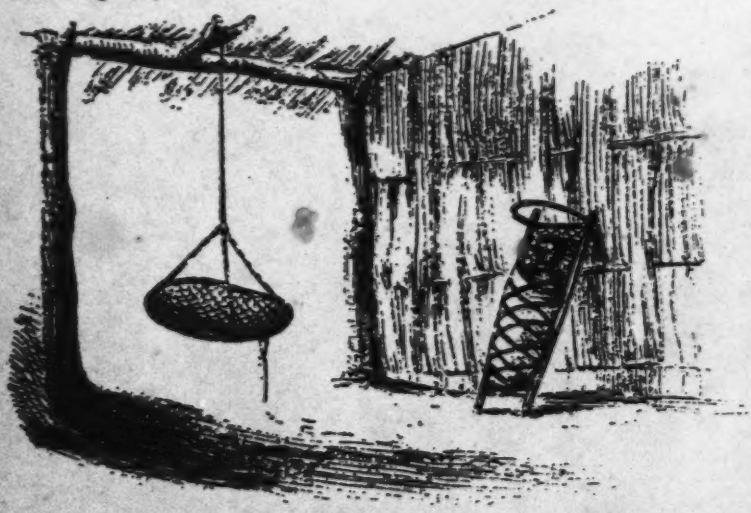

FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713). 846 [855]

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent 847 [845] 842

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow 539
with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, 854
sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not 856
designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, 852
express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and 855
evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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855 Cofaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋaillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

[561]

862 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

857 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that." 845 732

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733). [847]

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health. 757 855

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known. 732 845

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less 755 than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 143

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 594

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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593 of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and pro-
[355] vided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother–sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

515 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, 2). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 481 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Oh!, someone whom no one ever saw 754

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865]
grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595]
nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [521] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

● 856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who [824] do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

Until the fontanels have closed, the baby's head must be protected from the wind, which, it is believed, will blow through the fontanels and give the baby difficulty in breathing. Formerly the soft moss found between stocks of old quila was put around the baby's head in caplike fashion. "That moss was soft and dense. A mother collected it and had it on hand when her baby was born. It is difficult today to find any of it—forest fires have destroyed all the old quila. Anyway, today the baby's head is covered with an infant's cap." 846

The child's physical and mental development is associated with the closing of the fontanels. If they have not closed by the time the child walks, parents fear that the child will be weakminded, that it will have difficulty in walking, or may not learn to walk at all. [854]

According to an educated Araucanian, the true Araucanian face is round; one not round is always a mestizo, he insisted—a statement to which not all Araucanians would subscribe. A round face, however, is considered a beautiful one by an Araucanian mother. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas a mother massages her baby's face to round it whenever she gives it care or nurses or fondles it. An informant showed the manner in which this was done. She moved the fingertips of both hands simultaneously from jaw to front of ears; then from bridge of nose along cheek bones; next from middle of forehead toward temples; and then downward along the ridge of the nose. "But the mother must do it tenderly, for the bones of the baby's head are very soft," she added. When the baby sleeps, the mother will push its cheeks upward with her fingertips and tie little boards over the cheeks to keep them in this position. When asked if the face of a boy, too, was so treated to beautify it, she retorted, "Most certainly it was; more so than a girl's. It is the boys who as men will be the progenitors of the human race."

The mother also shapes the head bones of her baby with her hands; in some instances she ties little boards to its head to round it. She will train its back to be straight by tying it to its cradleboard, but in doing so will allow freedom of movement for its head. However, if the head bulges in the occipital region, she will tie a little board there while the baby is asleep. "That is why the Mapuche have nicely formed heads. The heads of Chileans often bulge in the back." [304]

In all probability it is correct to speak of an "Araucanian nose"—that is, a nose shaped to resemble the beak of the bandurria. The bandurria's beak is long and ends in a graceful dip. Quoting a Coñaripe mother: "The mother often pulls the baby's nose downward [142]

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a horn of gold. Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby sleep. Already the cow 539
with the silver tail is coming. Sleep, baby, sleep." (2) "Sleep, baby, 834
sleep, with the little shoes, through St. John of God. Look! There comes the cow with the silvery horn. Sleep, baby, sleep. There comes the bull with his golden star. Sleep, baby, sleep." (3) "Sleep, sleep, baby. See, I have work to do. My little machine calls me with its triqui traca. Be quiet, be quiet, baby, sleep. Sleep, to please God. See I have work to do." (4) "Sleep, baby. I have much to do: I must wash your diapers and sit down to sew."

TEETHING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING, LAUGHING

The appearance of a child's first tooth is taken notice of but does not 856 ●
designate a specific period of physical development. Parents, however, 852
express satisfaction because their child is developing normally, and may say, "That child is growing up right." Rarely does the family give it any further attention, or consider it an event. In Coñaripe area an occasional family slaughters a sheep and invites neighbors that are friends, or "if the mother has relatives, like a brother or an aunt or an uncle in the neighborhood, she will invite them to come to eat, saying, 'My child has its first tooth.'" In Alepúe area anyone happening to be in a ruka when it is noticed that a child has its first tooth will be treated to yerba maté.

The mother washes the gums of a teething child, morning and 855
evening, with a wad of wool soaked in a decoction of limpia plata to which alum is added, or salt, if no alum is at hand. The child is not given a hard substance on which to bite.

In Coñaripe it is customary to put the first deciduous tooth dropped by a child into safekeeping and to add others as they drop out. When all have fallen out, they are buried in the floor of the ruka, "such as in a corner or close to one of those poles [supporting the roof] where no one walks. These teeth are a part of the human being and contain part of his spirit. They are buried in this manner so that when the person dies, his spirit will not need to go around looking for the rest of himself. No, they are not put into a container or piece of cloth; they are buried just the way they are." In Alepúe area the child throws each tooth as it falls out into a chupón. "No animal will attempt to get in there because the blades of the plant have sharp points." The child will say in Araucanian, as it throws a tooth, "Little mouse, little mouse, give me a new tooth; a nicer one than this old one."

If the first deciduous tooth has fallen out and the others are slow in doing so, the mother rubs a preparation along the child's gums. In

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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855 Coñaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

●856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [561] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋəillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

868 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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FONTANELS, HEAD SHAPING, BEAUTIFYING THE FACE

856 827 The closing of the fontanels is considered a normal development, but it was noted that those of a healthy child close earlier than do those of a sickly one. They are expected to have closed by the time the child begins to walk. The mother takes notice whether the fontanels are closing, but no one looks upon it as an event worth celebrating.

304 My informants knew of no custom of skull formation; the face, however, was molded, at times. Araucanians were not able to identify adults' skulls (flattened in the inion region and in the temporal regions, back of the ears) in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín, which were found in interments in the Araucanian country. A 70-year-old man examined the skulls and remarked, "If our people ever did anything to flatten the head, I never heard them tell about it. Nor did [184] we ever tie boards to the baby's face, as you say some Mapuche in Chile do."

In all probability, however, it was institutional to mold the child's face so that the nose conformed to one recognized as an Araucanian nose, and one that was thought to beautify the face. Such a nose, not unlike a Roman nose with its tip dipping downward, was seen on many older men and women. (Pl. 60.) Since younger persons seldom possessed such a nose, one is led to believe the custom no longer prevails. A 60-year-old woman was not interested in the custom. Her father had told her that formerly every child's nose was stroked so as to bring the nose forward and that its chin and cheeks were formed also. "But I do not believe in it. The way one is born, that is the way one is expected to be." According to a man in his seventies, only an occasional child had its face molded: "If one of our children has a face so fat that its nose does not show up very well, its mother will stroke its cheeks backward like this [stroking with palms of both hands, simultaneously, toward ears]. We do not want our people to have ugly faces. I am glad to hear that some of those Mapuche in Chile are doing something to the faces of their children to do away with those flattened noses that some of them have when they grow up. Some have ugly faces. We call such faces chap dəyüu [flat-nosed];[6] the Argentines call them chatos."

[6] All Araucanian words were checked against Félix José de Augusta's Diccionario (1916), if found there. Before using the Diccionario for the pronunciation of words, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A, Phonetic key to the Araucanian language.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by 533 hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then [856] another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young. [865]

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations. [595]

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself. [861]

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched 462
by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not 512
unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by 461
the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. 512
In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a 857
man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless 461
and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apa- [181]
thetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually foresake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fields or are away from home much of the time. For the most 857
part, however, children under six or seven years spend their waking hours at play. Little boys run races, wrestle and pull one another's hair, pretend to plow, and walk about carrying miniature hockey sticks with which they strike at a ball or at any small stone or object along the path. Girls prefer to play with dolls fashioned of cane or bamboo into human shape, *puñeñkantu*. They take care of them as if they were babies, dressing and undressing them, and occasionally pretending to hold curing rites over them because they are supposed to be ill.

CHILDHOOD

Before they have reached the seventh birthday youngsters 868
begin to pass out of the carefree stage of infancy, and to learn 857
the tasks that are appropriate to their sex. Sometimes they receive spoken instructions from their elders, but more often they learn from observation and imitation. Adults make it a point to take them along when they leave the house, and to converse with them while they are at work. In this way children are made ready to undertake their first serious chores, which usually consist of herding and caring for sheep. Boys or girls generally serve as shepherds between the ages of six or seven and twelve. They take their flocks out to graze in the morning, and if they expect to remain away until late in the day they may take some bread or parched wheat, plain or sweetened with honey. At some time in the afternoon the herders drive their flocks into a corral or a field near home, and go into the house for the midday meal.

The children have various ways of amusing themselves in 857
order not to be lonesome while they are herding. Most often they sing aloud the songs they have learned from their elders, and occasionally they shout something for other shepherds in the neighborhood to hear. They do not try to carry on actual conversations at long distance, but they get a sense of companionship simply from hearing one another's voices when they are out of sight. This is especially true on misty days, when each little shepherd feels cut off from the rest of the world.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

857 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a stout piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 868 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 857 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE I

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (lliqne, lūqn, lūq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

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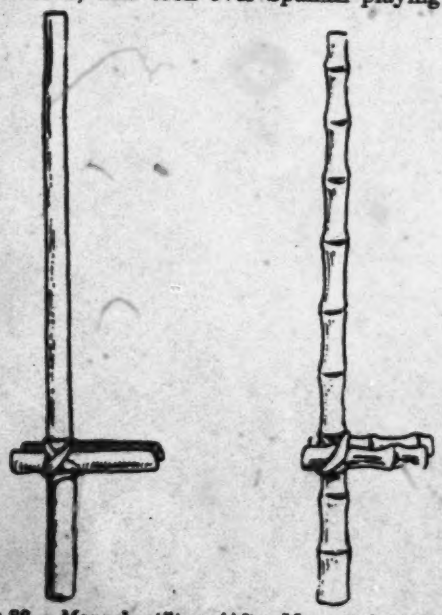

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thenticahue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:230), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.) 857 524

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.). 276

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated. 273

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Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

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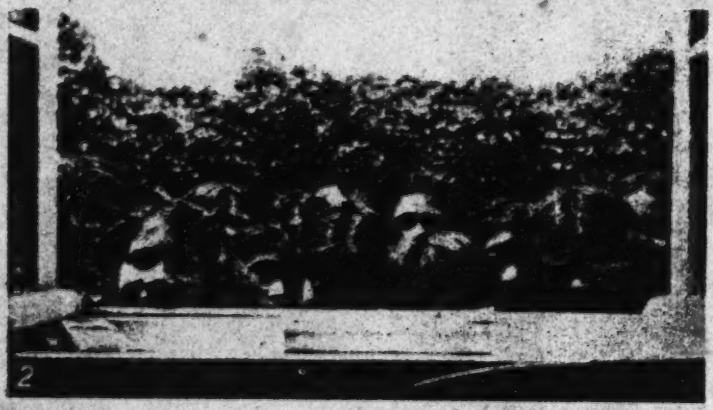

Young children and older ones: 1, Girls hold their play cart in position while their little brother mends it. (Coñaripe.) 2, Schoolgirls interested in the first typewriter they have ever seen. Each is waiting to have her name typed by the writer. (Alepúe.) 3, Schoolgirls lounging in the schoolyard during the lunch hour. (Alepúe.)

[p.28(0)]

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Alepúe schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[p. 28(E)]

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857 Games on school grounds were generally played together by children
512 of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

857 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver neckpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

151 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepúe, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Corral, and Puerta Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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857 576 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñë ñi penen" or "Kimñë pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche ŋen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

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Alepúe boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

[412]

[p. 76(A)]

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Making a top (continued): 1, Hammering a shingle nail into the tip of the top. 2, Filing away the head of the nail and giving the nail a dull point. 3, Twisting a cord to be used in spinning the top. (See plate 16 also for twisting of cord.)

[p. 76(B)]

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Spinning the top: 1, Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2, Spinning the top. 3, The boy has slid his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

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[p. 76(c)]

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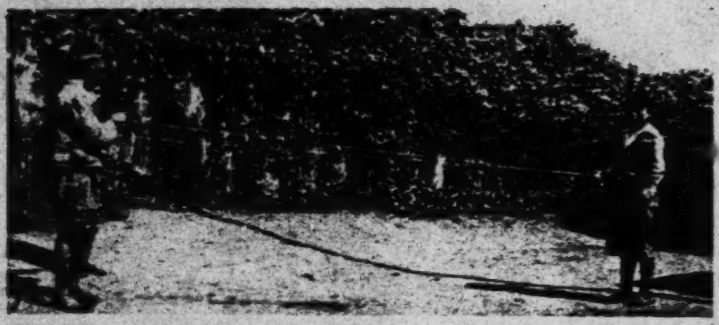

[417]

Tops (Alepúe): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3, Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(D)]

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Performing the dances of adults (Alegre): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the waltz. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the choike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their backfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

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Alepúe boy making a futhal of cochayuyo: 1, This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cochayuyo, an alga. 2, Dampening the cochayuyo with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3, The beginning of the ball. 4, The ball being built up by slipping the strand of cochayuyo under and through the tightened loops of the ball.

[p. 76(F)]

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Making a futbal (continued): 1, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the cochayuyo through a loop. 2, Chewing an end of a second strand of the cochayuyo to soften it, thus facilitating its use. 3, The completed futbal. 4, "Bueno! It bounces."

[p. 76(G)]

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GAMES

During recesses at school and at fiestas children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call cholo (mixed-blood). The "it" tags a child and calls "cholo." Then the cholo is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged. 524

Girls 14 to 16 years of age tossed from one to the other (anticlockwise) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several knots had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 16, *2* and *3*). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 12-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 13-15). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 2¾-inch cube of luma in line with the grain. "I like luma best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he filed it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed these down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (anticlockwise) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Bueno! Bueno!" all boys, nonparticipant observers in the making of the top, called out. Smaller boys had watched intently every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 16, *1*). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord taut between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twirl itself. Cords released when flour sacks are ripped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "But do not use flocha, if you use any; it is too coarse and rough." 524 857

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Often boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Seven boys competed one day; the winning top spun 50 seconds.

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opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (Ilique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; 524
only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with 857
sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, 1).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (runrun) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 524 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hstch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

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824 857 hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, zorzal, tordo, diuca, pitiu, and the tregle. The children knew that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The tregle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the tregle announces his coming. Those that hear the tregle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The tregle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The tregle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him trequell."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The zorzal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him willki." "The pitiu sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only once. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls karew, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The choroy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it raki—has a metallic cry; its cry is called traktrakün.

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING, SHOOTING

526 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 729).

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently 177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus letifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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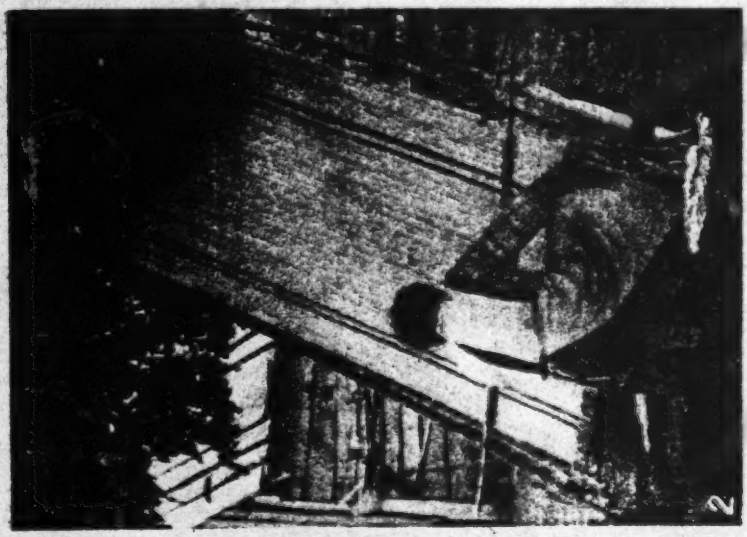

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Spinning and weaving: 1, Eight-year-old Alepúe girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. 2, A young Coñaripe woman weaving a blanket.

[p. 220(F)]

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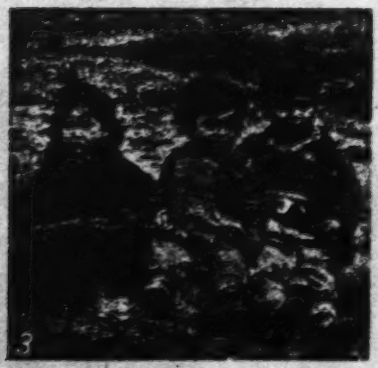

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Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilpil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilpil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilpil.)

[p. 268(C)]

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A dwelling, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-plastered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is admitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Malleo.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eyelids.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

[p.268(D)]

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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child. 854

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle. [857]

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another 854 533

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to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, *2*) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

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857 524 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, *3*). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, *5*). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 231 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *z*). 857 231

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today. 526 401 761 855

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth. 751

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw, 754

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Huemul were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then lassoed. 224

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a noose as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by feed, such as grass seeds. The hunter nearby pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs. [857]

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the meat of the small ones best."

Fish native to Andean lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (remü or kauke); the peladilla (peliolo or peloilla), a scaleless fish; the trucha criolla or perca (lipaŋ); the cauque (malche); and the puyen (upesh). 226

In the first decade of the 1900's, Andean lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moreno, 1945, pp. 121-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marron or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants accused the salmon of exterminating the native pejerrey and peladilla from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Perca and cauque were speared from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long colihüe pole pronged at the smaller end in fanlike fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed colihüe stalks (informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today 226
fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the [857]
Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief 262
among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the 252
heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (anim [251]
ilo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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Mapuche

855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings [521] of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses [152] her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 594 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult 868 857 233 [885]

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 859 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous
relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu- [884]
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [882]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 883
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [857]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages
accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[135] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[182] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of
[169] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[928] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores – in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[893] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 ***Arumko*** **and** ***shompalwe*** **are** considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The ***shompalwe*** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [763] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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[858] [553]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed 855
in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped 757
in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it [766]
is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and [855]
indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only 861
if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes 867
punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Inciden- [578
tally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick 595]
in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert 867
their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") [776]
would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchi-mallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by 861
the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21] 293

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

●861 293 Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood and worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufü*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by sanctioned clowns. It used to be customary for each household to have a *koloñ* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people still possess masks.

861 A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unexpectedly troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of intensity. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *koloñ* had departed. If this treatment failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

867 Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he hears many folk tales that convey moral lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.[22] Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded masculine accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and womenfolk, since men work in the fields or are away from home much of the time.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 267; and Titiev, 1949, p. 4.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

●861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan
762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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be photographed and burst into sobs. Her father ordered her to face the camera; she refused to do so and continued to cut grain, sobbing. I suggested that a picture be taken another day, but the father would not hear of it. He spoke kindly and in quiet tones to the girl—he seemed to be explaining things to her. When she again refused, and now wept out loud, he walked briskly toward her, loosened a strap which he had tied about his waist and threatened to whip her. She then moved toward him, but continued to cry. Both got into a position of cutting grain and the picture was taken. The father continued to talk to the little girl in a more kindly tone but definitely one of correction. The following day the mother ordered the same little girl to fetch berets for the younger sister and brother. She did so, but threw them at her little brother and sister, instead of handing them. The father corrected her for this and then remarked to the writer, "That girl has been badly brought up. Her mother and I have talked it over. We do not like to whip her. We shall have to continue talking to her and threatening her. She is simply different from our other children." 828

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

As indicated above, children were taught the mores of the people largely by direct verbal instructions or by listening in. Often instructions were abstract; concrete examples were used when the occasion called for them: a cattle thief who was recently imprisoned was held up as an example of what not to do. Occupations and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders. 861

One unfailing antecedent to all teaching was, and is today, to order the child to give its undivided attention and concentrate on what it was being taught. The parent, or other instructor, made certain that the child had understood this, and did not begin to teach until the child was ready. This intense concentration holds for adults, as well: "When Mapuches really want to learn something, they concentrate upon it intently, and look at it all the while that they are learning it. And then when they have learned it, they will really know it." Having to repeat information is, consequently, resented. Informants, it was found, invariably did so with hesitation and annoyance (cf. p. 66). A non-Araucanian teacher said, "It is difficult to get a Mapuche pupil to recite a lesson that requires repetition, such as history or the multiplication tables. The answer always is, 'I have it inside of me; that is enough. If you would like to know it, you can read it in the book.' They are quite willing to write the material, however, and will do well when doing so."

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861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the ñillatun and the machitun on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Stem ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

863 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious mien, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

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children too, and you must rear them. If you will train your children as I trained you, you will have no trouble with them.' The mother tells her all this." 868

Older boys and girls everywhere taught younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and compulsions used are very simple—indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is distracted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "hstch" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a 2-year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "hstches." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his 10-year-old sister, but slapped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing close by were repeatedly subdued by a "hstch" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "hstches" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice; always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice. 861

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Alepúe schoolchildren had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for reminding him of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were 10 pesos for tending a horse;

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861 14 pesos for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for tending little turkeys; 2 pesos, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pesos for weeding the potatoes; 5 firecrackers as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for weeding the garden well; chocolates from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for tending little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a pup for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for tending little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for tending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is coerced, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by corrections in stern tones, by scolding in angry ones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She isolated him in a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 14-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, on occasions: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the ruka and forbade them to eat anything until the next cooking."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by instructions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should [863] do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for soiling themselves after toilet habits had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one

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else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience. 861

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu- 871

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come and say that he saw a bird larger than a condor. But I know the birds around here are no larger than a condor. And so I say nothing. Soon he stops boasting to me. Should a child come to me, however, and lie about something important, I will whip such a child with a rope." 865

A jealous child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have is yours, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have is theirs and theirs has nothing to do with you."

QUARRELING, TALE BEARING, DISOBEDIENCE

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to; if they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents; just as often no one paid any attention to them. "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel thus ended.

Tale bearers were listened to, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was corrected, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children; formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, men obeyed when they were 30; today some do not obey when they are only 19," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen men 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed." 861

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 85-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the oxen his father needed; he had played instead. "That was one time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

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861 aunt arrive, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reason for not getting his aunt, the father tied a lasso about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the lasso. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disobeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the kutákonn on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

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868 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 961

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (wiñka) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 971

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and grwgows might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the above-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Rahue Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[578] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages
[735] accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[782] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of
[769] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[828] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[893] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865]
grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595]
nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

A 622 554

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may 553
receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the 431
family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its 854
life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. 862
Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught 863
to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the [278
chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out- 386]

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man passed to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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853 I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and boil decoctions for it."

A child is always nursed until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom nursed when older than two years. (Pl. 3, *2*.) It is nursed tied in its cradleboard, resting in its mother's arm, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then tied to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still strapped to the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 20-month-old boy became bothersome. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a fresh cow. "We put this in a bottle with a [197] nipple. One can buy these in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."

862 The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods, "the same foods that everyone else eats. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, catuto (made of cooked wheat), new potatoes, and later meat. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child still has mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother does not use a repellent, such as a peppery or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's source, the child was weaned when all its teeth were cut, or a year after its birth; or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (1946, p. 733).

Only an occasional child sucks its finger. Two instances came to the writer's notice: one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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853 strong constitution. An instance was related in which one of twin girls refused to nurse from its mother, and so the mother's sister, who was nursing a child at the time, nursed it for a month; after this the baby was taken back to its home and fed cow's milk, "but it never seemed to fit into its home and so later the grandmother took it to her home and reared it." A nursing mother was given no herbal decoction to increase the milk flow, but she ate much nourishing food, such as chicken and mutton. She avoided beef, since that was thought to make her sick.

A child was nursed whenever it became restless, whimpered, or indicated that it was hungry. During one 2-hour interview, a 1½-year-old child nursed about every 10 minutes. It did so standing at the side of its mother (my informant) who was seated on the ground, resting in its mother's arms, or squatting in her lap. Successive nursings were from different breasts. In general, a child was probably not nursed after it was two years old. "Nursing a baby longer than two years makes it mean," said a 60-year-old woman.

One informant, now 60 years old, made certain, when she had a nursing child, that there was no snake in the place. "We believe that [825] if there is a snake around it will come at night to where a mother will be nursing her child. Should the mother inadvertently fall asleep, the snake will push the baby from the breast, put its tail into the baby's mouth, and itself suck the milk from the mother."

When the child is capable of holding something, usually when 3 or 4 months old, it is given a piece of meat—raw, cooked, broiled, or roasted—from which to suck the essence. If adults were having apoll (sheep lung filled with chili, salt, and coagulated blood; p. 363), the child was given a piece of it to suck. Today a 4-month-old child is given cow's milk thinned with water, and thin soups. I saw a young mother give her child of that age cow's milk in which she had cooked oatmeal bought at a store.

When a mother knew that the child could swallow foods thicker than soup, probably when 6 months old, she masticated meat for it. "This is still done today. I saw a mother recently chew araucaria nuts and give them to her child." The child's first solid food—a favorite—was cooked meat of rhea. It was also given mutton, lamb, and fowl, but never beef, which was thought to make the child sick. As soon as a child has its teeth, it is expected to eat all foods eaten by adults.

862 Children were generally weaned between the ages of one and two years. Some mothers weaned a child gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk; some did it abruptly. "I usually

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

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Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[18] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[19] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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863 [278 386] side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka* are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 515 863 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 757 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[824] [18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kül·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. 863 A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupülwe. When speaking Span- 854 ish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is [126] never lent or borrowed. In Alepúe area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Panguipulli area the mother makes it if the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it.

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, 1.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tiaca. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of colihüe because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

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861 14 pesos for going on a trip with an uncle; a turkey hen, by a mother, for tending little turkeys; 2 pesos, by a brother, for helping to find a horse; 5 pesos for weeding the potatoes; 5 firecrackers as a prize for climbing to the top of a flagpole. Rewards received by girls were candy from a brother for weeding the garden well; chocolates from a father for helping him weed the garden; a hen from a mother for tending little turkeys; a turkey gobbler, a chicken, and a pup for helping a mother; a turkey gobbler from a mother for tending little turkeys; and a chicken from an aunt for tending her chickens.

In general a child that has reached the age of complete comprehension, today as formerly, is coerced, when necessary, to conform to behavior standards. Both parents do so by corrections in stern tones, by scolding in angry ones, by deprivations, by slapping the child's hands, and by spankings or whippings. A mother deprived her 8-year-old son of his freedom because he fought with a boy in the neighborhood. She isolated him in a room for a week; not even for his meals was he allowed to leave it. Since the mother would not relent, the teacher sent his reader to him. By the time his mother released him, he was not only able to read all of the book, but also a newspaper that he had found in the room. "When he returned to school," said his teacher, "he was able to read well, something that he was not able to learn in school in two years." A father deprived a 14-year-old girl of a trip as a punishment: "Because I told a lie, I had to stay home when the others went to Villarrica." A 60-year-old father had deprived his children, when they were young, of a meal, on occasions: "Sometimes, when we sat down to eat, some of them complained about the food. My wife would beg them to eat. But I would order them to leave the ruka and forbade them to eat anything until the next cooking."

Regarding corporal punishment, all mothers agreed that a child not yet able to walk should not be slapped or spanked; most of them thought such corrections useless before the child had the ability to comprehend. One mother thought that anything that could be accomplished by slappings and spankings could be accomplished by instructions or scoldings, but her husband believed that even a 2-year-old child was helped by being slapped, but that always the mother should [863] do the slapping—never a man. Small children had been slapped by mothers for soiling themselves after toilet habits had been established, for playing in mud, and for refusing to be dressed.

In general, parents objected to anyone but themselves slapping or spanking their child. A mother told a non-Araucanian who had slapped her son that the boy had a father and therefore needed no one

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Diapers consisted either of a piece of homewoven cloth or of untanned skin of a very young guanaco or lamb, with wool closely clipped. The skin was rubbed to softness first with a stone (pl. 74, 6) kept for the purpose of softening hides of any kind, and then between the hands. When in use, the wool side was toward the child. If the diapers were of homewoven cloth, the mother had either woven proper-sized ones or she had cut off pieces from worn-down homewoven clothing or bed coverings. Specially made ones were woven of single-spun untwisted yarn; twisted yarn would have made the cloth hard. Diapers were approximately 18 inches square and were worn in skirtlike fashion, overlapping in front. An expectant mother prepared several diapers. Soiled ones were washed in water with leaves of chacay and reused. 854 291

The baby's first clothing was its diaper and a wraparound. If the diaper was of cloth, a soft, closely clipped skin of young guanaco or lamb was wrapped over it; if a young guanaco or lamb skin served as a diaper—which it might in very cold weather—the mother wrapped a piece of woven cloth about the skin. All was held in position by binding around the baby a woven band, generally a yard long and 4 inches wide.

By the time a child is able to speak it is expected to tell its toilet needs. "When they are able to use words they ought to be able to tell about that, too. I slapped their bare bottocks whenever they wet or soiled themselves; they soon learned to tell it then." 463

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Cradleboards were of two types, both approximately 18 inches wide and 30 inches high. One type—the one described by the oldest informants—consisted of an inverted U-shaped frame made either of a bent cullidie period of bark, or of a braid of willows. The sides of the U were held in position by the backrest to which they were fastened. The backrest was a netting of either strips of colt hide or rope of cullidie bark, or of sheep pelt. It ended approximately 6 inches from the foot end—the bend of the U was the head end. 854

The second type, used occasionally today, was rectangularly shaped and consisted of a backrest made of peeled split cullidie stalks. The stalks were placed alongside each other, either horizontally or vertically, and tied near the ends to two unsplit cullidie stalks (pl. 74, 1, 2). Tyings on both types of cradles were done with strands of tendon found along the spinal column of the horse—"this is exceedingly strong," Kolupan noted. He apologized for using twine in tying the [283]

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considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

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grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595]
nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

kal·en). Abortions are rarely sought, however, even among unmarried women, and are ordinarily performed only in conjunction with an act of witchcraft known as *kufun*, the aim of which is to render a worthless lover impotent or sterile. 847 [754]

I was told of no current pregnancy tabus, but Cooper stated: "It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut";[6] and Guevara said that pregnant women were not allowed to visit the sick, watch hockey games or races, or partake of certain foods lest they bear twins.[8] All sources agree that intercourse is not forbidden during the period of gestation. 843

If a mother of small youngsters finds herself with child, she is likely to prepare them for the coming event by saying that a bird appeared to her in a dream and promised to send the family a new baby for a playmate. She then asks the children to be good to the infant when it arrives. Conventionally, Araucanian children are supposed to be ignorant of the circumstances pertaining to childbirth, and they are not permitted to be present when a birth takes place. 864

PARTURITION

Unlike the custom of earlier days,[7] a contemporary mother is expected to bear her children within her own *ruka*, and some of the more sophisticated women even go to maternity hospitals in the cities. The process of childbearing is called *cheyüin*. On the reservations when the time for delivery draws near, a section of the house is set apart, and no one may come there except those who are assigned to help the patient. Young children are particularly forbidden to approach or touch their mothers, and it is the common practice for all housemates who are not assisting with the case to absent themselves as soon as labor begins. 844

A parturient woman is usually attended by a midwife or a

[6] Cooper, 1946, p. 732.

[8] Guevara, 1911, p. 185.

[7] There is a sharp contrast between the childbirth customs reported by informants in 1948 and the harsh picture drawn in Latcham, 1929, pp. 259-60.

THE LIFE CYCLE. II. ADOLESCENCE TO DEATH

PREMARITAL SEX CUSTOMS[1]

When a youth achieves adulthood, he is given much advice by older men. He is cautioned not to overindulge in sexual activity, but he is by no means urged to remain celibate until married. Young women, similarly, are taught not to offer themselves too freely, but they are not told to cherish virginity, except in the case of Christian families. Masturbation is said to be indulged in by boys, but, although some informants felt that the practice is increasing, all agreed that it is not widespread. Homosexuality is reported to be moderately common among young girls in the Spring. According to a typical native opinion expressed during a discussion, these habits indicate that such youngsters are ready to be married. Bestiality, pederasty, and sodomism are not infrequently mentioned in the literature, particularly in conjunction with shamanism,[2] but little was said or known about these practices at present. One informant did volunteer the statement that sodomy with ewes was becoming fairly common, and he attributed its origin to the Argentine, where, he claimed, the act was performed with female llamas. On the whole sodomy is considered dangerous and likely to cause disease, but bachelors observed in the act are simply advised to get married.

A girl with a high mound of Venus is considered particularly attractive. It is conventional for men to seek out and choose as mistresses or wives such girls as they find desirable, but women are not supposed to take the initiative in selecting lovers. When a man finds an opportunity for intercourse he acts promptly. There is no anticipatory fondling or "petting" and not much time is devoted to preliminaries.[3] Consummation

[1] This section comprises material obtained from several informants, of whom the principal one was J. M. Collio.

[2] Latcham, 1924, p. 629-30.

[3] One old-time polygynist, who had observed the conventional patience and deference of Euro-American males, expressed wonder that they ever succeeded in gaining possession of a woman.

19: Hilger K-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

puberty: a prepubertty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed as "young man" (wuiñe wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (ñlche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (ñuña pura). Only an occasional mother instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of calaculín, chodoki, and pacra ephedra; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of huelín seeds [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that man's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 9-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his sister and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over male adult sick persons. Five had attended one in April.

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night, their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
579 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most
513 houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the latun lawlli and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The latun lawlli, resembling the latunwe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a machipe if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the latunwe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (pishom or fishom, cernícalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the latun lawlli was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the latun lawlli was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy pendulement girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

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also wore stickpins and hair ornaments. Men often decorated with silver ornaments the handles of long knives, their saddles, stirrups, and bridles. 301

The only silver ornaments I saw were rings. Old informants said that all silver things were confiscated by the Argentine army when it overran the Araucanian lands. A man in his eighties noted that many families owned a boxful of silver things then; "boxes in those days were so long and so high [3 by 2½ by 2½ feet], and were made of hide. It got to the point that whenever word was passed that the soldiers were again on their way to chase us to another place, every family put all its silver things into an olla and buried it; the empty boxes they left behind. Each man marked the buried place of his family's olla in his own way. Every man could have found his own again, but so many of our men were killed, or died before we got back, that some ollas were never again found; much silver was lost. I have heard people say that occasionally someone would see a streak of light, like lightning, shoot up from a place in the earth and then drop again. Those who saw this went to that place and found buried there an olla with silver things. They kept what they found. But I think that was stealing."

Young Argentine men today tell of spending Sunday afternoons and other leisure time looking for burial deposits of silver or digging for silver things in old graves. They speak of these places as chenke (Tehuelche word for burials). Because of a recent superstitious belief that disturbing an old burial will bring death to the one doing so within two years (something which happened to a man who robbed a grave between San Martín de los Andes and Bariloche after Araucanians had foretold his death), fewer graves are being disturbed. In 1952 canal diggers on an estancia came upon graves that contained silver ornaments. They looked at the ornaments but refrained from handling them, shoveled them back into the graves, covered them with dirt, and diverted the canal.

MODESTY, COURTESY, HELPFULNESS, HOSPITALITY

Modesty in women was highly respected and was taught to girls by their mothers. Prostitutes were punished to the extent of being hanged. 864 684

An atmosphere of courtesy prevailed everywhere during the present study; it was especially noticeable where old persons were in control. On one occasion an informant, with much concern, suggested to my field assistant that she move into the shade, "for the sun in the moun- 576

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 857 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

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Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the 864 sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-[231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de-[831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [181]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Bragging and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Alegría schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Maripoina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

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TEASING, QUARRELING, USING "BAD WORDS," TEMPER TANTRUMS

Teasing is a chief amusement of children: boys tease boys, girls tease girls, sisters tease sisters, and brothers tease brothers. Teasing is done about the ruka and during play hours at school. In a ruka, a 13-year-old girl teased her 11-year-old sister by pretending to strangle the sister's pullet. The younger sister objected and told her to drop the chicken. The mother finally gave the older girl a look, and the girl released the chicken. During noon recess several little girls ran back and forth past a group of older girls squatted in the shade of trees and at every passing each little girl pulled the hair of an older girl. Each older girl snatched at the hand of the little girl, and when successful slapped it.

Teasing not infrequently leads to quarreling, accompanied by hitting back and forth, sometimes with angry words. School boys said their quarrels usually began during games, such as playing ball or spinning tops. "We begin peacefully, but sometimes disagree and end up in a quarrel, sometimes in a fist fight. Then, if one of us is cornered so that he no longer has his freedom, his anger becomes fierce." A young boy was angered by three older boys and a fight resulted. He fought back with his fists for a while; then stood with his back against the school wall calling to the one who would not stop molesting him, "You are an ox!" The attacker took it with a grin, as though he still had the upper hand. One morning at school rollcall, three boys, aged 7 to 9, two of them brothers, were absent. Children in attendance were certain that the two brothers were giving the third boy a "licking" for having used their father's nickname when speaking of him, as the brothers had warned the boy three days previously that they were going to do so. The teacher also related that she had had repeated reports that children of two families quarreled on their way to and from school. When questioned, the children of one family said that the relatives of the other family had invited their father to a machitun merely to send sickness through him to one of their sisters. (There is a belief that all sickness comes through poisoning in some unknown or mysterious way; cf. p. 110.) Another teacher told of two girls—one a cousin that had been adopted by the family of the other—who got into a quarrel at home and in consequence would not walk to or from school together on the two following days.

Schoolgirls give as the chief reason for quarrels among themselves being called "bad words"; none would write or speak the bad words. Their teacher noted that possibly it was an expression in Spanish, "cuchos de tu madre" (shellfish of your mother), one that is greatly

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resented. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. "Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused." 865

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper —she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not bear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

STEALING, INTOXICATION

An occasional child steals. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the thief. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stayed close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unbeknown to her, the teacher left the room. When 867

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 a fence. "Do not hang your coat there on that fence; birds come there, and they may dirty it." After viewing the assistant admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her; later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or cats came near, she chased them away. With wads of wool she removed burrs from the assistant's slacks.

During another interview, school-age boys scampered off in search of medicinal plants that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from stored supplies. In quiet tones they reminded the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When basketry was being discussed, they brought baskets to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of courtesies and helpfulness on the part of children were observed: Children always halted an instance to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of anyone. When we admired the flowering notro, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a 10-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his smiling face like a picture frame. When his mother set out to collapse her loom so that it could be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he warmed milk for a sick kitten. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quietly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kitten (pl. 63, *s*).

BOASTING, JEALOUSY

865 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is remarked about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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come and say that he saw a bird larger than a condor. But I know the birds around here are no larger than a condor. And so I say nothing. Soon he stops boasting to me. Should a child come to me, however, and lie about something important, I will whip such a child with a rope." 865

A jealous child is told, "What you are, you are," or "What you have is yours, and you must be satisfied with it; what others have is theirs and theirs has nothing to do with you."

QUARRELING, TALE BEARING, DISOBEDIENCE

Children were instructed not to quarrel. In fact, parents did not allow them to; if they persisted in doing so, they were punished, usually whipped. "When my father instructed us in other things, he also told us not to quarrel."

Quarrels between children in a neighborhood sometimes caused quarrels between their respective parents; just as often no one paid any attention to them. "It is merely children's conduct," parents will say and let it go at that. A quarrel resulted when a child, sibling or neighbor, took something that belonged to another child and did not return it. Sensible parents, it was said, insisted that the thing be returned, and the quarrel thus ended.

Tale bearers were listened to, "since it might be something important that the child was telling." If it was important, the one told on was corrected, sometimes punished; if not, the tale-bearing one was sent away, or the listener walked away from him.

Obedience was demanded by parents of all children; formerly even of adult offspring. A disobedient child was admonished and then punished. "That was formerly; it is not that way today. Formerly, men obeyed when they were 30; today some do not obey when they are only 19," said an 80-year-old woman. She added in a serious mood, "I have seen men 30 years old whipped by their fathers, in former years, because they had disobeyed." 861

Punishments were usually suited to the gravity of the disobedience. An 85-year-old man, when 10 years old, was whipped with a rope by his father for not bringing home the mare his father needed; he had played instead. "That was one time that I got a whipping with a rope," he mused. A woman older than 100 years was whipped with a stick when she was about 7 years old because she continued to play and would not answer her mother's call. An eyewitness related that a woman about to give birth sent her 14-year-old son (the only one home) to fetch his aunt. The boy did not return, neither did the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865]
grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

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rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
● 866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awtin rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings." 186 [81]

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel out. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher. 865

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Aleple schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it." 866

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *kidder*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *dolawe*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *mdiwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *Ñanañchu* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *ulchimalleu*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *Ñañki*.*

* Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1932a, p. 70.

[66] Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood, and
293 worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufú*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by ceremonial clowns. It used to be customary for each household to have a *kalad* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people still possess masks.

[66] A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unusually troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of intensity. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *kalad* had departed. If this treatment failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

●167 Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he hears many folk tales, their cautionary moral lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.* Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded executive accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and responsible, elder men, such as the [illegible] are asked their best guess of the [illegible].

* Hanke, supra p. 103; and Titiev, supra p. [illegible].

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons.

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or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

● 867

Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimfil fi pesoe" or "Kimfil pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche qen (little one) or as pichi weche weuyen (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra weuyen (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi weuyen (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 13-year-old girl told her 3-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked, "How can you manage your men?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

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reversed. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. "Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused."

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper—she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not hear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

STEALING, OVERCLAIMING

An occasional child steals. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the child. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stepped close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unknown to her, the teacher left the room. When

39: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

But all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess and I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Hueneo in 1932 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Hueneo: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the foremost of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF POPULARITY RITES, MODESTY

The Araucanians have no puberty rites, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a popularity test. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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tion of a rule. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Muday, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (here pawi, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and rules-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the ajllatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the ajllatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at fiesta (1946, p. 791).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTION

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 567 568

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to counsel their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

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867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back; and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

868 Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ñillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that." 574 576 867

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it. 867

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

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867 a fence. "Do not hang your coat there on that fence; birds come there, and they may dirty it." After viewing the assistant admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her; later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or cats came near, she chased them away. With wads of wool she removed burrs from the assistant's slacks.

During another interview, school-age boys scampered off in search of medicinal plants that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from stored supplies. In quiet tones they reminded the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When basketry was being discussed, they brought baskets to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of courtesies and helpfulness on the part of children were observed: Children always halted an instance to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of anyone. When we admired the flowering notro, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a 10-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his smiling face like a picture frame. When his mother set out to collapse her loom so that it could be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he warmed milk for a sick kitten. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quietly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kitten (pl. 63, *s*).

BOASTING, JEALOUSY

865 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is remarked about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

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861 aunt arrive, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reason for not getting his aunt, the father tied a lasso about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the lasso. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disbeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the *kutiñum* on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a horse, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MOMENTY, FUNERIT RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

12: Faron 2-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we shall pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But essential deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 603 593 [855]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 189 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future. 59 182 867

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1] 581

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital 584 [836] 581

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1964a).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fields or are away from home much of the time. For the most part, however, children under six or seven years spend their waking hours at play. Little boys run races, wrestle and pull one another's hair, pretend to plow, and walk about carrying miniature hockey sticks with which they strike at a ball or at any small stone or object along the path. Girls prefer to play with dolls fashioned of cane or bamboo into human shape, *pulcchaute*. They take care of them as if they were babies, dressing and undressing them, and occasionally pretending to hold curing rites over them because they are supposed to be ill. §57

CHILDHOOD

Before they have reached the seventh birthday youngsters begin to pass out of the carefree stage of infancy, and to learn the tasks that are appropriate to their sex. Sometimes they receive spoken instructions from their elders, but more often they learn from observation and imitation. Adults make it a point to take them along when they leave the house, and to converse with them while they are at work. In this way children are made ready to undertake their first serious chores, which usually consist of herding and caring for sheep. Boys or girls generally serve as shepherds between the ages of six or seven and twelve. They take their flocks out to graze in the morning, and if they expect to remain away until late in the day they may take some bread or parched wheat, plain or sweetened with honey. At some time in the afternoon the herders drive their flocks into a corral or a field near home, and go into the house for the midday meal. §68 §57

The children have various ways of amusing themselves in order not to be lonesome while they are herding. Most often they sing aloud the songs they have learned from their elders, and occasionally they shout something for other shepherds in the neighborhood to hear. They do not try to carry on actual conversations at long distance, but they get a sense of companionship simply from hearing one another's voices when they are out of sight. This is especially true on misty days, when each little shepherd feels cut off from the rest of the world. §57

1: Tinley E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

857 Sometimes, when he is out with is flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At ther times he may straddle a street piece of bamboo, pretending hat it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the llusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits f sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger 848 sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and hey learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and hey attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of lings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and o run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. 857 They joke and play together freely sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304]

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

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[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Baucubau had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Baucubau, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The merchant Baucubau then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillán.[45] Baucubau registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Baucubau's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulicon saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity escorted him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotations from and reference to classical authors.

45 Baucubau, pp. 155-156. Also see Cándido y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olivares, p. 23.

47 Núñez, p. 62.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

PO: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

155 Cabarique uses it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the flower and milk. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

156 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [56] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche quilai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi ulawuñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

157 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, grillo (kuniñ kuniñ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small home-made 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

158 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

tion of a rule. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Muday, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (from punch, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and rule-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the siphoon. "Most certainly not then; no one is interested at the siphoon." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at fiesta (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTION

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the house of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 267 §§

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

10: Kluger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
904 Arauconiana 904
Chile

§6.7 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back; and to follow these instructions until his father's death.

§6.8 Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Adoptee schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Considerable recognition parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "We wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how these children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the siblicate.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not control into learning. "Small it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

§6.8 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people; some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the spheres and the machines on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Stem ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

868 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious mien, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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children too, and you must rear them. If you will train your children as I trained you, you will have no trouble with them.' The mother tells her all this."

Older boys and girls everywhere taught younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and compulsions used are very simple—indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is distracted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "hatch" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a 2-year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "hatches." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his 10-year-old sister, but slapped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing close by were repeatedly subdued by a "hatch" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "hatches" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice; always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice.

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Alepée schoolchildren had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for reminding him of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were 10 pesos for tending a horse;

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Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, 2.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast. 526 492 [868]

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one famliy in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots. 526

HEALTH

OMENS OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the choñchoñ, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by 787

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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717). 386 [868]

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, 2; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kəpam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs. 286

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size." 286 294 804

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kəlo)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often 286

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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She
herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by
533 hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be [illegible] her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and dow[illegible] her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was
time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then
[856] another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

●868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of colihüe sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, colihüe poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and coaxed to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be coaxed to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles. 868

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother began to teach it words, usually names, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 2 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a home where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian." [191]

NURSING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a 853

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368 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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manſana from manzana (apple); fanterra from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and patagonia; also chiripe, chilipa, and chilipau, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade. 197

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleodoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except the White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and 648 868

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

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Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as ñuke; his brother and sister each as piñe; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'ɔm, and his daughter as ñawe; a woman speaks of both as poñeñ.

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The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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553 It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations
[603] are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[578] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems
[735] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall-
[782] ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living
[769] and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her
[861] children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the
[828] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role
868 differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring
861 her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father.
[593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861
considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865]
grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853
to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595]
nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863
training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856
rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861]
other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings [521] of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses [152] her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often 868
acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of 593
the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the 593
situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is re- 574
placed by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many
nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are [273]
served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also
an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and [431]
husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationship

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between 868
mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early [593]
years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic
chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although [883]
this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they 868
are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older 857
sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This 233
is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and
horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact [885]
and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult
work.

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868 work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been
[859] conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

[885] Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches
[241] the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms,
[883] seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, how-
[152] ever, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

593 Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learn-
[868] ing process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today.
[861] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively. 595 587

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2). 585 797 [526] [756]

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV). 797 871

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language. [191]

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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621 One must not lose sight of the fact that Cautinche was first settled by a unilocal, patrilocal group which retained its essential structure for some time. Even today the reservation may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sort of multilocal, patrilineal kinship group. With a single exception, all the men are related. Occupants of houses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 trace their ancestry back to Juan Antinao Paineo, and the owners of houses Nos. 3, 5, 9, 16, and 17 to his cousin, Dionisio Paillao. Only the occupant of No. 14, Oligario Nankucheyo, is genealogically unconnected with the others. He first came to

TABLE IV

CAUTINCHE SCHOOL ROSTER

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Home Reservation	Boys	Girls	Total
Cautinche	12	9	21
Denencuhue	6	8	14
Curaco	2	2	4
Boldoche	3	0	3
Catrimalal	0	2	2
Ayehueco	0	1	1
Huichicon	0	1	1
Totals[7]	23	23	46

621 Cautinche as a laborer for his wife's uncle, Antonio Huircapan, of house No. 10, and now works for him on half shares. Oligario Nankucheyo moved from the Yauyahuenche subdivision of Malalche, his home reservation, because he had no land of his own. He and his wife may be called the only "immigrants" in Cautinche. They arrived about three years ago and have become so well adjusted that they are liked by all their neighbors.

[7] Although forty-six pupils are shown on the official roster, half of the number generally missed attendance, and some "students" probably never came to class. Since teachers are paid on the basis of enrollments, there is a tendency to exaggerate the size of a school's roster.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family. 621 173

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools. 621 578 526

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the 621 578 871

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another. 621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V. 621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there. 621 [582] 161 592

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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.
[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

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that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders. 177

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere [578] apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school.

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating 177 the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction 871 conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

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up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

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It is important to realize that the weight of cultural readjustment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

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A number of social maladjustments have arisen from population changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

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PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

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else to slap him. In another case, however, a father spanked his son and then asked the boy's teacher to spank him again if he needed it. The man's father hearing of this came to the teacher and voiced his disapproval: "That man has not even the right to ask me, the boy's grandfather, to whip that boy." In another instance a teacher reported a 10-year-old boy to his father for lying and suggested that the boy be punished. To this the father replied, "Maybe the time has come to whip him; I have not done so up to now." Whipping was done with a leather strap. It was administered for a serious offense only, such as lying, stealing, or disobedience. 861

Some informants did not approve of the mother ever whipping an adolescent or older son; they were whipped by the father with a rawhide for offenses such as disrespect or disobedience. "A young man sometimes ran away from home when he knew there was a whipping in the offing, although he knew that he would surely be whipped on his return home. A son obeyed, even when married and when he had grown older, as long as his father lived. And he never answered his father back. Formerly a child accepted a whipping from parents even at 20, and said not a word; today small ones rise up and say that they will not be punished."

Boys of school age had been whipped at home for playing on the way home from school after having been told to come directly home; for not doing assigned work; for chasing cows to a run; for playing instead of weeding the garden; for eating green apples after being told not to. Girls of school age had been spanked or slapped on the hands by the mother for coming home late from school, for hitting a brother, for breaking a father's yerba maté cup and a mother's plate, for inadvertently slapping a brother's nose and making it bleed.

Compulsions, such as frightening, ridiculing, ignoring, mocking, nagging, coaxing, bribing, or comparing with other children in order to bring about conformity in conduct, were rarely used. Nor does it appear that, in general, children were threatened with punishment to be administered by supernatural powers. One man, however, told that his grandfather, "who knew no Spanish or anything about the Christian religion," said to him when he did not obey, "God will punish you for that." "But," the informant added, "it was the same God that punishes now, for the Mapuche always prayed to the same God as we pray to now. We never addressed prayers to idols or trees or such things."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

Araucanian children today have opportunities of attending either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of edu- 871

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cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an older son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

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In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

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A 40-year-old man believed that incorrigible children came from poorly adjusted families. "If a man from a good family marries a woman from a good family, they will bring up good children. Formerly, it was easy to rear children, so the old people say; and I found it so. I never whipped a child; I talked to each one. It is not easy today to rear children." 861

Spanking a child before it was old enough to comprehend the reason for it was thought to be senseless and even harmful, for it might frighten the child and upset its mental poise. An informant believed that the reason a child that was playing nearby during an interview showed fear of a dog and chickens, and was frightened by a noise—an unusual thing for an Araucanian child—was that it had been whipped without knowing the reason for it. "Such a child gets nervous, and can no longer be managed with words."

Children old enough to comprehend were punished for lying, for answering back, and for persistent disobedience. "My mother hit me over the head once because I refused to learn to weave," said a woman in her sixties; "I preferred to ride a horse and tend the sheep and lasso calves. When I wove, I had to sit and sit and sit. But now that I am old, I am glad I know how to weave; I find weaving a profitable pastime."

Switching was done with a switch (wishka) made either of braided reeds of junquillo or braided thongs of young horse hide, usually about 16 inches long. It was kept at the junction of the rafters and the wall, or the mother kept it tied to her belt. Switching was done on calves and ankles, or on thighs and buttocks, while the child was held between the knees of the one administering the switching. "I was switched by my mother once," said an old woman and laughed at the memory of it. She passed up the question why she was switched, probably because her 13-year-old granddaughter was listening. "Sometimes sons at 30 were switched," she continued; "but in general sons at that age were obedient; nor did they answer back."

PRESENT-DAY FORMAL EDUCATION

There are 10 state rural schools in the Araucanian country today, intended for Araucanian children; only one area is without a school. When teachers are available, Araucanian children attend well. Most persons older than 20 had attended school only a very short time, if at all. "The teacher liked me and asked me one day why I was not attending school," a 56-year-old man noted, "so I decided to try it. I attended five days, and I learned something each day." "My son 871

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871 there [25 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

MENTAL TRAINING

LANGUAGE

191 Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons 186 who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 48-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

197 Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siṇiol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is ʃañwe in Chile; koafue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guaraní, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severaltics) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaningless superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

creencias araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Ano III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 24, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrarriñe, near Cholchol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

ADOLESCENCE

Latcham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.[23] Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations. 881

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.[24]

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,[25] but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a trait was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems 841 841 754

[23] Latcham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.
[24] Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

•[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95–101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapí region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897–98, pp. 95–96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218–30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933–34, pp. 1061–63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:393).

771 Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53: Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:394–96; Barbará, 1879, pp. 165–69; Milanesio, 1898, pp. 43–44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for
685 punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a
273 son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
276 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were tell-
828 ing me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

● 831 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in 841
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chuküri, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ñishem or üshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A girl at first menses, but not at any subsequent one, was isolated for several days in the toldo, usually in a corner behind some hangings. The mother prepared the girl for the event, but only in rare instances explained its purpose. Following isolation, invited relatives partook of a plentiful meal at which the girl was present. Quoting a woman in her sixties: "My mother took me aside one day and said, 'Now you are of an age when you will get a certain sickness.' I was about 13 or 14 years old then. She did not tell me what the sickness was, and since I did not know what it was, I could not speak to her about it. One day, later than that, she said to me, 'You look pale and sad and are upset. Bring me the white blanket.' She laid it on the floor in a corner, away from the fireplace, and then hung a hide on a rope that was stretched cornerwise [about 5 feet high] to make that corner a private place. Since the hide did not shut off the entire corner, she sent me to get a blanket which she slung over the remainder of the rope. The corner was now completely shut off. She told me to sleep on the white blanket that night. I did so. The next morning she examined the blanket and found it soiled. She said, 'Now you are grown up. Do not be ashamed of it. It is something every girl gets, and every woman has. When you are much older, it will go away again. While you have it you must be careful not to wash your hair or feet; if you do, it will make you sick. However, you can comb your hair, but do not touch your hair when doing so; it may fall out if you do. You must stay here in the corner so no one will disturb you.' My mother came behind the hangings and sat with me and talked, but no one else did so. Nothing would have happened if someone else had, but only a mother does so—that is our custom. While the girl was in the corner, the others in the family went about their work as usual; they were all glad that all was well with the girl. The girl was given only light foods to eat. I was given a little fried meat—we usually ate meat raw—cooked cereal, and catute well mixed with water. I did no work. I merely waited. I sat on the white blanket or lay on it for four days. When my mother noticed I was well, I went to bathe. The danger in washing my head and feet was now passed. I wore my silver ornaments, for relatives that had been invited to a feast were arriving. Such a girl is congratulated. Everyone knows that she has stood it well. After the feast the girl goes about her work again."

Quoting another woman in her sixties: "I spun while I was back of the hangings. When it was over with, my parents gave a meal to which acquaintances were invited, at which they drank chicha and mudai, and sang songs for the occasion. My father and my mother

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881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old; so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

● 881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under [831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often 868
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The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of 593
the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the 593
situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is re- 574
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Father-Child Relationships

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this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they 868
are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older 857
sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This 233
is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact [885]
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[152] family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

593 Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learn-
[868] ing process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today.
[861] The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter. 128

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions. 883 571 177

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly. 857 864

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night. 833

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582 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships
613 between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view mar-
[596] riage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in
[885] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminolo-
601 gy which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-
613 organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
178 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
183 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
793 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect
756 to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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594 suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [562] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [428] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 589
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually
sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in
any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of
the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend
to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may
assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities,
although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not
characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [888]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do
not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The
widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and
leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household
duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this
involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's
authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself
and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual
complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by
her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with,
even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to
gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize
this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic struc-
ture with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricul-
tural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche
and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation
has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority.
Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and
it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the
times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the
views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or
else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I knew of no young sorcerers having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 888 Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged; nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their house, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 886 According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a